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HARVARD STUDIES IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 82

# HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 82




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## PREFATORY NOTE

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Albert Henrichs
*Editor*

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HARVARD STUDIES IN
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# THE GIRL IN THE ROSEBUSH: A TURKISH TALE AND ITS ROOTS IN ANCIENT RITUAL

REINHOLD MERKELBACH

BEFORE I turn to the Turkish tale with which I shall try to entertain you for half an hour, I have to introduce to you a strange category (or group) of archaic gods and goddesses whose chief characteristic was that their cult images were fettered and chained.[1] This was done for different reasons. Men wanted to have a firm control over their mighty god: he must not go away to another city but be present in his temple in case he were needed; and he must not take action of his own, since this also might do harm, but act only when men wanted him to interfere with human affairs. One of the fettered gods, for example, was Dionysus, and I need not explain to you that it is advisable to hold him under strict control. Once a year, at the great festival of the god, the statue was conducted through the city in solemn procession. During the period of the feast (we might say, of the holy day), the shackles of the god were loosened. Sometimes the festival was consummated by a sacred wedding. Most of the chained gods were also tree gods, and especially tree goddesses; they were fettered to the tree in which they lived.

Chained goddesses are found by the score in the western and southern parts of Asia Minor. In most cases, the fettered goddess was the principal goddess of the city. Let me show you some characteristic examples.

The city goddess of Bargylia in Caria — in the southwest of present-day Turkey — was Artemis Kindyas. We possess a statue of the goddess (Plate I). She is tightly wrapped in a gown. Her arms are crossed; they are enclosed by the gown: it is a confining garment. In addition, the goddess is tied by ropes over her breast.[2]

The main goddess of the city of Myra in Lycia on the southern coast of Asia Minor was called Eleuthera. She lived in a holy cypress. Once

[1] Editor's note: This is the text of a James C. Loeb Classical Lecture delivered, with slides, at Harvard University on April 8, 1974. R. Merkelbach has since discussed in greater detail the iconography and religious role of the fettered gods; for this discussion, with full bibliography and additional illustrations, see K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II (Basel 1975) 1043–1081 (henceforth: "Gefesselte Götter").

[2] "Gefesselte Götter" 1057.

two men tried to cut the tree down, but the goddess appeared from her tree in the shape of her cult image, and two snakes hissed from the roots and scared away the rogues. The cult image was installed in the main temple of the city (Plate II fig. 1). The statue of the goddess was shrouded in a veil. At the festival the image of Eleuthera was carried through the town in procession. An inscription tells us that a citizen by the name of Tiberius Claudius Florus donated a new statue of the goddess to be used in processions. But when Asia Minor was Christianized, Saint Nicolas of Myra cut down the holy tree of the pagans, the cypress of the goddess.[3]

Artemis was worshipped in the city of Perge in Pamphylia, also on the southern coast. She too lived in a tree. Her idol was a big wooden trunk that was enveloped by a cloak acting as a veil (Plate II fig. 2). The head of the goddess looks out from the veil. On the lower part of the cloak a row of dancing girls is represented (fig. 3). Evidently the festival of the goddess was celebrated with dances. An ancient author, Mnaseas of Patara, says that the goddess — that is to say, her statue — and her followers walked around in a procession and begged.[4]

A coin of Temenothyrai in Phrygia shows a procession with a holy tree (Plate II fig. 4). The Pisidian goddess of Kibyra, who was also a tree goddess, drives a chariot that is drawn by lions (fig. 5).

Very often a veil covers these tree- or column-like goddesses. A beautiful example is the Persian Artemis of Hypaipa in Lydia. The stately veil that envelops her looks like a mandorla (Plate II fig. 6). The city goddess of Sardis in Lydia was Kore. We know her cult statue from coins (Plate II fig. 7). The whole figure of the goddess is wrapped up in a fetter garment, with the head completely covered. A similar goddess was Aphrodite from Aphrodisias in Caria, who is known from many statues. A coin shows the veiled goddess in her temple (Plate II fig. 8). Doves were her sacred animals.

From the territory of modern Turkey over a hundred goddesses of this kind are known to us from coins of Roman imperial times. Let me mention a few of them: Artemis Leukophryene of Magnesia on the Maeander; the goddess Astias of Iasos in Caria; Artemis of Apamea in Phrygia (Plate II fig. 9) and of Stratonicea in Caria (fig. 10); the Pisidian goddess of Lysinia (fig. 11); the Aphroditai Kastnietides of Aspendos in Pamphylia.[5]

[3] L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 197f; *Tituli Asiae Minoris* III 136; "Gefesselte Götter" 1057f.

[4] Mnaseas as quoted in the *Codex Athous* ap. E. Miller, *Mélanges de littérature grecque* (1868) 369; "Gefesselte Götter" 1059.

[5] "Gefesselte Götter" 1058.

The most famous of these goddesses was the Artemis of the Ephesians. Coins show the statue of the goddess fastened to its pedestal by chains (Plate II figs. 12, 13, 14). On her head she wears a high headpiece that looks like a tree trunk (Plate III fig. 1). The goddess lived in her statue as in a tree. In an archaic wooden statuette a high tree grows out of the goddess's head, and on the top of the tree sits a bird (Plate III fig. 2). Another figurine shows the goddess tightly enclosed by a fetter garment (Plate III fig. 3). The garment had a special name; it was called *kleis*, lock, for Artemis was locked up in her gown.[6]

We have many statues of the Artemis of the Ephesians from Roman imperial times.[7] The lower part of the statue rises from the ground like a tree. The squares showing on her body result from horizontal and vertical ties. The breasts seem to come forth from a diagonal fettering. A big veil surrounds her head. Once a year the goddess drove through the city on her sacred chariot.

Before the Greek colonists came to Samos, the inhabitants of the island were Carians. Geographically the island belongs to Asia Minor. The great goddess of Samos was Hera. Coins show her statue fettered diagonally across the breast. From the hands fillets hang down to the ground (Plate II fig. 15). Evidently the statue was chained to the pedestal much in the same way as was the Ephesian Artemis. The high head gear of Hera shows that she was a tree goddess. Her annual festival was celebrated by a wedding ritual; the Roman scholar Varro says: *sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur.*[8] An archaic relief shows the wedding. Zeus has pushed up the fetter garment of his bride and reaches for her bosom. The lower part of the goddess is still stiff like a tree trunk. Hera's role as a tree goddess is confirmed by a legend which has been related by the Samian local historian, Menodotus.[9] In his tale parts of the ritual of Hera's festival have been adapted. When the island was still mainly inhabited by Carians, pirates came across the sea, stole the statue of Hera, and carried it off to the shore. But later they became frightened and wanted to get rid of her again. They leaned the statue against a willow tree and sailed away. The priestess of Hera announced to the people that the image of the goddess had disappeared from the temple. The Carians searched for the statue and found it at the willow tree. In order to prevent the goddess

[6] "Gefesselte Götter" 1051ff and 1064f.

[7] For illustrations, see "Gefesselte Götter" pl. 49 and R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*, EPRO 35 (Leiden 1973).

[8] Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.17.8 (*Gramm. Rom. fr.*, ed. Funaioli, no. 399).

[9] *FGrHist* 541 F 1.

ILLUSTRATIONS

I. Artemis Kindyas from Bargylia in Caria (Athens).
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9. Artemis from Apamea in Phrygia (Franke 367).
10. Artemis from Stratonicea in Caria (Franke 369).
11. The Pisidian Goddess from Lysinia (Franke 439).
12–14. Artemis of Ephesus (Franke 484, 508, 506).
15. Hera of Samos (Brit. Mus. Catal. Ionia 37.5).
III. Artemis of Ephesus, archaic statuettes (Istanbul; courtesy Hirmer Photoarchiv Nr. 604.1911, 1914, 1916).
IV. 1. Artemis Lygodesma of Sparta, archaic carvings (courtesy Dtsch. Archäol. Inst., Athens).
2. Capital from Pergamum, the girl in the bush (photo H. Engelmann).



PLATE I



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11



FIG. 12




FIG. 13



FIG. 14



FIG. 15

PLATE II



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

PLATE III



FIG. 1

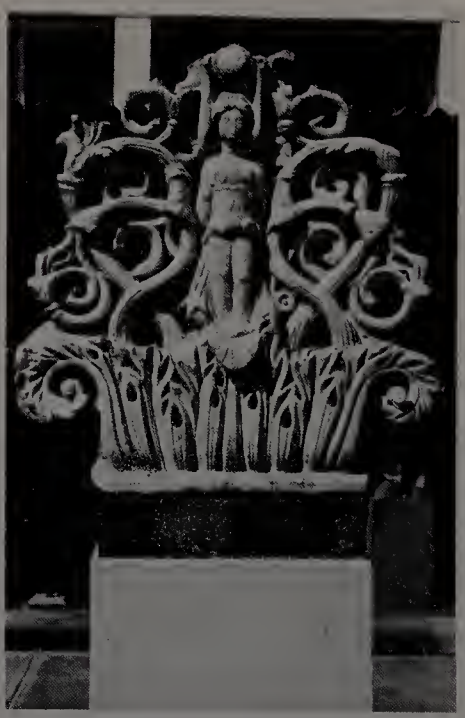


FIG. 2

PLATE IV

from running away again they tied her to the trunk with willow branches. Later on the statue was ceremonially conducted back to the temple and fastened on the pedestal. It seems clear that in the Samian festival of Hera the disappearance of the goddess, the search, and the discovery were ritually reenacted.[10]

Chained goddesses existed also in Greece and Sicily. I shall mention but one of them, Artemis Orthia Lygodesma of Sparta. Lygodesma means "fettered by willow branches." Archaic carvings show the goddess as a pillar that is tied up horizontally (Plate IV fig. 1). In another carving a tree top springs from her head: the goddess is a tree. The festival of Orthia was celebrated with masquerades and dancing; many leaden figurines of dancers were found in the excavations, some of them with quite fantastic masks. A myth relates how Helen danced with her playmates at the festival of Orthia; on this occasion she was raped by Theseus. We may presume that in archaic times the festival of Orthia was celebrated by sacred marriages.[11]

In concluding this rapid survey of tree goddesses I show you a capital found during the excavations at Pergamum. In the midst of a luxuriant plant, almost a bush, you see a girl; her arms seem to be fastened behind her body. It is as if the plant had opened so that the divine girl might come forth (Plate IV fig. 2).

These are, briefly, the rites and myths of the chained goddesses. To us the whole religious concept seems curious and strange. To former generations it has appealed greatly; this is proved by its expansion all over the ancient world. I am now going to show you that — in an astonishing metamorphosis — it has lingered on in Anatolia until the beginning of our century. The idea of a chained semidivine girl is present in a tale which Else Sophia von Kamphoevener heard from the lips of a Turkish storyteller before the First World War. She published the tale in 1956 in her book "By the Nightfires of the Caravansary."[12] The title of the story is "The Bey of Roses"; in an abbreviated version it runs thus:

In the rich southern region of Asia Minor there lived a beautiful girl whose name was Gülilah (from Gül, "the rose"). Her father was a merchant and was away traveling most of the time. Her mother was sickly and knew that her death was approaching. She foresaw that her husband

[10] "Gefesselte Götter" 1059ff.

[11] "Gefesselte Götter" 1046f.

[12] Elsa Sophia von Kamphoevener, *An Nachtfeuern der Karawan-Serail, Märchen und Geschichten alttürkischer Nomaden.* Erste Folge (Hamburg 1956) 205–230.

would take another wife after her death. Therefore she called Gülilah and showed her the largest and most beautiful rosebush of the garden. She told her daughter to go there whenever she was sad, to lay her hand on the bush and call her mother.

The mother died, and soon Gülilah's father returned from a journey, already married again. When the new wife was given all the jewels of Gülilah's dead mother, the girl felt desolate. She hurried to the rosebush; the gray veil in which she liked to wrap herself fluttered about her like dove wings. Beseechingly she laid her hands upon the strong wood of the rose and called her mother. The rosebush opened as if the curtain was drawn from before a chamber. Gülilah stepped into the rosebush; it closed upon her like the arms of her mother.

So Gülilah disappeared. All the day the nurse searched for her in vain. Finally she came to the rosebush and called the girl's name. Gülilah answered from the bush, and then slipped out of it; innumerable rose petals clung to the gray veil. From then on she lived for many years most of the time in the rosebush with her mother.

It so happened that in the region of Gülilah's home there lived a rich young man. His name was Omer, but he was also called the Bey of roses, for he possessed immeasurably large fields of roses. His mother wanted him to marry, but he resisted. When, finally, he seemed to give in, he did so on condition that he should himself make sure that the girl he would wed was fragrant with the most sweet smell of roses.

But it was of course impossible to fulfill this condition, since Muslim custom forbids a man to know the fragrance of a girl before marriage; he may not even see her unveiled. When his mother therefore remonstrated with him, Omer, playful as he was, suggested that his mother should choose several girls, bring them veiled to the courtyard of the women's house, the harem, and there line them up. Then he would pass along the row, sniff at the girls as at roses without unveiling them, and choose the one with the sweetest smell.

By this demand Omer hoped to have frustrated his mother's marriage plans. He told all his friends of the event, and winged Fame spread the extraordinary news all over the town.

Of course, all the mothers of marriageable girls were horrified at the idea. The girls, however, were ready to submit to the unusual bridal test. The mother of the Bey of roses made all necessary preparations with discretion, and Omer was caught in his own trap. Omer's marriage became the talk of the whole town. Gülilah in the fragrant prison of the rosebush was the only one who had not heard the news. The nurse, however, knew all about it and made her plans accordingly.

The nurse's nephew was a carpenter. It so happened that he and a friend had decided to earn some additional money in the future as sedan-chair men, and had therefore built a new sedan chair. This nephew the nurse took into her confidence.

The day arrived on which Omer had to choose his bride. His mother

had invited sixteen girls to come to the courtyard of the harem. In good time the nurse called Gülilah in the rosebush: "Come forth, little dove, come to me, I must ask a favor of you, come forth." Gülilah parted the leaves as if she were gliding through a curtain and said: "Can I do you a favor? Your request is already granted." The nurse told Gülilah that her nephew had built a new sedan chair and wanted to test its strength: "I intended to ask you, Mistress, to do me the favor of letting him carry you a little way." Gülilah assented immediately and stepped into the sedan chair, the curtains of which were drawn. The sedan-chair men carried her through the town.

When the sixteen girls, veiled and perfumed, were assembled in the courtyard, and when the Bey of roses was about to pass along them to test their fragrance, just then the sedan-chair men arrived at the court of the Bey and set the chair down. Gulilah pushed aside the curtains a little bit; her gray veil fluttered. She asked the men why they had stopped, opened the door, and was about to descend. Just then a light wind came up and the sweet smell of roses was carried to the Bey. In a moment Omer was beside the sedan chair. But when Gulilah saw a strange man coming towards her, she hurriedly closed the door, and the bearers took up the chair and carried it away. Omer was so overcome that he did not even think of stopping the sedan-chair men. But on the ground just where the sedan chair had stood there lay a rose that had fallen from the gray veil of the girl. Omer took up the rose and breathed in its fragrance. Everything around him sank into oblivion. He returned the way he had come, did not even notice the sixteen waiting girls, and went up to his chamber. He lay on his bed and smelled the rose. For three days and three nights he lay there motionless; he ate nothing but a handful of grapes which his servant had put beside him.

The two sedan-chair men hurriedly took Gülilah home. She was all excited; and when she arrived, she threw herself into her nurse's arms. She spoke of a young Padishah that had approached her, of one that was at once like the bright orb of the sun and like the gentle rays of the moon. She never left the rosebush in the days that followed.

Gülilah's nurse soon heard that Omer lay lovesick in his chamber. She went to his mother and said she knew whence Omer's rose had come; she said that she could lead Omer to the bush of the rose: "Then he will be healed." Omer's mother brought the nurse to his chamber. The nurse told Omer to follow her if he wanted to find the bush upon which the rose he was cherishing had grown. When the Bey heard these words, he leaped from the bed. The nurse took his hand and led him along the streets and through the high gate that encircled Gülilah's home; she conducted him through the gardens until they came to the part that was like a forest. There they found the mysterious rosebush that hid the girl. Omer recognized the fragrance of the rose. He laid his hands on the rosebush and said: "I have come to be cured by virtue of your fragrance and to be awakened to a new life. Why do you conceal yourself? May not my

fingers touch your dove-colored veil, tenderly and reverentially, as one touches a sacred talisman?" Gülilah answered from the bush: "You may not, my Lord. I hide from you because my mother told me so. She enclosed me and spoke thus: 'When he will come, he who dreams of the sweet smell of your rose, tell him this: The bush will open when you have unearthed it, when you have dug, deep and long, for forty days. And at the same time you shall order that a hole be dug on your own soil as deep as the one around my bush. Then you must carry the bush to your soil and there let it down into the earth. When you have accomplished this task, the rosebush will open and show you the one destined for you. But you shall not see her before.' Thus, my Lord, my mother bade me speak to you."

The Bey asked Gülilah: "Is your mother with you in the rosebush?" She answered him: "No, my Lord, she died and left me this bush for my consolation. When I am within the bush, I hear her voice. Hitherto I could enter and leave as I chose. Now, however — forty days are a long time."

Omer went and fetched workmen, who began to dig up the bush. Every day Omer sat before the rosebush that did not release its prisoner. The nurse stood near the trees and worried whether the girl was troubled by hunger and thirst. The girl answered from the bush: "The dew suffices for my thirst, and my hunger is satisfied with the fragrance of the roses." For forty days the workmen dug around the bush in a wide circle; not the tenderest root was to be hurt. Many people stood outside the walls, to watch in silence over the wonder within. The mother of the Bey of roses had the chambers prepared for the one that was to enter as the bride of her son.

Gülilah's father did not know of these events, and it so happened that he had gone on a journey at just about the same time. His new wife accompanied him. Brigands attacked him on the way; they killed him and kidnapped his wife. There was no one to say yes or no to Gülilah's marriage.

On the fortieth day the ditch around the rosebush was ready. A large cart, carefully built for the purpose and drawn by strong mules, stood ready, and the bush was loaded upon the cart. Then it was driven away from the gardens of Gülilah's father's house. The high gates of her home opened to let the bride pass, the prisoner of the rosebush. The Bey of roses walked beside the cart, worrying because of the uneven road and taking the utmost care to protect the bush; but Gülilah in the bush trembled with joy and expectation.

To the Bey the way to his own home seemed very long. Finally Omer saw a multitude of people, heard the calls of his friends, and the Imam approached who was to unite him with the girl of the roses when the bush opened. The rosebush was carefully lowered into the ditch. "Slowly, slowly," the Bey implored the workmen. "Do not worry," called the

voice from the bush, "I am secure." When the people in the crowd heard the voice from the bush, they were amazed at the miracle. And then the rosebush touched the soil of the Bey's paternal ground and sank into the earth. The earth closed upon it, though no hand had stirred, and the rosebush opened as if it were a curtain opening.

Gülilah appeared, wrapped in her gray veil, roses behind her and roses at her sides. She looked as if clothed in veils and as if a cloud was floating about her. Silence greeted this wondrous sight that no one who was given to see it ever forgot. Into the silence came forth the Imam's voice: "Omer, my son, take this thy wife Gülilah." Gülilah stretched out her hands, and in a moment Omer was beside her, lifted her from the rose cage, wrapped her in his cloak, and carried her into the house.

Silence still reigned when the Imam spoke again: "The bride was concealed during the sacred forty days. Only when the earth of her home soil was wedded to the earth of her husband's home soil was she released from her captivity." And the Imam praised god, and all the people that had watched dispersed as if they renounced celebrating a wedding because they had already participated in something more than a celebration.

And in the evening the faithful nurse spoke thus to the women and maid-servants: "What we have witnessed today shall be an example of love and its wonders. Though many sceptics will say it is nothing but a legend, a tale — let them do so. We know of its veracity and truth."

Many details of the story are reminiscent of the ancient rituals of the fettered goddesses. Let me briefly summarize the similarities:

1. There is an abundance of ancient evidence for the worship of chained goddesses in the cities of Asia Minor. The scene of the tale is laid in the same country.

2. The chained goddesses are also tree goddesses. Artemis of Perge looks forth from a tree; Artemis of Myra appeared from a tree; Artemis of Ephesus carries a tree on her head; the divine girl in the Pergamum capital is seen in the middle of a luxuriant bush. Gülilah several times is called "prisoner of the rosebush"; she steps into the tree and comes forth from it; the nurse appeals to her in an almost ritual manner, and Omer compares her to a talisman. "Talisman" originally meant a consecrated statue (*telesma*).

The sacred animal of a tree goddess is usually a bird. In the case of Aphrodite it is a dove; in her city, Aphrodisias, there were hundreds of doves, as today in Venice. Gülilah is repeatedly assimilated to a dove.

3. The veil of Gülilah is mentioned frequently in the tale. Once it is said that the veil of roses surrounds her like a cloud. When the bush opens, it is as if it were a curtain opening. The statues of many of the

goddesses were covered by a veil that must have had the effect of a curtain.

4. Hera of Samos disappeared and is searched for. The ritual seeking and finding of the goddess's image probably was a widespread ritual. Twice in the tale Gülilah disappears, is sought for, and found. When she enters the rosebush for the first time, the nurse searches for her a whole day. Again, when the sedan chair quickly disappears from the Bey's sight and the girl takes refuge in the bush, the nurse comes to the house of the Bey and guides the lovesick man to the mysterious and hidden rosebush.

5. Great procession festivals were celebrated in the cult of the chained goddesses. Artemis of Perge went around begging. In the case of the goddess Eleuthera of Myra there is evidence for a statue used in processions. Artemis of Ephesus drove through the city in a chariot. In the ceremonies in honor of Proserpina-Kore (the divine maiden) a tree was cut and worked so as to be the effigy of a maiden; it was then conducted into the city and venerated during a period of forty nights.[13]

The coin of Temenothyrai shows a holy tree driven around in a cart. Bearers of the tree (*dendrophoroi*) served in the cult of the Great Mother of the gods in Asia Minor who was also said to have been fettered. In the worship of Iupiter Dolichenus, a god typologically akin, there were sedan-chair men (*lecticarii*).[14] In the modern tale the girl of roses is twice carried around, first in the sedan chair and then in the rosebush in a cart. The fact that the sedan chair had never been used before also seems to point back to an ancient ritual. The cart had even been built expressly for Gülilah's bush. The ritual character of the second carrying around is evident: a great many people are present to witness how the miraculous bush is dug out; they wait for the cart before the house of the Bey of roses and salute the bush at its arrival; a priest speaks solemn words; and what happens thereupon is considered to be something more than a human wedding festival.

6. We do not know the rites and myths of the chained goddesses of Asia Minor in all their details; but we have good reason to suppose that the processional celebrations were often consummated by a sacred wedding. It must have been part of the cult of Aphrodite. It may have belonged to the rituals of Artemis too; for the goddesses of Asia Minor whom the Greeks equated with their goddess Artemis were by no means virgin goddesses. There is evidence for the sacred wedding in the

[13] "Gefesselte Götter" 1059 n. 3; 1058 n. 1; 1054. Firm. Mat. *De err.* 27.2.

[14] "Gefesselte Götter" 1073. Dessau Inscr. Lat. sel. 4316; Hepding, Attis 151ff.

cult of Hera of Samos. A ritual fasting before the celebration is always part of such festivals. Sometimes the gods are said to have disappeared or to have hidden themselves. All these particulars have analogies in the Turkish tale. There is the fasting and the concealment during a time called the sacred forty days. The partner of the girl of roses receives divine epithets more than once: the sun-like man, the Padishah who resembles the gentle rays of the moon.

In the tale which was written down in the twentieth century we perceive the outlines of a festival of the ancient gods. The similarities are far too numerous to doubt it. We are not confronted with a series of chance coincidences. All the details fall into one pattern and have the same significance: they are all characteristic of the festival of a chained goddess.

You will ask whether this is possible. The ancient evidence is of Greco-Roman times. In this period Greek was spoken in Asia Minor. The tale is Turkish. This is what one could object. However, when Anatolia was conquered by the Turks, the main stock of the population remained. In a process which went on for generations people changed language but naturally kept many of their ideas. In this area several changes of language must have occurred, since before Greek the language had been Carian or Lycian or Lydian. We may even presume that the Hittites told similar stories in their tongue too, for the religious conception of fettered goddesses certainly goes back into at least the second millennium. The change of language does not really raise any difficulty for our thesis.

Another objection is more serious. In the fourth and fifth century of the Christian era the whole of Anatolia was Christianized thoroughly and often by violence. The heathen cult images were destroyed, among them the idols of the chained goddesses; the sacred trees were cut down, and the festivals of the heathen gods were abolished. How can memory of the ancient rituals have been preserved? And even if this were granted, a second change of religion took place: Christianity was ousted by Islam with its ban against making images. How can the slightest reminiscence of heathen things have been kept alive after this second religious revolution?

But the evidence shows that just this has happened. Our task can only be to find a plausible explanation. Of course we cannot suppose that any part of the pagan ritual has been preserved. We must assume, then, that the ritual has undergone a metamorphosis; it was preserved by transformation into a tale.

The authenticity of Frau von Kamphoevener's tale is beyond reasonable doubt. It is, perhaps, in order at this point to report and to comment on the judgment which some scholars of folklore have pronounced upon the tales of Elsa Sophia von Kamphoevener. They have judged that her stories have no scholarly value at all. Most of the stories, it is said, are found in an older collection of Turkish tales printed in 1907. Where this is not the case, as in the story of the Bey of roses, the authoress is supposed to have spun yarns and invented the stories herself. There is no objection to her doing so, the critics say; but it is forbidden to use her tales for scholarly purposes. This verdict cannot be accepted. Frau von Kamphoevener heard the tales in Turkey in the caravansaries before the First World War. She traveled in the country, disguised in men's clothes, for a long time, accompanying her father, a Prussian officer and military adviser of the Turks. Her stories — like all oral tales — were told again and again and by many storytellers. If a good number of them are found in a collection printed in 1907, we are by no means justified in doubting the statement of Frau von Kamphoevener that she heard them herself and directly from the mouths of Turkish storytellers.

The assumption that the authoress has added details of her own invention is more justified. She was herself a master storyteller, and as a story can only be kept alive by constant renewal, we shall readily concede that she added some particulars. However, it is out of the question that the authoress could have invented the many details which can be traced back to the ceremonies of the chained goddesses of antiquity. Neither Frau von Kamphoevener nor the Turkish storytellers knew anything about the worship of chained goddesses. The Basel mythologist Karl Meuli was the first to rediscover this religious concept.[15] Also we should not forget that in the story the relevant details are not accumulated by fortuitous addition; on the contrary, they are interconnected; as soon as one is aware of the ancient ritual, this is easily realized. There is but one conclusion: in the story of the Bey of roses the details characteristic of the cults of the chained tree goddesses have been preserved by tradition through fifteen hundred years. We are faced with a surprising phenomenon, with the astonishing faithfulness and stability of oral tradition through many centuries. This stability does not concern the plot of the fable; the fable rather appears as an outward cloak for the really important issues. But there has been stability in the core. The essence of the tale is contained in its most vivid and impressive

[15] K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (above, n. 1) 1035ff.

episodes. Their images convey the actual significance of the story, and it is these images that tradition has kept throughout the centuries. Let me come back to this subject in a moment; here we only state the obvious fact that many generations of Turkish storytellers and finally Frau von Kamphoevener have preserved the essential features of the tale with conspicuous faithfulness. That many details of the story must have been in constant flux concerns the surface only.

I have said that in the tale of the Bey of roses the ritual of a pagan festival has been transformed into a tale. This statement was a bit sweeping. In the intellectual history of mankind the first chapter concerns rituals and ceremonies; language is not yet necessarily involved. The subject of the second chapter is myth, and by myth I understand a mythical tale which is supplementary to ritual. In this stage of development language is not yet independent of ritual. Myth and ritual are complementary; the ceremonies are explained by a corresponding myth. In spoken words the myth conveyed the meaning of the ceremonies.

In the third stage myth and ritual have been disconnected. One may now tell a story without enacting it and without corresponding religious or dramatic ceremonies. It is better to use the words "story" or "tale" for performances which are no longer related to ritual, and to reserve the word "myth" for those sequences of words which are connected with ceremonies and rites.

In the pagan festivals of antiquity rituals and myths are linked intimately. As far as the fettered goddesses are concerned, we do not know the myths sufficiently; only in the case of the festival of Hera of Samos is the mythical tale known to us. The reason is merely that tradition is deficient; nobody will doubt that myths were told everywhere with the festivals of the other goddesses as well.

The case of our Turkish story is of a certain paradigmatic interest, for we may observe how the process of separation of myth and ritual was accelerated by special circumstances. The process itself has gone on everywhere and is part of the intellectual development of mankind; but in this case it was made inevitable by the changes of religion.

When the Greek world was Christianized, the pagan festivals were abolished. It was nevertheless possible that many features of the old festivals were modified and thus preserved. This could happen to parts of the ritual and to motifs of the mythical tales; both of them could be taken over into a Christian context but never both at the same time. The link between ritual and myth, originally intimately related, had to be severed. For example, parts of the worship of Artemis or Aphrodite could be taken over into the worship of the virgin Mary; however, a

supplementary story — we may no longer use the word myth — had to take the form of a legend that had no relation whatsoever to the pagan goddesses. When, on the other hand, the old heathen story (the myth) was to be told, it was not merely necessary to change the names of the pagan gods into ordinary men's names: no allusion to a possibly still living ritual could be tolerated in the tale; all connections with religion had to be severed.

This is what has happened in our tale. There are no connections to the ancient ritual left; the pagan tree worship, the procession festival, the sacred wedding were abolished long ago. Nevertheless, the radiant images of the ancient ritual are clearly visible through the images of the tale.

The images were once enacted; they were at the root of the festival; they convey to the spectator or listener that which touches him in the heart. These vivid pictures did not lose their fascination even when the episodes of the ritual were no longer enacted. The ritual was metamorphosed into the tale, but the important features remained unchanged. The tale was handed down orally by many generations of storytellers, and many details must have been in constant fluctuation. But the main episodes of the ancient cult are still apparent in the tale of the twentieth century. They are the pillars on which the tale rests. It is not so much the motifs that are essential for the preservation of the tradition; the powerful images of particular episodes are decisive.

While the central images remained unchanged, secondary motivations became necessary for many incidents. When the story no more tells about Aphrodite, but about Gülilah, human parents have to be introduced. Just before the wedding, however, the storyteller quickly does away with the father who would have given him trouble in the episode of the transportation of the rosebush. For the ancient goddess life in a tree was a natural thing; Gülilah's stay in the tree has to be motivated by the death of her mother and the sorrow caused by her step-mother. The quest for Gülilah was easily explained: when the girl hides in the tree, it naturally follows that she must be sought for. The veil which is so characteristic of the chained goddesses is now motivated by Muslim custom. We may presume that in the ancient ritual the goddess was carried through the town by sedan-chair men (*lecticarii*) to meet her divine partner. In the tale the sedan-chair men carrying Gülilah through the town and Gülilah's meeting with her partner become plausible because of the new bridal test Omer institutes. In the ancient procession, the sedan chair to be used naturally had to be new. In the tale a very detailed motivation is supplied: the nurse's nephew built

himself a sedan chair because he hoped to earn some money as a carrier; so it occurs to the nurse to use this sedan chair for her purposes. The ancient procession with the tree is replaced by the transportation of the rosebush to the Bey's house. In the cult a ritual fasting must have preceded the sacred wedding. A religious motivation for the fasting was no longer possible in the Muslim tale. The fasting is now caused by the mother's order to stay in the bush for the forty days. The fettering is, at first, mentioned in metaphors only; but in the course of the forty days the metaphor somehow becomes reality — the text does not make quite clear how; all the same, the reader receives the impression that the fettering is an important feature of the tale. Thus many new motifs were added to the story in order to make plausible a sequence of events that originally belonged to ritual ceremonies.

But these motifs, newly invented to motivate the images of the myth, gain a life of their own. The projected sniffing at the sixteen veiled beauties is a splendid joke and an important point in the tale. We may put it thus: when ritual and myth were transformed into a tale, the dominant features of the ritual were preserved, but at the same time something entirely new has come into existence. Imagination and the delight in telling stories have been roused. In the ancient festival there was a stately sequence of separate episodes. These episodes are now playfully surrounded by new variations and inventions. While the ancient rites had been of a rather static nature, the tale is characterized by greater liveliness and quicker movement. The ancient oral species of myth was metamorphosed into the younger oral species of the tale.

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# AN ASSYRIOLOGICAL GLOSS ON THE NEW ARCHILOCHUS FRAGMENT

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THE proverb about the hasty bitch producing blind whelps needs no introduction to the classicist. Familiar with it perhaps in many other languages (English, German, Italian, Turkish, and so on), he certainly knows the Greek version, and now, through the allusion to it in the new Archilochus fragment, he can trace it back as far as the seventh century B.C.[1] However, I think he will also be interested to know that the trail of this proverb no longer ends there. It leads eastward, to Mesopotamia, and back more than a thousand years before Archilochus, to the late nineteenth or early eighteenth century B.C.

Since 1950, Assyriologists have known a Babylonian proverb about a bitch and her litter.[2] It is cited by Šamši-Adad I, the king of Assyria, a contemporary and rival of Hammurapi of Babylon, in a letter to Yasmah-Addu, his son and viceroy in Mari (middle Euphrates). Noting how the latter and his cohorts are with their maneuvers and stratagems countering those of the enemy, and comparing the combatants with wrestlers trying to trick one another, he then exclaims, "Heaven forbid that, as in the ancient proverb,

> *kalbatum ina šu-te-bu/pu-ri-ša ḫuppudūtim ūlid*
> 'The bitch by her ? ? brought forth,'

you now do likewise."

The two cruces long resisted solution. The first to yield, in 1969, was *ḫuppudūtim* (acc. pl.); it means "blind."[3] The other was more stubborn.

[1] R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 14 (1974) 100–101 lines 26–27; D. Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* . . . no. 478. I am of course not qualified to attribute the fragment to Archilochus, and I am simply following what seems to be the more common opinion. For the issue at hand, the problem is of no real importance. For the various versions of the proverb, see *The Index* to Archer Taylor's *The Proverb* 15 (Helsinki 1934; rpt. with *The Proverb* by Folklore Associates, 1962; also *Folklore Fellows Communications* no. 113).

[2] G. Dossin, *Archives royales de Mari* I (Paris 1950) 5: 11–13.

[3] This meaning, among others ("lame," "dead"), had been proposed, but

Misled perhaps by the fact that Šamši-Adad was constantly berating his son, all the interpretations proposed were alike in the mistaken assumption that he cited the proverb to criticize the many maneuvers and stratagems as ill-advised, a frivolous waste of energy, or the like. However, as is evident, the proverb is quoted, not to disapprove of the past, but to express concern about the present ("you *now* do likewise"). It is also difficult to associate the image of the circling wrestlers, models of the concentration and economy of one's forces, with the alleged wasteful frivolity.[4]

What would fit the context, and fit it perfectly, is of course the lesson of the hasty bitch of the Greek proverb. In a situation of mounting tension, the warning of her example against precipitate action would be most appropriate. And now — *dies diem docet* — the obviously right word has been found, and it is no longer necessary to create a hapax.[5] As W. von Soden has shown, the verb *šutēpuru*, "to act (too) hastily," is actually attested.[6] There is no longer any doubt about what Šamši-Adad said to his son: "The bitch by her acting too hastily brought forth the blind."[7]

Apart from the minor differences of tense, one cannot fail to note the correspondence, even to the terse "blind," with no explicit mention of the young:

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formal proof came only with the publication of a lexical text in which *ḫuppudu* was equated with Sumerian lú-igi-nu-gál, "without eye(s)." For discussion and additional evidence, see my article, "Puppies in Proverbs — From Šamši-Adad I to Archilochus?" in *Eretz Israel* (in press); also, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39 (1977) 265; W. von Soden, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 66 (1977) 292.

[4] For the various views, now only of historical interest, and detailed criticisms, see *Eretz Israel* (above, n. 3).

[5] As I have done in *Eretz Israel*, with virtually no other evidence than context. It is gratifying of course to have this exercise in lexicography *ex nihilo* so promptly and strikingly confirmed. The anecdotal form ("brought forth") is considered characteristic of oriental wisdom by Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* (above, n. 1) 157–158, and B. E. Perry, *Studium Generale* 12 no. 1 (1959) 19.

[6] Above, n. 3. However, von Soden still does not understand the context, and he denies any relevance of his discovery for the proverb. He also seems unaware of the hasty bitch in the west.

[7] This of course would not be the only piece of oriental wisdom to have worked its way west; see R. J. Williams, *The Phoenix* 10 (1956) 70–77; B. E. Perry (above, n. 5) 25; W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960) 339 (however, contrary to Lambert, the protagonist is not a mosquito, as in Aesop's fable, but a type of bird; see R. Borger, *Orientalia Nova Series* 33 [1964] 462, and M. Stol, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 65 [1971] 180); M. L. West, *HSCP* 73 (1969) 113–134.

*kalbatum ina šutēpurīša ḫuppudūtim ūlid*
*ἡ κύων σπεύδουσα τυφλὰ τίκτει.*

Independent expressions of popular wisdom? Or, *ex oriente* (*parvula*) *lux*?

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# THE ARGUMENT AND FORM OF SIMONIDES 542 *PMG*

MATTHEW DICKIE

MUCH has been written about the so-called Scopas-fragment of Simonides (542 *PMG*).[1] There is, in consequence, little that is new left to say about it. More attention, however, has been paid to the moral pronouncements that Simonides makes in the poem than to its form.[2] There has been a tendency to treat the poem as a disquisition on *arete*, in which Simonides sets forth a new and revolutionary view of what it is to be *agathos*. In this paper I shall examine what is said in the poem in the light of the conventions and topics of archaic Greek poetry.[3] I shall argue that Simonides' rejection of Pittacus' ideal man in favor of the man who does nothing *aischron* willingly is an instance of the topic of the impossibility of human perfection used as foil to praise a virtue or virtues which are attainable by men, a use of the topic for which there are parallels in Pindar and Bacchylides. In so arguing, I question the truth of what is now almost the orthodox view of the poem's intent, that Simonides is rejecting the old heroic ideal of manhood in favor of an ideal that is more in keeping with the needs of his world, a world in which individual prowess is less important than civic duty. The form of the poem and the topics employed in it lead me to

[1] Among the more important discussions are: U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 159–191; L. Woodbury, "Simonides on *arete*," *TAPA* 84 (1953) 135–163; H. Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*[2] (Munich 1960) 72f, and *Dichtung und Philosophie*[2] (Munich 1962) 351–357; C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*[2] (Oxford 1961) 326–336; B. Gentili, "Studi su Simonide," *Maia* 16 (1964), 274–306. For a full bibliography, see Gentili 278f, to which add H. Parry, "An Interpretation of Simonides 4 (Diehl)," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 297–320, and W. Donlan, "Simonides, Fr. 4D," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 71–95. These works will be cited by the author's name only.

[2] Wilamowitz, Woodbury, Bowra, Gentili, and Donlan all believe that Simonides' pronouncements are novel and pay more attention to this aspect of the poem than to its form.

[3] I am most in sympathy with Parry's treatment of the poem. He holds that the poem is a consolation for Scopas on the basis of the presence of a consolatory topic. He too argues against treating the poem as the vehicle for advancing revolutionary ethical doctrines. The influence of Elroy Bundy's Pindaric studies is evident.

infer that it is an occasional poem composed to be performed as an encomium of Scopas at a banquet.

The poem as we have it begins with the statement that it is hard for a man to be really *agathos*, made four-square without blame, in hands and feet and mind (1–3). There is then a lacuna in the text followed by Simonides' rejection of that statement, which, at this point, he attributes to Pittacus (11–13). The reassertion of the old view that vv. 1–3 are not the saying of Pittacus but Simonides' response to that saying has recently found some favor.[4] The argument adduced in support of this position is that Plato (*Prt.* 344a) says that vv. 1–3 are Simonides' reply to Pittacus and that in v. 1 the verb is *genesthai*, whereas in v. 13 it is *emmenai*. On this view, Simonides assents to the proposition that it is hard, though possible, to *become* a really *agathos* man, but rejects as impossible of fulfillment Pittacus' assertion that it is hard *to be*, that is, to become and remain, *esthlos*.

This interpretation of the poem lies open to a number of objections: (1) Plato's attribution of vv. 1–3 to Simonides as a response to Pittacus, unless it can be shown that Plato based his judgment on something said in the poem which made clear that vv. 1–3 are Simonides' own opinion, counts for nothing in view of his perverse interpretation of the rest of the poem. (2) That Simonides should have composed a poem whose understanding depended on the audience's grasping, without any aid from the poet, a distinction in meaning between *genesthai* and *emmenai*, terms which Wilamowitz has shown in an exhaustive study are interchangeable, is incredible.[5] Moreover, in rejecting as impossible Pittacus' *esthlos* at vv. 21–25, Simonides says that he will not waste time searching for that which is not able to be (τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι δυνατόν, 21f). Simonides then in this poem uses *genesthai* and *emmenai* as though they were synonyms. (3) The man for whom Simonides says that he will not waste time searching, the *panamomos* man (24), because he cannot be, is Pittacus' *esthlos*. The run of thought from v. 13 to v. 24 demands that identification. But the *panamomos* man for whom Simonides will not search because he cannot be is surely no other than the man who is

[4] Woodbury (140f), whose treatment of the poem has been influential, believes that there is a distinction in meaning between the verbs. He argues that Simonides, in maintaining that it is hard but possible to become *agathos* but impossible to be (that is, to remain) *agathos*, propounds a thesis consonant with the archaic age's supposed conviction that man's nature changes as the day (cf. H. Fränkel, *TAPA* 77 [1946] 131–145). For criticism of Woodbury, see Gentili 284f.

[5] Wilamowitz 159ff.

four-squared without blame of v. 3. *Panamomos* and *tetragonos aneu psogou* are both ways of saying the same thing, "free of all blame." In view of these objections, it seems better to take vv. 1–3 to be a somewhat fuller version of v. 13.[6]

In vv. 11–25 Simonides attempts to demonstrate that it is a waste of time searching for the truly *agathos* man, made four-square without blame, in hands and feet and mind. That it is hard to be such a man might be construed to mean that it is hard to be a good all-rounder, the sort of man that Peleus wished Phoenix to make Achilles, "a speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (*Il.* 9.442f). Simonides, however, for his own purposes presses the meaning of these words very hard. What he argues against is almost certainly not what the original author of the statement that it is hard to be *esthlos* had in mind. His argument against the existence of a completely blame-free man runs as follows: Pittacus' assertion that it is hard to be *esthlos* is out of tune, that is, it is faulty. Only a god could have that privilege, as the man whom misfortune pulls down cannot but be *kakos*. For everyone who fares well is *agathos*, and *kakos*, if he fares badly. *Aristoi*, however, by far are they whom the gods love (11–20).

What Simonides' argument is evidently designed to establish is that there is something about the human condition which prevents men's being in every aspect of their existence free of the possibility of someone's finding fault with them (*panamomos*). Since the argument on which Simonides' rejection of the possibility of a man's being *panamomos* rests deals with the consequences of adversity and prosperity for a man, it seems likely that Simonides' *panamomos* man would be one blessed with such complete good fortune that no one could find fault with any aspect of his being.[7] The adjective *amomos*, "without blame," modified

[6] Fränkel (*Wege und Formen*[2] 72f) says that such repetition is characteristic of the archaic age. Unfortunately, he does not expand upon that remark. If ring composition is what is meant, then this is an unusual form of it.

[7] Donlan, on the other hand, believes that Simonides is arguing to the conclusion that it is not easy for a man to be *esthlos*, since his passions may overcome him. On this view, the message of 542 *PMG* is the same as that of 541 *PMG*, where it is said that it is hard to be *esthlos* because greed, lust, and ambition may overcome a man. Donlan's case rests on his taking *sumphora* (16) to mean "a force or passion over which the subject has no control" (84). But he adduces no real parallels to *sumphora* in this sense. Thuc. 1.122.4, where stupidity, softness and indifference are called *sumphorai*, does not help, because it is the disastrous consequences of these qualities that lead to their being called *sumphorai*. Moreover, the verb *kathaireo* (16) is elsewhere used to describe the effect of an externally caused calamity. It hardly fits the effects of passion on a man, for which there is in any case in Greek poetry a special vocabulary.

by the adverb *pampan*, "completely," seems to be used by Semonides in this very same sense.

πάμπαν δ' ἄμωμος οὔ τις οὐδ' ἀκήριος. (fr. 4 W)

Its conjunction with *akerios*, "unharmed," makes it probable that what is meant is that there is no one so blessed by good fortune that there is not something about him with which fault can be found. Simonides then is to be understood to mean that it is impossible to discover a man with whom because he enjoys unblemished good fortune no fault can be found. In saying that, Simonides does no more than give expression to the common Greek belief that no man is fortunate in all respects.[8] That does not constitute rejection of the old heroic ideal of manhood.

The argument of vv. 14–20 as it stands does not support the proposition that it is impossible to be a man free of all blame. All that follows from it is that the man who fares badly will be *kakos*. A premise has to be supplied. That premise must be of the order of, "All men are subject to the vicissitudes of fortune." It is implicit in Simonides' saying that only god could have the privilege of being *esthlos à la* Pittacus. The argument set out in full is: all men are subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, since they are men and not gods; the man whose fortune is bad is *kakos;* therefore no man, but only a god, could be *esthlos à la* Pittacus, that is, *panamomos*.

Bacchylides at the beginning of the Fourteenth Epinician employs a similar argument in support of the conclusion that no man is honored in all respects. He says that it is best for a man to be allotted a fair fate by god, but that misfortune crushes the *esthlos*, while good fortune raises the *kakos* on high. The conclusion drawn is that different men have different things for which they are honored (1–7).

εἰ̂ μὲν εἱμάρθαι παρὰ δαίμ[ονος ἀν-
θρώποις ἄριστον·
σ]υμφορὰ δ' ἐσθλόν ⟨τ'⟩ ἀμαλδύ-
νει β]αρύτλ[ατ]ος μολοῦσα
καὶ τ]ὸν κακ[ὸν] ὑψιφανῆ τεύ-
χει κ]ατορθωθεῖσα· τιμὰν
δ' ἄλ]λος ἀλλοίαν ἔχει·

At Pindar *Nemean* 7.54–56 it is said that we are allotted different things by nature and that no man succeeds in gaining complete good fortune. The parallelism between Bacchylides 14.6f. τιμὰν / δ' ἄλ]λος ἀλλοίαν

[8] Thgn. 167f, 441f; Ba. 5.50ff, fr. 54 Sn.; Aesch. *Ag.* 1341f; Eur. frr. 45, 196.1f, 273.1ff, 661.1f, 757.1f N².

ἔχει, and *Nemean* 7.54f, φυᾷ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες, / ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι, suggests that what Bacchylides means by saying that different men have different honors is that no man is honored in all respects, that is, no man enjoys complete good fortune. A man who is *esthlos* meets with misfortune, while a *kakos* may be elevated by good fortune. The fortune of neither is perfect. Thus, in both Simonides and Bacchylides we have an argument based on the ups and downs of human fortune whose conclusion in one case is that there is no man with whom fault could not be found for something and in the other that no man is honored in all respects. The conclusion is then in both cases the same. Rather than inferring Simonides' direct influence on Bacchylides here we would perhaps be more correct to surmise that the argument was a traditional one.

Although in reaching the same conclusion Bacchylides and Simonides both use an argument which rests on the vicissitudes of human fortune, they seem to have a different view of the effects of prosperity and adversity on men's status as *agathoi* and *kakoi*. Bacchylides seems to imply that though catastrophe may overtake an *esthlos*, he will still be *esthlos* and that prosperity does not make a *kakos* any less *kakos*. Simonides, on the other hand, says quite bluntly that in prosperity a man is *agathos* and in adversity *kakos*. At first sight this difference suggests a conflict of values between Bacchylides and Simonides. The matter is, I believe, less simple.

In early Greek poetry we find two apparently opposing views of the effect of prosperity and adversity on a man's status as *agathos* or *kakos*. After Odysseus, naked and covered with brine, supplicates Nausicaa and asks her to help him, she seeks to console and encourage him by telling him that he does not look like a *kakos* and foolish man but that Zeus assigns *olbos* both to *esthloi* and *kakoi* as he wishes (*Od.* 6.187–190). The implication of her consolation is that she sees that Odysseus is *esthlos*, in spite of the fact that he is utterly destitute. On the evidence of this passage, being *esthlos* and *kakos* is not necessarily tied to prosperity or misfortune.[9]

The same point of view is to be found in a number of passages in Theognis. The *agathos* man has a sound mind in both good and ill (319f); the *agathos* ought to endure both good and ill (398), and the *esthlos*, when he has misfortune, endures it and does not make a public display of it (441f). In all of these passages it is implied that an *agathos* or *esthlos* will remain *agathos* or *esthlos*, though adversity is his lot.

[9] For the same point, cf. *Od.* 4.235–237; *H. hymn. ad. Cer.* 213–217.

Theognis also says explicitly that many *kakoi* are rich, while *agathoi* are poor (315–318, Sol. fr. 15 W). He goes on to say that he will not exchange *arete* for wealth, as the one is constant while the other passes from man to man. Pindar also, to judge from the Third Pythian, where he says that *agathoi*, when confronted by misfortune, turn what is fair to the outside (82f), believed that a man will remain *agathos* in spite of misfortune. Conversely, a man may be blessed with prosperity and still be *kakos* or *deilos*.[10]

*Arete*, then, from this point of view is a quality which a man continues to possess even in misfortune. The man who possesses it is not carried away by good fortune into acting out of *hybris*, nor does he in bad fortune lapse into despair and futile lamentation, but he bears up under it. To be *agathos*, then, is to possess certain traits of character.

Alongside the belief that the man who is *agathos* remains *agathos*, even though his fortunes are down, we have a seemingly contradictory belief, that once a man is impoverished or loses his social standing, he is no longer *agathos*. Alcaeus commends the saying of Aristodemus that money is the man and no poor man is *esthlos* and held in esteem (fr. Z 37 L-P).[11] Theognis complains that those who formerly dwelt outside the city wearing deerskins are now *agathoi*, while those who were *esthloi* are now *deiloi* (53–58). Bacchylides, in comparing wealth with true renown, says that he knows the great power of wealth, which makes the useless man *chrestos* (10.49–51).

The contradiction which seems to exist between the belief that the *agathos* remains *agathos* no matter what happens to him and the belief that when a man loses his social standing or becomes impoverished, he is no longer *agathos* may be resolved by positing two senses of *agathos* and *esthlos* when applied to men, a primary and central sense, used of men who have certain traits of character, and a secondary and derivative sense, employed to refer to men who stand at the top of the social ladder.[12]

[10] Thgn. 321f, 393–397, 443f; Ba. 1.160f.

[11] Cf. Hes. *Erg.* 686; Pi. *Isthm.* 2.9–11.

[12] A. W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility* (Oxford 1960), believes that in early Greek poetry and in most of the literature of the classical period only the second sense exists. He writes of 542 *PMG*: "Simonides is merely recording a fact about traditional Greek values: if a man 'fares well,' whether in winning a battle or a race, or in becoming prosperous, he is *agathos;* whereas if he does not fare well . . . he is *kakos*" (166). I do not think that Simonides is recording a fact about traditional Greek values here. He is recording the way in which people may speak on occasion of the effects of success or prosperity on a man's social status, but that is not to say that they believe that a man who fares well is really *agathos*, and *kakos* if he fares badly.

The latter sense may well be used by a speaker without favorable commendatory force; that is, a speaker may describe a man as *agathos* and not feel that there is anything admirable about the man to whom he so refers. Theognis (53–58) and Bacchylides (10.49–51) clearly do not admire those whom they describe as *agathoi* and *chrestoi*. In sum, a man whose material prosperity is destroyed will from one point of view no longer be *agathos*, but from another, if he continues to display the traits of character that mark off the *agathos*, he will still be *agathos*.

Simonides uses *esthlos* and *kakos* in their secondary and derivative sense because being *esthlos à la* Pittacus, as he chooses to construe it, is itself in large measure dependent upon unblemished prosperity. So by treating the conditions of being *esthlos* and *kakos* as ones directly dependent upon prosperity and adversity, he is able to show that being *esthlos à la* Pittacus is impossible for any man, since it demands a life untroubled by the vicissitudes of fortune. There is no particular reason to think that Simonides himself in fact subscribed to this view of what it was to be *esthlos*.

Simonides' criticism of the notion that it is hard to be really *agathos*, made four-square without blame, in hands and feet and mind amounts in essence to saying that such a condition cannot be attained by man, since man is by nature beset by the vicissitudes of fortune. In rejecting Pittacus' *esthlos* man for this reason, Simonides does not call into question the old heroic ideal of manhood, since the possibility of unblemished felicity is not something that is envisaged in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. In both poems we find exactly the same teaching about man's lot as we find in archaic and classical Greek literature. What Simonides says about it being a waste of time to search for a man free of all blame is in strict accord with what is said about the human condition in Homer.

The gods have made it the lot of wretched mortals that they should live in grief, Achilles tells Priam (*Il.* 24.525f). He explains that on the floor of Zeus' house there are two jars of ill and one of good. When Zeus gives a mixture of these to a man, that man sometimes meets with ill and sometimes with good.[13] But if he gives a man evil only, then that man is an object of abuse, driven across the earth by a gadfly and honored by neither gods nor men (527–533). Thus at best man has a mixture of good and ill in his life.[14]

[13] Cf. *Od.* 15.487–491, where Odysseus consoles Eumaeus, saying that Zeus had set good beside ill for him.

[14] Achilles' assertion that man is born to live in grief tends to support those who understand v. 527f to mean that there are two jars of ill and one of good.

Related to the belief that no man is allotted unmixed good fortune is the belief that if the gods give one good quality to a man, they will deprive him of another. Polydamas criticizes Hector for thinking that he surpasses other men in good counsel because the gods have given him ability in war. Zeus gives one man the ability to fight, another the ability to dance, another the ability to play the lyre and sing, and yet another wisdom (*Il.* 13.727–733).[15] The Muse is said to have loved the Phaeacian singer, Demodocus, greatly, but to have given him both good and bad. She deprived him of his eyes, but gave him the gift of sweet song (*Od.* 8.63f).

In Homer, then, there is the same pessimistic assessment of the limitations of man's lot that we find in Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides. Human happiness is always flawed. No man is born with all the gifts that the gods can bestow. Simonides' view of man's lot is a traditional one.

After declaring that he will not waste time on a fruitless search for the all-perfect man, Simonides says that he will announce his discovery, if he does come across such a man (21–26). He then says, "But all men who do nothing *aischron* willingly I praise and love, but not even the gods fight necessity" (27–30). The structure of the poem up to this point consists in the rejection of an impossible ideal of human perfection followed by the poet's announcing that he praises and loves all men who conform to what is evidently supposed to be an attainable ideal. The setting up of one or more objects of possible praise as a device to focus attention on what is to be praised by way of contrast or to be rejected in favor of what is to be praised is a technique of composition well known in ancient poetry.[16] Simonides is here using the rejection of the man who is without blame as a way of setting up for praise the sort of man that he admires. His assertion of his preference in the first person for the sort of man who does nothing *aischron* willingly is characteristic of this mode of composition.[17]

The formula of rejection that Simonides employs, that he will not cast a portion of his life into a vain and unachievable hope searching

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Pi. *Pyth.* 3.80f understands the passage in this way. Plat. *Resp.* 379d has two jars only.

[15] Cf. *Il.* 23.667–671, where Epeios boasts that he is the best boxer, though lacking in battle, for it is not possible for a man to be skilled in everything.

[16] Elroy L. Bundy, *Studia Pindarica* I, Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Phil. 18 (1962) 4–11, discusses the priamel as a foil to the object to be praised. The priamel, however, is not the only form that a foil can take.

[17] Cf. Sa. fr. 16.3f L-P; Tim. 727.2 *PMG;* Eur. *Ba.* 910f.

for what is not able to be (21–25), occurs also in Pindar's Eighth Nemean.

> τοὔνεκεν οὔ ποτ' ἐγὼ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι
> δυνατὸν διζήμενος κενεὰν ἐς ἄ-
> πρακτον ἐλπίδα μοῖραν αἰῶνος βαλέω,
> πανάμωμον ἄνθρωπον, εὐρυεδέος ὅσοι
> καρπὸν αἰνύμεθα χθονός·

In that poem, Pindar declares that it is impossible to bring the soul of Megas, the victor's father, back to life. Vain is the end of empty hopes (44f).

> τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίξαι
> οὔ μοι δυνατόν· κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος·

But, he goes on, it is easy to set up a stone of the Muses, that is, to compose a poem of praise (46–48).[18] Thus, in both rejection formulae we have doing the impossible rejected as a vain hope. From the presence of this formula in both poems we may infer that it was a conventional device for rejecting one thing in favor of another; that is, it was part of the common stock of formulae of which lyric poets availed themselves.

Not only is the structure of the argument of Simonides' poem conventional, but there is also a similarity of both form and content to Pindar *Nemean* 7.54–60, Bacchylides 14.1–11, and Pindar *Nemean* 6.1–11. In the Seventh Nemean the topic of the nonexistence of unalloyed good fortune serves as a foil to praise of the excellences that Fate has granted the father of the recipient of the poem. We all differ, Pindar says, in the gifts that we are allotted. It is impossible for one man to acquire complete good fortune. He is unable to name any man to whom Fate granted lasting good fortune (54–58).

> φυᾷ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες,
> ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἓν' ἀδύνατον
> εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω
> εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον
> ὤρεξε.

But Thearion, the father of the victor, he continues, has been granted by Fate a fitting opportunity for good fortune and his mind was not blunted as he essayed noble deeds (58–60). Here, as in Simonides, complete good fortune is rejected as an impossibility for any man.

[18] *Elaphron* (46) is Sandys' emendation. If correct, it is an instance of the topic of according praise as a light task for a poet (cf. Pi. *Nem.* 7.77, *Isthm.* 1.45f).

Simonides says that he will not waste time searching for it, but that he will make an announcement, if he does come across such a man. Pindar says that he is unable to name anyone who possesses complete felicity. The occurrence in both poems of the theme of announcing the existence of the man whose good fortune is unblemished suggests the existence of a formula of rejection consisting in the declaration that the poet is unable to name a completely perfect man. The formula exists in its basic form in Pindar. Simonides employs a more sophisticated version of it.

We have already taken note of the parallelism between the beginning of the Fourteenth Epinician of Bacchylides and Simonides' argument against the existence of the man who is *esthlos à la* Pittacus. Bacchylides argues that as misfortune crushes the *esthlos*, while success raises the *kakos* on high, different men have different honors, a way of saying that no man is honored in everything (1–7). He proceeds to say that there are ten thousand *aretai*, of which one is preeminent, that through which a man guides what is at hand with just mind (8–11).[19] In the lines that follow Bacchylides explains why *dikaiosune* is preeminent among *aretai*. The sound of the lyre and choruses in time of battle are unfitting. So too is the blare of the trumpet in time of festivity. There is a right occasion for each deed.[20] God also helps the man who does the right thing (12–30). Bacchylides has then employed the topic of man's imperfect condition as a foil for singling out for praise a quality which he asserts is all-important in human life.[21] It is a quality which is presumably not subject to the vicissitudes of fortune.

In the Sixth Nemean, Pindar first emphasizes the difference between men and gods. Men are as nothing, while the gods have an ever-sure (*asphales*) seat.[22] But men, nonetheless, do resemble the gods in mind or body, although they do not know what fate has marked out for them. The victor, Alcimedes, now bears witness to the nature that he has inherited, which is like grain-bearing fields, which sometimes are productive and sometimes fallow. He follows in the tracks of his father's father, who in his turn had revived the fame that the family had had from Socleides (1–22). In this poem, then, also we have the topic of man's imperfection used as a foil to praise of the varied fortunes of a single house.

After the expression of preference for the man who does nothing

[19] This is reminiscent of the importance accorded *dikaiosune* at Thgn. 147, where all *arete* is said to be summed up in *dikaiosune*.

[20] For this maxim, cf. Thgn. 410f; Pi. *Ol.* 13.47f, *Pyth.* 9.78f.

[21] Bundy (above, n. 16) 15f has a brief discussion of the poem's form.

[22] Cf. Pi. *Pyth.* 3.86–88 and Hdt. 186.6 for the lot of a man not being *asphales*.

*aischron* willingly, there is a further lacuna in the text. In the passage that follows the lacuna the poet says that he is not fond of casting blame. The sort of man who will satisfy him is one who is not *kakos* nor excessively helpless (*apalamnos*),[23] but one who understands *dike* which benefits a city, a sound (*hugies*) man (33–36). *Kakos* is almost certainly used here in a moral sense in contrast to the social sense that it has in v. 18. Simonides goes on to say that he will not find fault with such a man, as the race of fools is without limit (36–38). The poem ends with the statement that all that is *kalon* has nothing *aischron* mixed with it (39f), an apparent resumption of the praise of the man who does nothing *aischron* willingly of vv. 27–29.

Simonides picks up the topic of the man who is made four-square without blame of v. 3 and the man free of all blame of v. 24 in saying that he is not fond of casting blame (*philopsogos*, 33) and that he will not find fault (*ou . . . momesomai*, 36f). He is not going to find fault with a man because that man is not without flaw.

Simonides' earnest disavowals of faultfinding, however, have further meaning for those versed in the conventions of archaic Greek lyric poetry. They are reminiscent of the preoccupation with not being a faultfinder that Pindar and Bacchylides exhibit in their epinicia. In Pindar and Bacchylides, *momos* and *psogos* are for the most part not neutral terms. Both words may have bad connotations. Thus *kakegoria*, "evil talk," is associated at *Pythian* 2.52–56 with being *psogeros*, "faultfinding." *Momos* is the product of envy (*phthonos*) at *Olympian* 6.74, at *Pythian* 1.81–86 and at Bacchylides 13.199–203. *Kakegoria* and *phthonos* are linked at *Olympian* 1.47–52, while *kakologia* and *phthonos* are found together at *Pythian* 11.28f. Therefore, *momos* and *psogos* are not just "blame," but have strong overtones of denigration and calumny. They are the sort of denigratory talk to which *phthonos* gives rise.

Pindar and Bacchylides eschew envious denigration because their proclaimed purpose is to accord due praise to noble deeds.[24] The man who fattens on envy is unable to do that.[25] When Simonides says that he is not *philopsogos* and he will not cast *momos*, we should perhaps understand him to mean that he is no envious-spirited carper, and that whoever does not, as he does, praise the man who does nothing *aischron* willingly is a jealous denigrator.

Simonides supports his refusal to find fault by saying that the race of fools (*elithioi*) is without bound (37f). His train of thought seems to be:

[23] On *apalamnos*, see B. A. van Groningen, *Théognis: Le premier livre* (Amsterdam 1966) 113, who gives the word here the meaning, *méchant, criminel.*

[24] *Nem.* 8.35–39; Ba. 13.199–203.

[25] Ba. 3.67f, 5.187–190.

I shall not find fault with the sound man who understands *dike* that helps a city for such men are uncommon as the race of fools is without bound. Simonides will not, then, disparage the sound man, since such a man has merits that the mass of men do not have. In other words, Simonides will accord praise where it is due and will not find fault unnecessarily. The notion that the poet has an obligation to praise where praise is due and to blame only where that is appropriate occurs in Pindar's Eighth Nemean. There, Pindar prays that in death he may win the favor of his fellow citizens by having praised the praiseworthy and cast blame on wrongdoers (38f). Gorgias in his *Encomium Helenae* makes the same point. It is necessary, he says, to honor with praise that which is worthy of praise and to place blame on what is unworthy (DK 82 B 11.1).[26] Gorgias will in all likelihood have got that topic from encomiastic poetry. In sum, Simonides uses topics that are also found in epinician poetry to create the impression that the praise he bestows on the man who does nothing *aischron* willingly is sincerely given and well-merited.

Much of what has been written about the sort of man whom Simonides says that he praises and loves has been vitiated by the assumption that the poet is sketching a new ideal of what it is to be *agathos* to replace the old heroic ideal. I have already argued that Simonides' strictures are not directed against the old heroic ideal of *arete* but against the notion that a man of unflawed perfection could ever exist. There is not one word in the poem to suggest that what Simonides is trying to do is to redefine *arete*. Nor is there any evidence that Simonides saw himself as a moral philosopher or even that the lyric poets of the archaic age wrote philosophical disquisitions on ethics. Moreover, it does not seem very likely that Simonides would have chosen to set forth revolutionary doctrines about what it was to be an *agathos* man in a poem addressed to and, no doubt, commissioned by a Thessalian nobleman. For these reasons I believe that those who have attempted to show that Simonides is recommending that intentionality and justice should form part of the criteria for what it is to be *agathos* are misguided.

There is a further reason for thinking that Simonides' praise of the man who does nothing *aischron* willingly is not to be taken as a definition of a new and morally more developed notion of *arete*. It is, as I shall argue, that the praise is intended for the poem's recipient, Scopas. It would be dangerous to assume that the qualities for which a man is praised are elements in what it is to be *agathos*.

[26] Cf. Thgn. 1079f.

It has been suggested that the poem is a consolation for Scopas on the ground that the topic of no man's being blessed with unblemished good fortune occurs in it.[27] But that in itself is not a sufficient reason for classifying the poem as a consolation. The topic of the vicissitudes of man's lot and the impossibility of complete good fortune is to be found in the epinicia of Pindar and Bacchylides, but the presence of that topic does not make these epinicia consolations. In fact, as we have seen, the topic may serve as a foil to point up praise of a man or a virtue. The topic of the nonexistence of the man who is completely free of blame in our poem is sufficiently explained as a foil to praise of a kind of excellence that is within man's reach.

We know from Plato (*Prt.* 339a) that our poem was addressed to Scopas, son of Creon, the Thessalian. Plato will almost certainly have found this information in the poem itself. The fact that Scopas was addressed in this way in the poem should help in identifying the genre to which it belongs. I have already argued that there is nothing particularly consolatory about the poem. It is clearly not a *threnos.* It is not an epinician ode, so far as we can judge from what remains of it. But its topics and formulae are also found in the epinicia of Pindar and Bacchylides. Therefore, Simonides is writing in the way that Pindar and Bacchylides write in composing encomiastic poetry. Suidas gives a list of the forms of poetry composed by Simonides.[28] One of them is *encomia.* Encomium is a category apparently invented by the Alexandrians to encompass the poems of praise sung after dinner, which in the early fifth century had been called *skolia.*[29] Dicaearchus (Schol. Plat. *Grg.* 451e) seems to say that there were three types of poems called *skolia* sung after banquets: those sung by all the symposiasts, those sung by individuals in turn, and those sung by *sunetotatoi,* "the skilled." The first are the paeans sung to Apollo at the end of the dinner, the second are the simple stanzas that were later to usurp the name *skolia,* while the third are poems sung to the lyre. Simonides' poem should perhaps be placed in this last category.[30]

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[27] So Parry 310–316.

[28] S.v. Simonides, Leoprepous. The list does not inspire confidence. It is: *threnoi, encomia,* epigrams, paeans, tragedies, and others.

[29] On these *skolia,* see A. E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* n.s. 5 (1955) 174f. Cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Pindare au banquet* (Leyden 1960) 11–18.

[30] So also Gentili 295, though not for exactly the same reasons.

# ΥΒΡΙΣ AND PLANTS

ANN MICHELINI

ΥΒΡΙΣ among human beings is well explained by N. R. E. Fisher in a recent article as behavior involving a "breach of status," a failure to accord honor (τιμή) as it is deserved.[1] Fisher argues that all usages of ὕβρις can be sufficiently explained on this basis, and that other instances — such as those collected by MacDowell where ὕβρις applies to animals — are likely to be very much secondary to the human model.[2] I would argue instead that, sparse as the references to non-human ὕβρις are, they are important and revealing. Ὕβρις among human beings is, as Fisher says, generally conceived from the viewpoint of the sufferer, who labels someone else's behavior as hybristic, that is, damaging to one's properly assigned rank or status. But, though it works well in most legal and social contexts, this view leaves the thing itself, and the ὑβριστής himself, still in the shadows. If we ask instead what underlies ὕβρις or who the ὑβριστής is and how he became what he is, attention must be shifted from the victim back to the violator. These were in fact the questions that necessarily exercised poets such as Solon and Aeschylus who, long before the development of prose moral philosophy, treated ὕβρις as a principle affecting social groups as well as individuals. Ὕβρις, once abstracted from its various human instances, can be seen as part of a broader tendency in human nature.

If one is concerned with ὕβρις in itself, the examples of animal ὕβρις become more important, since animal behavior cannot involve the same social questions and the same emphasis on the victim that typifies other references to ὕβρις outside poetry. When animals act hybristically, they seem to be generally unruly; and they seem to get into this condition

[1] N. R. E. Fisher, "*Hybris* and Dishonour: I," *G & R* 23 (1976) 177–193.

[2] D. M. MacDowell, "*Hybris* in Athens," in *G & R* 23 (1976) 14–31. His conclusion, that ὕβρις is "energy or power," may underplay the malignant aspect of the term; but it does not contradict the conclusion of Fisher on human ὕβρις, namely that a loss of τιμή is likely to be involved. In spite of Fisher's arguments, however, Herodotus 2.32.3 is an example of ὕβρις taken as morally neutral. The young explorers are hybristic in that they tend to *any* "excessive" activity — including exploration, an activity which violates nobody's τιμή.

as a result of high feeding, as MacDowell suggests.[3] Unfortunately, direct confirmation of a correlation between feeding and hybristic behavior in animals does not seem to appear in any author earlier than Plutarch, though tantalizing hints abound.[4] The connection, if it could be made firmly, would be most significant, because it would help to explain a signal feature of the mysterious ὕβρις of the poets, its continual association with κόρος, or satiety, an association so close that the terms virtually substitute for each other in many cases.[5] While it is true that κόρος is used metaphorically in all periods, the concrete meaning of the word is never in doubt: "satiety" means having enough, or too much, to eat.[6]

While attempts to trace ὕβρις through animal life are frustrating, though suggestive, there is another source for terminology about ὕβρις that is even further removed from the exchange of social prerogatives, that clarifies several moral and social difficulties centering around ὕβρις, and that ties it closely and unambiguously with surfeit. That source is the life of plants. The relation of the vegetable world to ὕβρις seems largely to have escaped the notice of scholars, but it is worth attention. While the noun itself seems not to be used of plants outside of poetry, the verbs ὑβρίζω and ἐξυβρίζω are used in the botanical texts of Theophrastus — and once in Aristotle — to refer to excessive growth and exuberance in plants.[7] The places are as follows:

[3] "*Hybris* in Athens" (above, n. 2) 15–16. For animal behavior under the influence of food, cf. the remedy of Aegisthus in Aesch. *Ag.* 1640–1642 and Sophocles 764N = 848P. For κριθᾶν in the *Ag.* passage, cf. Pollux *Onom.* 7.23 and Athenaeus 14.663b.

[4] For Plutarch cf. *Quaest. Rom.* 280f, in text below; also Xen. *Hiero* 10.2, Aelian *N.A.* 10.10. The references to hybristic asses are especially interesting; cf. MacDowell (above, n.2) 15 on *Wasps* 1303ff, and Xen. *An.* 5.8.3 — cited by Fisher (above, n.1) 190. The ass's appetite was proverbial; cf. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi* (1851; rpt. Olms 1958) I.6.100 (p. 286), II.12.78 (p. 563), and Philemon 188K.

[5] Ὕβρις and κόρος are related; but it is unclear which is parent and which is child. Cf. MacDowell (above, n.2) 16 and n.7; and D. H. Abel, "Genealogies of Ethical Concepts," *TAPA* 74 (1943) 92. In the causal sequence "wealth — κόρος/ὕβρις — ἄτη," κόρος and ὕβρις do not appear together but alternate in the middle slot; cf. R. E. Doyle, "*ΟΛΒΟΣ, ΚΟΡΟΣ, ΥΒΡΙΣ*, and ATH from Hesiod to Aeschylus," *Traditio* 26 (1970) 293–303. The interchangeability of the two terms suggests their virtual equivalence.

[6] In Solon 4W.8–10, after a mention of the ὕβρις of the leaders of the demos, κόρος appears, followed by a banquet metaphor that plays on the concrete meaning of the word. Cf. also Pindar *Ol.* 1.55–56.

[7] The botanical texts referred to are all from Theophrastus and Aristotle, but the terminology is not a special invention of theirs. Both Theophrastus' botanical

Aristotle *De generatione animalium* 725b35 — a reference to "goating" vines —

αἱ διὰ τὴν τροφὴν ἐξυβρίζουσιν.

Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 2.7.6 — of a drastic treatment given the almond tree —

ὡς ὑβρίζον τὸ δένδρον.

Theophrastus *De causis plantarum* 2.16.8 — on the almond tree in rich soil —

βαθείας γὰρ οὔσης καὶ πιείρας ἐξυβρίσασαι διὰ τὴν εὐτροφίαν ἀκαρποῦσι.

Ibid. 3.1.5 — on lupine under the same conditions —

ἄκαρπος γίνεται καθάπερ ὑλομανῶν καὶ ἐξυβρίζων.

Ibid. 3.6.8 — (cf. 2.16.8 above) —

εἰ μὴ ὅσα διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν λαμβάνοντα πλῆθος τροφῆς ἐξυβρίζει, καθάπερ ἡ ἀμυγδαλῆ.

Ibid. 3.15.4 — Some authorities say that certain (grape) vines must be pruned early —

ὅσα τῶν γενῶν ὑβριστικὰ τοῦ ἦρος ὅπως διεσκεδασμένου τοῦ ὑγροῦ καὶ τμηθείσης ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦτ' ἀπορρυῇ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ πεττούσας τοῦτ' ὑβρίζειν ἄλλως καὶ ἐκκλη ματοῦσθαι.[8]

In almost every case there is a clearly evident connection between "hybristic" plants and πλῆθος τροφῆς, or in poetic terms, κόρος. Here

works draw upon a number of earlier works, among which are technical treatises by authors such as Androtion, the oral reports of gardeners and farmers, and earlier generalizations by such obscure φυσιολόγοι as the Sybarite Menestor. For Androtion, cf. *Hist. Pl.* 2.7.2, 2.7.3, and *Caus. Pl.* 3.10.4. The citations deal with affinities between the olive and the myrtle. The references to Menestor are in Diels-Kranz (*Vorsokr.* I, 375–376). A useful discussion of sources appeared in an early article by O. Kirchner, "Die botanischen Schriften des Theophrast von Eresos," in *Jahrb. f. cl. Phil. Suppl.* n.s. 7 (1875) 505–511. For an example of source use, cf. the following note.

[8] This is the only place where Theophrastus uses ὑβρίζειν or ὑβριστικός, instead of the less vivid ἐξυβρίζειν. The appearance of these words in this passage must be due to the fact that the author is quoting — at length and in indirect form — from an unnamed source. While ἐξυβρίζειν may have been preferred by Aristotle's school, this quotation indicates that in Theophrastus' sources the ὕβρις terminology was more widespread and less stereotyped.

at least is a link between over-nurture and ὕβρις that rests on more than a metaphor, or a presumption that friskiness results from extra rations of barley. But what is "hybristic" for a plant? The plants in question are ἄκαρπα; instead of bearing, they react to abundant nurture by wasting themselves on leaf production. They "go to branches — ἐκκλη̣ματοῦσθαι — " or become "wood-mad — ὑλομανεῖν."[9] The latter term, and the related φυλλομανεῖν, suggest that this sort of plant behavior is — like madness — abnormal, a kind of disease.[10] Theophrastus lists among diseases associated with over-nurture a condition of vines called τραγᾶν, "goating," in which the vines produce an abundance of leaves and flowers but are unable to ripen fruit. Aristotle refers — in the passage cited above — to this condition as an instance of the plant ἐξυβρίζων through excessive nurture.[11] Plato — in *Laws* 691c — mentions ἐξυβρίζειν as the condition "in bodies" that might precede disease, and which is the correlative of ὕβρις in souls. Plutarch (*Moral.* 280F) uses the word in a discussion of animal misbehavior:

> ἢ διὰ κόρον καὶ πλησμονὴν ἐξυβρίζουσι καὶ
> βόες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι καὶ ἄνθρωποι;

Thus ἐξυβρίζειν in animals, humans, and plants stems from superabundance of nurture. It may be termed either misbehavior or disease, or "madness," that is, misbehavior as disease.

Misbehavior in plants is both simpler and more limited than in animals and humans; and it involves no questions of τιμή, thus permitting a broader definition. The ὑβρίζων organism — whether human, animal, or vegetable — puts self-aggrandizement before the

[9] Theophrastus' theory attributes the aberrations of such plants to inability to digest (πέττειν) or assimilate (κρατεῖν) liquid nurture, *Caus. Pl.* 2.4.3. This reflects Aristotelian notions that what is "left-over" — τὸ περίττωμα — is the source of propagation (τὸ γόνιμον); cf. *Gen. An.* 725a11–b25. Excessive size and volume of the organism also reduce the περίττωμα and are thus harmful to fertility, or — in the case of plants — prevent the ripening of the fruit, cf. *Caus. Pl.* 1.17.9–10.

[10] For φυλλομανεῖν cf. *Hist. Pl.* 8.7.4. Cf. also the odd case of "mad" vines mentioned in *Caus. Pl.* 1.18.4 and Ps. Aristotle *Mir. Ausc.* 846a.38. They grow normally and produce bunches of grapes which they are unable to bring to fruition. This is a condition almost exactly like τραγᾶν mentioned below.

[11] Τραγᾶν: cf. Theophrastus on diseases of over-nurture, *Caus. Pl.* 5.9.10–13, as well as *Hist. Pl.* 4.14.6. Cf. also the curious term κρειττοῦσθαι or κρείττωσις in *Hist. Pl.* 4.14.6 and *Caus. Pl.* 5.9.13. It relates to vines that are "shedders" — ῥυάδες. Cf. the remarks of A. Hort (in the Loeb edition 1916; rpt. 1968), who comments that κρείττωσις is "evidently a technical term." The two conditions are mentioned together and are clearly related: the ῥυάς, becoming too strong a grower, fails to set fruit.

performance of the social role assigned to it. As one moves up the biological scale from plants, social roles become more complex and even contradictory. Cultivated plants have a strikingly simple relation to their "masters," if so we may call the human being who cultivates the plant. For the farmer, one test — the quality, quantity, and reliability of the harvest — determines absolutely the usefulness of the plants he cultivates. In its relation to its human master the plant is wholly enslaved. The needs of the plant's own nature can always be set aside, and it can be safely subjected to any mutilation or repression, provided productivity is increased.[12] Animals, whose uses are more varied, offer the master a choice between obedienee and initiative that must often be hard to make; and humans must be given even more latitude. It is only in the case of plants that the logical connections between an excessive degree of well-being — that is, exuberant health, due to abundant nurture — and a lack of social utility are both convincing and unambiguous. The essential question about *κόρος* as a source of *ὕβρις*, "How much is too much?", is for vegetable life relatively easy to answer.

The horticultural vocabulary has varying reflections in poetry. The puzzling reference to the *νάρθηκας ὑβριστάς* in *Bacchae* 113 seems less bizarre in this light. The earlier part of the strophe strongly emphasizes the vegetable abundance of the smilax and ivy (106ff) which, when they crowned the narthex, transformed it into the thyrsus or bacchic wand.[13] For the most part the translation from practical horticulture to metaphor is broad rather than precise. The *ὑβρίζων* plant cheats the farmer of a harvest, but *ὕβρις* in poetry is more likely to produce a negative or oxymoronic harvest of death and ruin (*ἄτη*). *"Υβρις* itself may be blooming or "shooting forth" (*θάλλων*) as in two fine passages from Bacchylides (15.57ff) and Aeschylus (*Suppliants* 104ff). In the latter, the "stalk of *ὕβρις* grows anew" (*νεάζει πυθμήν*), perhaps like an olive stump which, cut off, can still burst into new leafage. *"Ατη*, a term

[12] On the distinction between the plant's survival needs and the farmer's demands, cf. *Caus. Pl.* 1.21. 2. An extreme case was the grape vine; the dominant plant in Greek horticulture was subjected to a particularly rigid regime of pruning and leaf stripping that was carried on continuously through the growing season. Details appear in the third and fourth books of Columella. Cf. *Claus. Pl.* on pruning, 3.14.1; and 3.7.7: no other plant is as vigorous, so that pruning must be done very frequently (cf. *Hist. Pl.* 2.7.2).

[13] Cf. the comments of E. R. Dodds in his edition (2nd ed. Oxford 1960) 82 on the "strange phrase," and the relation of narthex to thyrsus. On Dionysiac associations of burgeoning vegetation, cf. n.12 on the vine, and the note of J. Roux in her edition (Paris 1972) to line 107 = II 281–282.

almost as closely associated with ὕβρις in poetry as is κόρος, often appears with ὕβρις in botanical metaphors.[14] In Solon εὐνομίη "stops κόρος, darkens ὕβρις, and withers the flowers of ἄτη as they grow" (4W). Aeschylus also, in a powerful couplet in the *Persians* (821–822) has ὕβρις flowering:

> ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
> ἄτης ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾷ θέρος.[15]

Ὕβρις, possessing great powers of generation and renewal, becomes a prolific parent of malign offspring, among them κόρος, ἀδικία, or even a new ὕβρις.[16] These parentings seem on the surface to contradict flatly what we know of the plant ὑβρίζων, which ought to be "barren" and "unfruitful," since it wastes itself on leaves and growth. But offspring, in fact, are seldom treated as the fruit of the parent tree in Greek; children are far more likely to be called off-shoots or branches. Male seed (σπέρμα) in the maternal field, σπείρας ἄρουραν, produces a root, ῥίζαν αἱματόεσσαν ἔτλα (Aeschylus *Seven against Thebes* 755), or a seedling. The "fruit of the womb" is likely to be — as in *Bacchae* 1306 — a sprout, ἔρνος τῆς νηδύος. The metaphor of the sprouting branch, very dominant in Greek poetry, has the advantage of coherency in picturing the offspring as a miniature of the parent.[17] Propagation by shoot was common in Greek agriculture for a number of important crops, among them the olive and the vine. Thus, unproductiveness in a plant would not necessarily be associated, as it would in English, with being "barren" or "unfruitful"; and vigorous branching could be seen

[14] The link between ἄτη and vegetable imagery may be strenthened by the apparent etymology of ἀτάσθαλος, a word often associated with ὕβρις in epic (e.g., *Od.* 17.588; 20.170, 370, etc.). The short quantity in the first syllable of ἀτάσθαλος makes it unlikely that the word does derive from ἄτη; cf. H. Frisk, *Gr. etym. Wörterbuch* s.v. ἀτάσθαλος. But cf. Hesych. (Latte α 8026): ἀτασθαλίαι . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς ἄταις θάλλειν. For the meaning of ἀτάσθαλος, given the assumed connection to ἄτη, cf. J. C. Kamerbeek's note in *Mnemos* ser. 4 7 (1954) 156.

[15] Cf. also Aesch. *Sept.* 601, where ἄτη appears alone in a similar analogy.

[16] For ἀδικία cf. Plato, *Leg.* 691c, mentioned in text above. For relations to κόρος, cf. n.5 above. Logically, κόρος should precede ὕβρις; but in Pindar *Ol.* 13.10 and the oracle of Bakis quoted by Herodotus 8.77.1, ὕβρις is the parent. For the new ὕβρις, cf. *Ag.* 764, in text below.

[17] The examples are legion, and in fact the use in poetry of such words as βλαστάνω, ἔρνος, or φυτεύω for human families is so common as hardly to be noticed. Odysseus' compliment to Nausicaa is an elaborate development of this traditional motif. Cf. R. Merkelbach, "*ΚΟΡΟΣ*," in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 80, on the derivation of κόρος, "youth," from the meaning "tree branch." The pun in which κόρος, "satiety," becomes κόρος, "youth," may have been one reason for the family relation between κόρος and ὕβρις as child and mother.

as expressing a drive to self-perpetuation. In *Agamemnon* 764, old ὕβρις bears (τίκτει, an animal and human term) a new ὕβρις, νεάζουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν, just as the plant of ὕβρις "renewed" itself in the *Suppliants* (104ff).

The flourishing growth of ὕβρις, as in the hybristic plant, may be prone to disease, does not last long, and leads to nothing of permanent value:

οὐ γὰρ δὴν θνητοῖς ὕβριος ἔργα πέλει.[18]

Sudden disaster may follow the quick, hybristic expansion; or the latter may be seen in more benign terms as a phenomenon of youth, since the young are known to be prone to hybristic behavior. In a Sophoclean fragment (718N-786P),

ὕβρις δέ τοι
οὐπώποθ' ἥβης εἰς τὸ σῶφρον ἵκετο
ἀλλ' ἐν νέοις ἀνθεῖ τε καὶ πάλιν φθίνει.

The same metaphor of flowering, withered before the fruit, seems in this passage to imply that time is a cure from the youthful ὑβρίζων; but the connection between ὕβρις and early, sudden growth is preserved.

The vegetable metaphor makes a direct line of connection from nurture to growth, to early maturing and sterility, and finally to disease and downfall. What produces health — τροφή, which is water for plants and food for animals — can produce disease. The paradox is stated more drastically in a corrupt but haunting passage of the *Agamemnon* (1001ff). *Ὕβρις is not mentioned, but the same complex of ideas circles around the dangers of prosperity. Health itself is said to have an "insatiable goal," ἀκόρεστον τέρμα, since disease, its neighbor, is always close, "pressing against the house-wall," γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει.[19] The oxymoron implies an impossibility: because of the lack of satiation (κόρος), there is no stopping point (τέρμα) for health. Hence, health expands until it verges into unhealthiness. The figure of indefinite expansion applies very nicely to plant growth, also a process without τέρμα. Since a tree reaches no τέλος at maturity (ἥβη) as higher animals do, its eventual size and rate of growth will, in the absence of outside

[18] Solon 13W.16. In Bacchyl. 15 and a passage in Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 876ff, ὕβρις rises up precipitously, only to dash itself down in ruin.

[19] The text of this important passage is faulty, since the first line of the strophe does not respond to the apparently intact antistrophe. But there is no reason to reject ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. For the figure cf. νόμος ἄνομος 1141, or χάρις βίαιος 182. Line 1331 is virtually a gloss on 1002: τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφυ πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν. Cf. Wilamowitz's remarks, *Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931) II 137.

restraint, be limited largely by the availability of τροφή.[20] Plant growth is a good metaphor for what one may call the hybristic process, an uncontrolled extension or expansion that may lead to disaster.

In Solon's poetry this principle is applied to whole areas of human economic and political life. In his longest elegy Solon contrasts wealth "from the gods," which may also be called ὄλβος, with another kind that comes ὑφ' ὕβριος οὐ κατὰ κόσμον.[21] The desirable wealth may be typified as inherited property, rather than what "men get for themselves," presumably through the practice of the trades or professions enumerated later in the same poem. For this acquired wealth — and for the acquisitive itch that produces it — there is no end, οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται, and thus as in the *Agamemnon* passage, no satiation, τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας (71–72). The metaphor of unlimited expansion can apply to the political as well as the economic macrocosm. Military expansiveness, for example, is a process without determined end. Therein lies its danger; as Xerxes' uncle pointed out to him (Herodotus 7.49), an advancing army tends to advance too far, εὐπρηξίης δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ἀνθρώποισι οὐδεμία πληθώρη.[22] Hybristic militarism, and hybristic wealth, ever incorporate what lies outside normal bounds; and unwieldy growth leads to great instability (Bacchyl. 15.57ff):

> ἃ δ' αἰόλοις κέρδεσσι καὶ ἀφροσύναις
> ἐξαισίοις θάλλουσ' ἀθαμβής
> Ὕβρις, ἃ πλοῦτον δύναμίν τε θοῶς
> ἀλλότριον ὤπασεν, αὖτις
> δ' ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον . . .

The cure for the vegetable ὑβρίζων is as straightforward as the cause: by cutting off some of the superfluous growth, the farmer can return

[20] In biological terms, mammalian growth is "terminate," while growth among plants and such lower animals as fish is "indeterminate." Cf. L. von Bertalanffy, "Principles and Theory of Growth," in W. W. Nowinski, *Fundamental Aspects of Normal and Malignant Growth* (New York 1960) 206. Cf. also W. H. Telfer and Donald Kennedy, *The Biology of Organisms* (New York 1965) 258: "the growth of plants, in contrast to that of most animals is a uniquely 'open' system. There is a lifelong process of growth and differentiation . . . [As a result plants have] a unique way of responding to the environment; since they are constantly growing, and since their sessile existence makes the speed requirement less pressing, they can adjust by altering growth rates."

[21] Solon 13W. The phrase ὑφ' ὕβριος of course can also be construed with the preceding verb. Note the muted botanical imagery in line 10: nonhybristic wealth remains ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος ἐς κορυφήν.

[22] Invading nations are open to charges of ὕβρις, something much stressed in Greek assessments of Xerxes' invasion; cf. Bakis' oracle (above, n.16), Aesch. *Pers.* — where this is a major theme — and Theognidea 775W.

the plant to its proper function as a producer of fruit. The usual word for pruning, κολούω, meaning "dock" or "cut short," is related etymologically to the word for punishment, κολάζω, to which it sometimes approaches rather closely in meaning.[23] The metaphorical equivalence of the two becomes literal in the fable of Thrasybulus and Periander, where the former goes through the field "always docking the tallest [τὰ ὑπερέχοντα] of the grain," and thus instructing Periander how to control his people (Herod. 5.92 ζ). Another term, κάθαρσις or διακάθαρσις, used by Theophrastus and others, suggests that pruning is the "purging" of superfluous leafage or branches, so that the plant can become healthier and more productive.[24] The ready application of these pruning terms to human moral and religious life helps to keep alive the perceived bond between vegetable and human exuberance. In a more striking example yet, κολάζω itself in Theophrastus — or more often κόλασις — is used for a drastic process that reduces exuberant growth in almond trees, a species particularly prone to ἐξυβρίζειν. A hole cut in the tree permits the insertion of an iron peg to produce a continual flow of sap, reducing the tree's vigor. Theophrastus also seems to use the term κόλασις for other drastic treatments, such as exposure and pruning of vine roots.[25] The almond tree, after its mutilation, bears better nuts, just as the human ὑβρίζων is presumed to become a better citizen after punishment. Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 2.7.6), struck by the picturesque language, remarks,

> ὃ καὶ καλοῦσί τινες κολάζειν ὡς ὑβρίζον τὸ δένδρον.

The use of these terms, familiar in the context of moral values, for pruning and other "lowering" treatments used on plants indicates that there remained even in the fourth century a strong association in everyday prosaic terminology between human ὑβρίζοντες and ὑβρίζοντα δένδρα. The obviously antisocial quality of the plant's expansive drives, and the efficacy of the mutilations inflicted on it by the farmer in

[23] For metaphorical use of κολούω in nonagricultural contexts, cf. Euripides 626.6N, 92.2N. For the etymological connection, cf. H. Frisk, *Gr. etym. Wörterbuch* s.v. κόλος.

[24] For διακάθαρσις cf. *Caus. Pl.* 3.7.10.

[25] On the process, cf. *Hist. Pl.* 2.7.6, quoted in the list above; and *Caus. Pl.* 1.17.9–10, 2.14.4. On other forms of κόλασις, 3.18.2. Other terms which assimilate the training of the vines to the training of children are παιδεία 3.7.4 and ῥυθμίζειν 3.7.9. Cf. also εὐθύνειν, *Hist. Pl.* 2.7.7: Theophrastus says that it is a special term of the Arcadians, used for a similar treatment given the sorb apple. (These additional terms were pointed out to me by Professor Benedict Einarson, in a letter.)

reducing these drives, were conveniently associated with conflicts between parent and child, or individual and society. Seen in the abstract, the plant as a model of ὕβρις provided a clear illustration of the paradox that enjoyment of a πλῆθος ἀγαθῶν can have bad effects, and that robust health can give way readily to aberrancy and even illness.[26] But the analogy must have appealed most to the poets because it suggests the horror of ὕβρις so powerfully, by linking that destructive principle to one of the great mysteries of ancient ritual, the renewal of life through the rebirth of vegetation.[27]

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[26] On abundance of good things as a source of ὕβρις cf. Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* 1124a.29; Thrasymachus (in Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokr.* II 323); and of course Aristoph. *Wasps* 1304, where Philocleon behaves like an over-fed donkey, εὐθὺς ὡς ἐνέπλητο πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν.

[27] I am grateful to Professor Zeph Stewart for his help in correcting and clarifying this paper.

# DID HERODOTUS EVER GO TO THE BLACK SEA?

O. Kimball Armayor

DOES Herodotus really claim that he went to the Black Sea, and if so, did he? Herodotus' claims on the Black Sea have been a matter of controversy at least from the time of Pierre Larcher in the late eighteenth century, who defended Herodotus' assertion that he questioned the black, woolly-haired Colchians about their descent from king Sesostris' Egyptian soldiers (section III below). Herodotus' historical authority is at stake, on the Scythians and Colchians, and also on the Greek and half-Greek trade and traders emanating from the shores of the Pontus. More important, there is Herodotus' credibility. Can we really believe that he saw and did in the Black Sea that which he talks about? If so, we are all the more ready to believe in his personal experience elsewhere in the *History*. If not, then clearly we must be willing to reappraise such biographical narrative and the meaning of it. If Herodotus was really the father of history, as Cicero put it in *De Legibus* (i.1.15), what kind of father was he?

## I. Herodotus' Measurement of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont (iv.85f)

Herodotus has just offered dimensions for the Pontus, Propontis, Bosporus, and Hellespont (iv.85). Now he explains how they were measured, *μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε* (iv.86). A ship will, for the most part, accomplish 70,000 orguiae in a long day and 60,000 at night. The length of the Pontus is a journey of nine days and eight nights from the mouth of the Pontus to the Phasis, 111 myriad orguiae or 11,100 stades. Likewise, from the Sindic region to Themiscura on the Thermodon river, the width is a voyage of three days and two nights, 33 myriad orguiae, or 3,300 stades.

At this point Herodotus indicates a certain amount of personal involvement with three of the four waters in question (iv.86.4).

> *ὁ μέν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος*
> *οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι . . .*

Most scholars concerned primarily with translation rather than the

problems of the narrative have rightly seen that what Herodotus claims here is nothing less than his own measurement.[1]

But it seems evident from the translations and comments of many scholars in the modern era of travel and archaeology that Herodotus' statement is embarrassing to them. In 1859 George Rawlinson translates,

> Such is the plan on which I have measured the Pontus, the Bosporus, and the Hellespont, and such is the account which I have to give of them.[2]

In other words Herodotus guarantees his own calculation, not participation in the voyages. Likewise, for example, R. W. Macan in 1895, Heinrich Stein in his revised edition of book IV in 1896, How and Wells in 1912 and 1928, J. E. Powell in 1949, Aubrey de Sélincourt in 1954, followed by A. R. Burn in 1972, and P. E. Legrand in his third edition of 1960.[3]

But Herodotus does not seem to be saying that. There seems little point in telling us that the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont are as indicated because he himself did the calculating. Herodotus is not guaranteeing reckoning, but measurement, his own measurement. Thus Jacoby, for example, rightly follows Hildebrandt in claiming on Herodotus' behalf voyages across the length and breadth of the Pontus on the strength of this passage.[4] Prima facie, at least, Herodotus says, "I have measured the Pontus and Bosporus and Hellespont for myself and therefore you can rely on the figures I have given you." Just as he also claims to have confirmed the dimensions of one or more of the pyramids, *ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν* (ii.127.1, "we too measured them"[5]). His claim seems all the more explicit and striking in that he leaves the Propontis out of it. It seems difficult to explain away Herodotus' measurement of these northern waters.

One reason for the embarrassment is that Herodotus' figures are badly wrong in the case of the Black Sea, where Herodotus' error on the length and breadth is one hundred percent and forty percent respectively, while his error on the more familiar Hellespont drops to one in six for both length and breadth, and that on the width of the Propontis

[1] Thus, e.g., Henry Stephens and Laurence Valla, *Herodotus* (Geneva 1570) 111; Henry Cary, *Herodotus* (London 1847) 221; G. C. Macaulay, *The History of Herodotus* (London 1890) i. 326; A. D. Godley, *Herodotus* (Loeb ed. 1921; rev. 1938) ii.289.

[2] George Rawlinson, *Herodotus Vol. III* (1st ed. London 1859) 79.

[3] Cf. also Detlev Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (Berlin 1971) 166.

[4] Felix Jacoby, *RE* Supp. 2.258; cf. for example Heinrich Matzat, *Hermes* 6 (1872) 415ff, and J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge 1939; rpt. Amsterdam 1967) 25.

[5] Cf., e.g., G. C. Macaulay (above, n.1) i.175.

to only one in seven.[6] If these numbers come from sailors' hearsay or a navigator's *periplous* or from Ionian written sources, we can see at a glance why they vary so dramatically in accuracy. But if Herodotus himself really measured we should expect him to be more consistent. Hence, I suggest, the embarrassment of translation. How to explain away the personal involvement without questioning Herodotus' veracity?

More important, perhaps, is the discomfiting picture of Herodotus inherent in the literal translation of these measurements. It is not really very likely, after all, that Herodotus clambered up and down the stony slopes of the pyramids in the cause of measurement. Nor is it really very likely that Herodotus sailed the length and breadth of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont measuring as he went, and for the sake of numbers that he or a predecessor might have gleaned from a ship's captain of Samos or an Ionian navigator's guide. All in the face of Herodotus' belief that the Sea of Azov is the mother of the Black Sea and not much smaller (iv.86.4).

It seems more likely that here as in the case of the pyramids Herodotus was merely saying "I too measured them" as he tried to improve on Hecataeus' dimensions. Here is Hecataeus' own claim to have measured the Bosporus, the Pontus, and the Hellespont, in that order, according to the *Epimerismoi Homerou*.[7]

> *Μεμετρέαται· Τοῦτο Ἰωνικόν ἐστιν, ὡς γὰρ νενόηνται νενόαται, καὶ περιποίηνται περιποιέαται, οὕτως καὶ μεμέτρηνται μεμετρέαται παρὰ τῷ Ἑκαταίῳ,**
> *ὁ μὲν οὖν Βόσπορος, καὶ ὁ Πόντος οὕτω, καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος κατὰ ταὐτά μοι μεμετρέαται.*
> *καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι* (fr. 73.4–5 West).
> *οἱ δέ μευ ὀδόντες ἐν τοῖσι γνάθοισι κεκινέαται.*
> *καὶ Ἀνακρέων* (fr. 421 Page),
> *αἱ δέ μευ φρενὲς ἐκκεκωφέαται.*
> *καὶ τὸ περιβεβλέαται.***
>
> * Sed haec fere habet Herod. iv.86. num ille ex Hecataeo?
> ** Haec confusa sunt apud Etym. M. p. 578, 42. qui et Hipponactis loco caret, Anacreontis vero laudat tacito nomine v. *Ekkekopheatai*, p. 322, 20.

Jacoby prints a lacuna after *Ἑκαταίῳ* and ascribes only the word *μεμετρέαται* to Hecataeus. He assumes that the real Hecataeus quote did not survive and further assumes that the surviving quote is merely

[6] See, e.g., George Rawlinson's elaborate table of calculations (above, n.2, 4th ed.) iii.75ff.

[7] J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca* (Oxford 1835; rpt. Amsterdam 1963) i.287.28ff (= Herodian ii.225.9ff Lentz, but see n.9 below). I quote the text at length because of its bearing on that of Jacoby and the *Etymologica* in n.9.

a slightly unorthodox version of Herodotus iv.86. Pearson is ready to accept Jacoby's "emendation."[8] Certainly there were confused and abbreviated versions of this text, or another like it, in various *Etymologica*, some of them unknown to Jacoby.[9] But surely we have no good reason to believe that *this* text is abbreviated, as Jacoby would have it, such as to cut off Hecataeus and give over his words to a lexicographer's version of Herodotus. Jacoby tries to avoid the obvious. On the basis of evidence now in hand it seems clear that Hecataeus took credit for measuring the Bosporus, Pontus, and Hellespont, at least, long before the middle of the fifth century, and Herodotus merely followed him.

Here and elsewhere Herodotus was probably trying to improve on Hecataeus. Ammianus Marcellinus tells as much about Herodotus' design as we are ever likely to know when he alludes merely to Hecataeus' dimension of 23,000 stades for the circuit of the whole Pontus and "all geography's" comparison of its shape to that of a drawn Scythian bow (xxii.8.9ff, *FGrHist* 1 F 197).

Hoc modo fractum et participatione maris utriusque finitum, iamque mitescens in aequoream panditur faciem, quantum potest cadere sub aspectum, late diffusum et longe. Omnis autem eius velut insularis circuitus litorea navigatio viginti tribus dimensa milibus stadiorum, ut Eratosthenes affirmat *et Hecataeus* et Ptolemaeus aliique huius modi cognitionum minutissimi scitatores, in speciem Scythici arcus nervo coagmentati *geographiae totius assensione* formatur . . . Extremitatis autem arcus utrumque tenus duo exprimunt Bospori, e regione sibi oppositi, Thracius et Cimmericus . . .

Broken in this fashion and ended by the partaking of either sea, and now growing milder, it opens out into the aspect of an ocean, extending in

[8] Felix Jacoby, *FGrHist* 1 F 196; Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939) 32, 67.

[9] Dr. Henrichs very kindly tells me that the following *Etymologica* ascribe a garbled version of the Hecataeus quotation to Hipponax, as if abbreviating the *Epimerismoi:*

*Etymologicum Genuinum* in *Cod. Vat. Gr.* 1818 fol. 223$^{r}$ (unpublished):

ο μεν ουν Βοσπορος και ο Ποντος ουτω και ο Ελησποντος και (sic) παντα μοι μεμετρεαται

*Etymologicum Genuinum* in *Cod. Laur. S. Marci* 304 fol. 177$^{v}$ (unpublished):

και ο Ελλησποντος κατα παντα μοι μεμετρεαται

*Etymologicum Magnum* 578.42 Gaisford (mentioned by Cramer and Lentz in their notes and Jacoby in his apparatus on fr. 196):

ο μεν ουν Βοσπορος και ο Ποντος κατα παντα μοι μεμετρεαται

Therefore κατὰ πάντα is a possibility in the *Epimerismoi*. It is also interesting to note that Lentz omits much of Cramer's punctuation and the word οὕτω in his edition of Herodian (*Herodiani Technici reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz [Leipzig 1867–1870; rpt. Hildesheim 1965] ii.225.9ff, fr. 149).

length and breadth as far as the eye can see. Indeed the whole voyage round its shores, as if it were an island, measures 23,000 stadia, as Eratosthenes affirms, *and Hecataeus*, and Ptolemy, and other most precise investigators of this kind of problem, formed in the likeness of a drawn Scythian bow by common assent of *the whole of geography* . . . Now the tips of the bow on either side are represented by the two Bospori lying opposite each other, the Thracian and Cimmerian . . .

Hecataeus referred to a *periplous* of 23,000 stades and probably to the shape of a drawn Scythian bow: Herodotus tells of a length and width, in days and nights, stades and fathoms, with a Maiotian lake not much smaller than the Pontus itself. From the handle of the bow or the drawn-string part? In any event Herodotus is probably trying to outdo the account of his predecessor, which is why he never gives that which we would most expect from a Greek who had sailed the Pontus himself or drawn on the information of others who had done so before him: the distance around it.

Not many Greek sea captains will have sailed *across* the Pontus, after all, whether from west to east, or north to south. Surely they will have sailed *coasting* voyages, from town to town, *emporion* to *emporion.* It seems most unlikely that Herodotus or any other Greek will have measured the length and breadth of the Pontus by sailing across it as Herodotus implies that he himself did. When Herodotus makes the length of the Euxine a little less than half Hecataeus' 23,000-stade *periplous* (11,100) and the width a little more than a seventh of that distance (3,300), he may well base his numbers on those of Hecataeus. When he makes the Maiotian lake not much smaller than the Pontus itself he may well be thinking of the upper or lower half of Hecataeus' enigmatic drawn Scythian bow.

In any event he was probably more concerned to emulate Hecataeus the logographer than with the dimensions of the Pontus and Maiotis. And he did not need to sail the length and breadth of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont to do it. To rival a good storyteller he merely had to tell a better story, with more numbers, from his own experience. Which is what the numbers in this narrative are all about no matter where they come from.

## II. Herodotus' Six-Finger-Thick, 600-Amphoreis Brazen Vessel of Exampaios (iv.81)

Herodotus' experience of the Black Sea, and the face value of his narrative, are also at issue in the numbers of his Scythian *logos*. Herodotus says that he was not able to learn exactly how many Scythians

there were and heard different accounts of the number. But this much they showed him for himself, *es opsin* (τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν). Herodotus goes on to tell of a place named Exampaios between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, where there was a spring of bitter water that made the Hypanis unfit to drink, and a great brazen vessel six times as large as the one Pausanias dedicated at the mouth of the Pontus. Herodotus says that he will tell of it for the benefit of anyone who has not seen it (ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδέ κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω). The Scythian bronze easily contained 600 *amphoreis* and was six fingers thick. The natives said that it was made of the arrowheads assembled by king Ariantas, who took a forced census of his people by making them bring him an arrowhead apiece. Ariantas made a bronze vessel of all these arrowheads and set it up in this country of Exampaios. "And that," says Herodotus, "is what I heard about the number of the Scythians" (iv.81).

If it were not for the question of Herodotus' own involvement we would not have to question the literal meaning of this bronze. What Herodotus seeks to establish here is not the technology of the Scythians — there are not any man-made wonders in the land, as he goes on to tell us in the next chapter (iv.82) — but rather the great number of them. Herodotus "heard" different *logoi* of the matter. Some said there were a great many Scythians, some said there were relatively few. The Scythians themselves tried to settle the matter by showing off the product of king Ariantas' forced census, the bronze made of an arrowhead apiece from all the Scythians of Ariantas' time. Herodotus himself merely purports to retell the Scythians' own story of that census.

But there *is* the question of Herodotus' own involvement. Here as in the case of Herodotus' measurement of the pyramids, the Pontus, the Bosporus, and the Hellespont, Herodotus also seeks to *confirm* the numbers of the story from his own experience. Here again there is embarrassment over the translation and dispute on the degree of involvement. R. W. Macan, for example, translates "they offered to show me" and argues that "Herodotus uses the imperfect of actions which were projected but not performed or accomplished."[10] In other words Herodotus does not actually claim to have seen the great bronze that he tells about. But Herodotus does use the emphatic *es opsin*, and he goes on to say that he will describe the vessel for anyone who has not already seen for himself. Therefore Jacoby attacked Macan's translation and epexegetics and rightly argued that Herodotus claims to have gone

[10] R. W. Macan, *Herodotus Books IV-VI* (London 1895) i.56f.

to Exampaios and also to have seen the great brazen vessel there.[11] Most of the principal translators and commentators agree, from Henry Stephens and Laurence Valla in 1570 to Detlev Fehling in 1971 and A. R. Burn in 1972.[12] What Herodotus seems to be saying is "they showed me," or "they made me see for myself." And Herodotus' confirmation is hardly surprising in the light of his stories of the Scythian phil-Hellene Anacharsis that he claims to have heard from one Tymnes, the steward of the phil-Hellenic king of Scythia Ariapeithes (iv.76ff).

One reason for the embarrassment is that Herodotus refers to a salt spring at Exampaios that makes the river Hypanis brackish (iv.52 and 81), which is probably only a convenient myth to explain why the sluggish Hypanis was salty from its influx of seawater.[13] Herodotus should have seen for himself that there was not a real salt spring at Exampaios if he really went there.

Much more embarrassing is the great Scythian bronze of king Ariantas that Herodotus claims to have seen for himself. In view of his claim, we can only try to decipher what he saw in the light of metrology. According to standard metrology, that of Hultsch for example, Herodotus' *amphoreus* is a liquid measure equal to the Attic *metretes* and 1.5 Roman *amphorae* or about 39.4 liters, or some 10.4 gallons.[14] According to standard metrology, therefore, king Ariantas' 600-*amphoreis* bronze must have held upwards of 6,244 gallons, like Croesus' 600-*amphoreis* silver bowl at Delphi (i.51).

Herodotus does not mention Croesus' dedication in this passage. Jacoby argues that Herodotus must have gone to Scythia before he went to Delphi or else he would have,[15] but in that case we are merely left to wonder why he did not mention the Scythian vessel when he came to tell about that of Delphi.

But it seems difficult to believe a 6,244-gallon vessel in either place. And unlike the Samian bowl of the great artist Theodorus, to judge from Herodotus' silence on the point, Ariantas' crater was six fingers thick, and made of bronze. That kind of vessel would have been impressive even in the nineteenth century. Baehr reckoned that it

[11] Jacoby (above, n.4) 252, 257.

[12] Henry Stephens and Laurence Valla (above, n.1) ad loc.; Detlev Fehling (above, n. 3) 97, 142, 168, and cf. 166; Aubrey de Sélincourt, *Herodotus* (Penguin 1954; rev. ed. by A. R. Burn, 1972) 300.

[13] Cf., e.g., W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford 1912; corr. ed. 1928) i.323 (hereafter, HW), and Kiessling, *RE* 6.1552.

[14] Friedrich Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*[2] (Berlin 1882; rpt. Graz, Austria, 1971) 101ff, 107ff.

[15] Jacoby (above, n.4) 257.

would have weighed 22.5 tons,[16] some twenty-two times as much as the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia (1.04 tons), three times as much as Great Tom in Christ Church (7.5 tons), more than half again as much as Big Ben in London (less than 14 tons).[17] It would have weighed, in fact, more than 14.5 times as much as the Ssu-mu Wu Ting cauldron from Anyang, "the largest casting in bronze yet recovered from a pre-Han site" (1.54 tons).[18] According to standard metrology, its 6,244-gallon capacity would have been nearly twenty times as great as the 317 gallons of the Vix krater, "by far the largest known," which only weighs 459 pounds.[19] And clearly it is not the standard metrology that is at issue here. Even if it is wrong, and even if Herodotus exaggerates both the thickness and capacity of the bronze he claims to have seen at Exampaios, still it seems out of the question by any standard that rests on evidence now in hand.

Now, perhaps, we can understand the reason for Macan's translation, which is unnatural by his own admission. If Herodotus really says that he himself went to Exampaios and saw such a vessel, or even if he implies as much, he is telling a good story rather than the literal truth.[20] Likewise, How and Wells understood the stakes here.[21] What is really at issue, then, here and in the case of Herodotus' measurement of the seas and his Colchian Negroes, as we shall see, is not merely Herodotus' travels, but rather what kind of father is the father of history and what manner of history it is that he writes.

## THE TECHNOLOGY AND FOUNDRY PRACTICE OF A SIX-FINGER, 600-AMPHOREIS BRONZE[22]

In view of the stakes, and especially in the light of Detlev Fehling's recent sceptical analysis of Herodotus' sources,[23] we must ask if Herodotus could ever have seen any such great bronze as the one of Exampaios

[16] Cf., e.g., R. W. Macan (above, n.10) i.57a.

[17] Cf., e.g., Satis Coleman, *Bells* (Chicago 1928) 176.

[18] Noel Barnard, *Bronze Casting and Bronze Alloys in Ancient China* (Australian National University), and *Monumenta Serica*, 1961, pl. 9 with text.

[19] Cf., e.g., *Illustrated London News*, March 5, 1955, Supp. p. iii between pp. 404 and 405; Jean Charbonneaux, *Greek Bronzes* (New York 1962) 60.

[20] R. W. Macan (above, n.10) i.57a.

[21] HW i.323.

[22] I want to thank the following experts for their help on this subject. They are in no way responsible for the use that I have made of it, nor are they necessarily committed to any of my conclusions: John Boardman of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Professor David G. Mitten of the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard; Dr. Oscar White Muscarella of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

that he purports to describe from autopsy. Perhaps we should first distinguish between the hammered-bronze vessels with cast attachments, which the Greeks learned from the Near East, and the great cast-bronze vessels which belonged to the Shang and Chou Chinese. Professor David Mitten very kindly writes to me as follows: "One thing is reasonably clear to me: the Scythian bowl is *not* a product of the conventional Near Eastern/Greek archaic metalworking technology of making bronze vessels by hammering, then assembling with cast attachments." Certainly there have been thick cauldrons from antiquity that have seemed cast, only to be proved hammered in the laboratory, as Dr. Oscar White Muscarella assures me. And Herodotus may simply refer to a widened rim or base, as Professor Arthur Steinberg suggests,[24] or even to the handles. But Herodotus seems to be talking about the whole bronze, "and the thickness of this Scythian bronze is six fingers." And therefore if Herodotus is talking about anything real at all, he seems to be talking about a vessel that is cast rather than hammered. Herodotus says nothing about the thickness of Pausanias' crater at the mouth of the Pontus, or Croesus' 600-*amphoreis* silver crater at Delphi, or the Samians' six-talent bronze crater in the Heraion (i.51, iv.81, 152).

What we look for in the first instance, therefore, is a great cast-bronze Scythian vessel. And the Scythians did make cast-bronze vessels, "castings of considerable size and complexity in their own right" (Professor Mitten). In the great exhibition "From the Lands of the Scythians" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art there were three such. Number 60, from the Hermitage, of a type that frequently appears in Scythian graves and is known earlier in China and Siberia, came from the Cherson district east of Olbia. It has upright handles and a conical hollow foot. Both the body and the decoration are cast. But it stands only 18½ inches high and dates to the fourth century B.C.[25] Number 142, from the Hermitage, came from the Kargalinka river east of Lake Balkash. It belonged to the Altai nomads, who traded with Europe in the west, the Scythians proper and Urartians in the south, and the

in New York; and Professor Arthur Steinberg of MIT in Cambridge. I should also like to give special thanks to Professor Ernst Badian of Harvard for his very kind reading and criticism of the first draft of this article. He is not at all responsible for errors of judgment and execution that remain.

[23] Detlev Fehling (above, n.3), as cited in n.12.

[24] In private correspondence, September 15, 1975.

[25] M. I. Artamonov, *The Splendor of Scythian Art* (New York 1969) 17, 275; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (Metropolitan Museum of Art Catalogue, New York 1975) 107.

Chinese in the east. It is a three-legged cauldron with ram heads sculpted on the legs. But here again it only stands some two feet high (including the legs, presumably), and dates anywhere from the fifth to the third centuries B.C.[26] And likewise, number 165, from the Hermitage, Sarmatian, from Odessa, with horse-shaped handles, stands only $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and dates to the first century A.D.[27] Elsewhere, M. I. Artamonov records a hemispherical cauldron on a conical foot with goat handles on the rim, from Kelermes in the Kuban, but it is only some 18 inches high by 20 inches wide, though it apparently dates to the sixth century B.C.[28] There is also a fourth-century cauldron from Chertomlyk in the Cherson district that has handles on the rim and stands less than two feet high. Likewise the largest cauldron recorded by Artamonov, some 42 inches high counting, presumably, the handles on the rim and the conical foot, has six figures of standing goats around the rim and dates to the fourth century.[29] Clearly these Scythian vessels do not compare with that of Herodotus, and most of them, perhaps all of them, are later than the time of Herodotus anyway.

My distinguished advisors speculate in at least three directions. Did the Scythians of Herodotus' time have access to Chinese bronze-casting technology from the Shang and Chou Dynasties (approximately 1500–1027, 1027–256 B.C.)? Here we think of the Ssu-mu Wu Ting cauldron from the Hou-chia-chuang site in Anyang, which came to light in 1946, the greatest cast bronze of its age still extant, nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, wide, and long, and some ton and a half in weight.[30] But Noel Barnard points out that it is "not classifiable as a fully-attested find,"[31] and therefore we can hardly know the date of it. Even if we could, it does not seem comparable to Ariantas' great bronze as described by Herodotus. And in any event there is no evidence of Chinese technology on the Black Sea, or indeed any other technology that might have produced such a great vessel. Barnard points out that the Chinese used crucibles to pour the molten bronze of their small castings, but dug elaborate casting channels lined with charcoal-impregnated clay to carry the molten bronze of their "extremely large objects," such as the

[26] G. I. Smirnova and J. V. Domansky, *Drevnee iskusstvo* (Leningrad 1974) 176 pl. 68; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (above, n.25), 122.

[27] *Kultura drevnikh narodov Vostochnoy Europy*, Ermitazh. Putevoditel po Vystavke (Leningrad 1969) 30; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (above, n.25) 125.

[28] M. I. Artamonov (above, n.25) pl. 47, pp. 24, 284.

[29] M. I. Artamonov (above, n.25) 279f, figs. 112f.

[30] Noel Barnard (above, n.18) pl. 9 with text; cf., e.g.; Mario Busagli, *Chinese Bronzes* (London 1969) pl. 10 with text, pp. 28f.

[31] Noel Barnard (above, n.18) pl. 9 with text.

Ssu-mu Wu cauldron, from the furnace to the mold or molds.[32] But in the case of the Scythians we have not any evidence of such foundry practice.

For good reason perhaps. In China, at least, it was the direct offspring of a highly advanced pottery, the kilns of which led to furnaces, and the pottery itself to earthenware crucibles, and the models round which to build casting molds.[33] But the Scythian nomads themselves never developed such an advanced pottery in the first place, much less the "spin-off" from it. Nor are they likely to have transported any such great bronze as that of Herodotus from China to the Black Sea.

Perhaps that is the main lesson of the great Chinese bronzes after all. In the context of Herodotus' great vessel there are only two possibilities. The Scythians either brought it from somewhere else or made it themselves as Herodotus' narrative suggests. But unlike the Chinese, the Scythians were essentially nomads, even if they sometimes farmed and built fortified settlements.[34] Any such great bronze as the one Herodotus describes would have been too heavy for them to carry by land for any distance. But it would also have required too advanced a technology and foundry practice for them to have cast it in place. Which is why one of my distinguished consultants refused to take up the matter of casting in the first place. John Boardman very kindly writes me as follows: "I am sure, however, that you can forget about any local massive casting by the Scythians or the like; decidedly not the sort of thing for nomads to do at any rate."

That brings us to the Vix crater, far the greatest ever discovered, from a site near Chatillon-sur-Seine, in the heart of France. Whatever Herodotus may say or imply about the local manufacture of Ariantas' great bronze of Exampaios from Scythian arrowheads, we are entitled to guess that it was Greek. At Odessa and in the Hermitage there are fragments of a "superb" sixth-century crater from Martonosha village in the Kirovograd district north of Olbia, "of purely Ionian type," "its handles adorned with sculpted figures of Gorgons cast from wax models." There is Greek craftsmanship apparent in a great many other sixth, fifth, and fourth century Scythian vessels such as wine cups, amphorae, and hemisphere vessels.[35] Herodotus himself tells of a tribe

[32] Noel Barnard (above, n.18) 57f.

[33] Noel Barnard (above, n.18) 59ff.

[34] Cf., e.g., Herodotus iv.17ff, but also iv.2, 46ff; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (above, n.25) 20ff.

[35] M. I. Artamonov (above, n.25) 29ff esp. 32 and pl. 67; *From the Lands of the Scythians* (above, n.25) 105, fig. 46.

of Graeco-Scythians named Callipidai who lived north of the Olbian emporion of the Borysthenites on the river Hypanis west of the Borysthenes river, and therefore in the neighborhood of Exampaios (iv.17f). Herodotus also tells of a great, half-Greek city of Gelonos in the land of the Boudinoi beyond the river Tanais (iv.21, 108f). More important, Herodotus claims to have heard stories of a phil-Hellenic Scythian named Anacharsis, from an apparently Greek-speaking steward named Tymnes of a phil-Hellenic king of Scythia named Ariapeithes, who sired another phil-Hellenic Scythian named Scylas by a Greek-speaking woman of Istria (iv.76ff). Herodotus refers to Greek cities and traders throughout his account of Scythia and the Scythians.[36] And finally, Herodotus himself clearly thinks of the great bronze of Exampaios as a Greek-style memorial when he tells us not only that king Ariantas used it to commemorate the number of his subjects but also that it was six times greater than Pausanias' memorial crater at the mouth of the Pontus (iv. 81). We might guess that Herodotus found a Vix or greater-than-Vix crater near Olbia and heard of king Ariantas and his census from a Graeco-Scythian storyteller on the spot.

But if so we can hardly prove it by his description. Ariantas' great Scythian bronze was six fingers thick, but the thickness of the Vix crater is literally measured in millimeters, five at the neck, thirteen on the shoulder, and one to twelve at the belly: because the Vix crater is not cast but hammered. If Herodotus' bronze held 600 *amphoreis* or some 6,000-odd gallons, and even Pausanias' crater at the mouth of the Pontus more than a thousand,[37] the Vix crater held 317 gallons. As for the Martonosha crater, which is certainly of the right time and place to encourage comparison with Herodotus' narrative, its finely cast handles are only $6\frac{5}{16}$ inches high. The hammered bowl of it has disintegrated but like that of the Vix crater it must have measured in the millimeters and its capacity could not have been anything like the capacity of the Vix crater, much less thousands of gallons. We can only turn Herodotus' great Exampaios bronze into some kind of recognizable Greek crater by scrapping the numbers of his account.

Which is what the third avenue of speculation suggested by my advisors amounts to. Professor Mitten suggests that Herodotus might have been on some kind of a different metrology. Professor Steinberg believes that he might have merely exaggerated the thickness and capacity of the Scythian bronze. But there seems to be no evidence of

[36] Cf., iv.8, 10, 12, 17f, 24, 27, 48, 51, 53, 55, 76–80, 85ff, 90, 93, 99, 103, 105, 108f.

[37] See n.14 above.

an Ionian standard which would make Herodotus' figures credible. And mere exaggeration will not solve a problem in which there is massive casting at issue in the matter of thickness and a factor of twenty in the matter of capacity to judge from the 317 gallons of the Vix crater. Even if we assumed that Herodotus doubled or trebled the measure of what he saw, still we would not be able to explain how he could have seen it on the Black Sea of the fifth century B.C., or A.D. for that matter.

Before we scrap Herodotus' numbers perhaps we should first understand what they mean. In the context of the numbers attached to his other great craters elsewhere in the *History*, Herodotus' great bronze of Exampaios is probably a variation on a theme of sixes. Gyges dedicated six golden craters of 30 talents apiece at Delphi (i.14). The Spartans made a bronze crater for Croesus that held 300 *amphoreis* only to have it end up in Samos (i.70). Croesus' silver crater of Delphi by Theodorus held 600 *amphoreis* of mixed wine at the Delphic Theophany (i.51). When the Samians took 60 talents from the virgin port of Tartessus they made a 6-talent bronze crater in the Argolic manner for the Heraion (iv.152). King Ariantas' great bronze is six times greater than that of Pausanias at the mouth of the Pontus, six fingers thick, and holds 600 *amphoreis* easily (iv.81).

Clearly it is not merely Herodotus' Scythian crater that runs to sixes and multiples thereof. We can search for the historical reality of them all we please, but here and elsewhere Herodotus' numbers are a theme in themselves and merely enhance his narrative of the numerous Scythians. As such, they need not have anything to do with what Herodotus saw for himself. To build bronze-making techniques and ungainly capacities on them is a mistake of categories and it does not solve the problem anyway.

Some may prefer to believe that Herodotus really did visit the Scythians, but we can hardly prove it by this story. To judge from his narrative of king Ariantas' forced census and the brazen proof of it, Herodotus could have seen anything or nothing at all near the bitter salt springs of Exampaios (iv.52). But he did not see what he says he did on the basis of evidence now in hand.

## III. Herodotus' Colchian Negroes (ii.104)

In the light of Herodotus' claim that he measured the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont, and his further claim that he saw a six-finger-thick, 600-*amphoreis* bronze at Exampaios on the river Hypanis, it is not surprising that Herodotus also claims that he went to Colchis.

According to Herodotus, the Egyptian king Sesostris left part of his army in Colchis by the river Phasis and Herodotus himself found their descendants still living there (ii.103f). The Colchians appeared to be Egyptian and Herodotus himself perceived as much before he heard it from others. He asked both peoples and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians more than the Egyptians the Colchians. The Egyptians said that they considered the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army and Herodotus himself guessed it, partly because they were black-skinned and woolly-haired (καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες) but mostly because they were circumcised like the Egyptians and Ethiopians. (The Phoenicians and Palestinian Syrians admitted that they learned to circumcise from the Egyptians, and the Thermodon-Parthenius Syrians and Macrones that they learned it from the Colchians.) Herodotus purports to have questioned the Colchians and to have seen what they look like for himself (ii.104).

Certainly there have been those who argued that Herodotus met his Colchians in Egypt or Asia Minor rather than Colchis and who therefore separated them from the problems of the Black Sea voyage entirely.[38] But when Herodotus tells us that he asked both nations about the link between them (ἀμφοτέρους) and goes on to relate what "the Colchians" and "the Egyptians" remembered, he clearly means to convey that he questioned Colchians and Egyptians in general and on the spot rather than specific individuals who happened to be in Asia Minor at the time. Thus, Jacoby, for example, assumes that Herodotus visited the Colchians, and so do Legrand, Pohlenz, Powell, and Myres.[39]

But it seems difficult to believe the context of his visit, that Herodotus asked the Egyptians about the Colchians and the Colchians about the Egyptians, and the Colchians turned out to be descended from king Sesostris' Egyptian army. Surely Herodotus is merely telling what he heard, or read, rather than what he himself did. That impression seems confirmed in the matter of the circumcision that Herodotus adds to the story. As in the case of Hecataeus' account of Egypt as the gift of the river (ii.5 = *FGrHist* 1 F 301), Herodotus begins on the defensive. He *himself* saw that the Colchians were Egyptian even before he heard it

[38] Cf., e.g., Gustav Breddin, *Bedenken gegen Herodot's asiatische Reise* (Magdeburg 1857) 3ff esp. 5; Alfred Wiedemann, *Herodotus Zweites Buch* (Leipzig 1890) 409; Felix Jacoby, *RE* Supp. 2.260.

[39] Cf., e.g., Felix Jacoby, *RE* Supp. 2.258; Ph. E. Legrand, *Hérodote II* (Paris 1963; 1st ed. 1930) 55f; Max Pohlenz, *Herodot* (Leipzig 1937; rpt. Stuttgart 1961) 196; J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge 1939; rpt. Amsterdam 1967) 25; J. L. Myres, *Herodotus Father of History* (Oxford 1953) 5, 45.

from "others," because they were black-skinned, woolly-haired, and circumcised. The black skin and wooly hair were not decisive, as "others" may have suggested. The conclusive link was circumcision, and here as in the case of Herodotus' three-day addition to the priests' gift of the river, Herodotus implies that only he took note of it. Only the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians have always circumcised — the Phoenicians, Palestinian and Black Sea Syrians, and Macrones acknowledge that they only learned their circumcision recently from the Egyptians in either country. If others had already told of Egyptian black skin and woolly hair among the Colchians, Herodotus himself not only took note of their Egyptian circumcision, but also followed up on his observation by questioning the Phoenicians and both kinds of Syrians and even the Macrones. Here as in the case of his measurement of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont, and his six-finger, 600-*amphoreis* bronze, he went his predecessors one better. But here also it is difficult to believe that Herodotus really did what he says he did. It is difficult to believe that Herodotus really questioned the Egyptians and Colchians about Sesostris, or the Phoenicians, Palestinians, two kinds of Syrians, and Macrones about circumcision. Herodotus seems to be building on what his predecessors have told him of the Egyptian Colchians in their own written works in such a way as to claim a personal contribution to the subject of Sesostris' colonization in the matter of circumcision. He seems to be building on the story and ἱστορίη of the logographers.

Whatever the context, Herodotus does not really know what the Colchians looked like. He does not merely believe that they were swarthy by implied contrast with the Greeks.[40] Elsewhere Herodotus says that the people of Dodona called Egyptian priestesses doves because of their strange language, and black because they were Egyptian (ii.57). Liddell and Scott translate Herodotus' μελάγχροες "black-skinned, swarthy" (1094b) and likewise J. E. Powell translates "swarthy" in 1937 and "black-skinned" in 1949,[41] but Herodotus seems to take it for granted that just as the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians all had circumcision in common, so also did they all have black skin in common. How black does not really matter. The

[40] Against, e.g., W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria from the Year 1792 to 1798* (London 1799; Fr. tr. Paris 1800) i.242; George Rawlinson, *Herodotus Vol. II* (London 1858; 1st ed.), ad loc.; W. G. Waddell, *Herodotus Book II* (London 1939) 179; cf., e.g., Detlev Fehling (above, n.3) 15 n.4.

[41] J. E. Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge 1938; rpt. Hildesheim 1960) 218; *Herodotus* (Oxford 1949) ad loc.

combination of black skin and woolly hair makes them Negro no matter what their precise shade. Nor does Herodotus merely assume that the Colchians must have woolly hair because of their skin color. In book VII he is careful to distinguish the eastern Ethiopians from those of the west in that the former have straight hair (vii.70).

But it is hard to understand how Herodotus could have believed that the Colchians were Negroes if he really went to Colchis. Certainly Aeschylus' Egyptian sailors had black limbs (*μελαγχίμοις γυίοισι*, *Supp.* 719), and Pindar believed that the Colchians were black-faced (*κελαινώπεσσι Κόλχοισιν*, *Pyth.* iv.212), but they do not claim to have seen for themselves. Likewise the Negroes who appear more frequently in the Greek art of this period may have been meant to be Egyptian,[42] and late antiquity also seems full of black Egyptians.[43] But here again what we have to contend with is literary and artistic tradition and not autopsy.

We can probably account for such tradition in terms of Ionian geography. The Nile and the Phasis are the ends of the earth (iv.45; Pindar *Isthmian* ii.41f). Where the sun comes up and the dawn is at home, the people of the Phasis are burned black. But alone of all rivers the Nile is always exposed to the sun (ii.25) as it burns its way through the heaven (ii.26), and men of the Nile are also black from the heat (ii.22). If Herodotus' king Sesostris reached the Phasis by land with rebellious black Argonauts (ii.102ff) Hecataeus of Miletus brought the Argonauts back from the Phasis through the Ocean into the Nile and down-river into "our sea" (*FGrHist* 1 F 18a). Diodorus also believed "the Egyptians'" account of their colonization of Colchis, whether or not the story derived ultimately from Hecataeus of Miletus.[44] Clearly the Ionians linked the ends of the earth in their ethnology even as they did by way of Ocean in their geography. Pindar's black-faced Colchians and those of Herodotus derive from their tradition. Here as in the case of Herodotus' measurement of the seas and his six-finger bronze of Exampaios, the trouble is not in Herodotus' description but rather in his experience.

For there is not any evidence worthy of the name for Herodotus' and Pindar's Colchian Negroes. Perhaps the ultimate apologetic variation on Herodotus' autopsy was that of P. T. English in 1959, who argued

[42] Cf., e.g., John Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London 1964) 169 (the second ed. is not yet available to me).

[43] Cf. Aristotle, *Physiognomics* vi.812 a 13; Lucian, *Ship or Wishes* 2; Achilles Tatius iii.9; Ammianus Marcellinus xxii.16.23.

[44] Diodorus i.28.2f, 55.4f; cf. Herodotus ii.104f.

that a Negro settlement in the modern Caucasus were the survivors of Sesostris' army (*JNES* 18 [1959] 51). But we do not need the theory of a Middle-Kingdom folk-wandering from Cush to the Caucasus to account for Herodotus' black colonists on the Phasis. And the few blacks near Sukhumi, the capital of Abkhaziya, are probably the descendants of African slaves who withstood the rigors of subtropieal agriculture better than the Circassians and eould therefore learn how to grow the best tobacco in what is now the Soviet Union. Hippocrates or his students believed that the dwellers along the Phasis were a sluggish swamp people with Mongoloid coloring — tall, fat, lazy, deep-voiced, and yellow, as if suffering from jaundice (*Airs, Waters, and Places* xv.2off). Aristotle believed that the Black Sea peoples had straight hair (*De Generatione Animalium* v.3.30, 782 b). They may bave been right. Hippocrates' yellow may be the color of Mongol nomads.

Either Herodotus did go to Colchis and remained content to tell of traditional Negroes that he and his audience wanted to find there or he never went to Colchis. And in the light of his claim to have measured the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont, and his claim to have seen a six-finger-thick, 600-*amphoreis* bronze at Exampaios on the river Hypanis, Herodotus' Colchian Negroes make it all the easier to doubt that he ever went to the Black Sea at all. We are entitled to puzzle over much that Herodotus does not tell us, the Milesian colony of Dioseurias at the mouth of the river Phasis, for example, the modern Sukhumi and the best roadstead on the east coast of the Black Sea, where Herodotus must have landed if he sailed to Colchis. But it is what he does tell us that makes it difficult to believe him.

## Conclusions

Herodotus does claim that he went to the Black Sea. When he tells of his measurement of the Pontus, Bosporus, and Hellespont, he is not talking about mathematical reckoning or someone else's voyages, but rather of his own experience, which is what he offers as the guarantee of his figures. When he tells of a six-finger, 600-*amphoreis* bronze at Exampaios on the river Hypanis, he does not mean for us to believe that he merely heard of it from someone else but rather that he saw it for himself and could therefore guarantee the native story of how numerous the Scythians were from having personally gauged the proof of king Ariantas' brutal census of bronze arrowheads. When he tells of questioning the black-skinned, woolly-haired, circumcised Colchians about their history and heritage, he is not merely referring to itinerant Negroes who

happened to be in Asia Minor, but rather to the Colchians in general and at home.

But on the basis of evidence now in hand it seems difficult to believe that Herodotus saw and did in the Black Sea that which he wants us to believe. If he sailed the Pontus, he almost certainly did not measure it. If he went to Exampaios and found a great bronze there, it almost certainly was not the bronze he says it was. If he reached Colchis, it almost certainly was not inhabited by circumcised Egyptian Negroes. If Herodotus went to the Black Sea at all, his narrative bears little or no relation to whatever his travels may have been on the basis of evidence now in hand. Like the great Milesian logographer whose narrative of the Pontus was probably the beginning of Herodotus' confirmation and emulation, to judge from our evidence of Hecataeus, Herodotus claims to have seen and done in the Black Sea that which he did not.

But if we cannot take Herodotus' experience of the Black Sea at face value, we can only remain agnostic on the extent of it, and on such of Herodotus' historical authority as attaches to it. For once we retreat from the face value of Herodotus' narrative, we hardly know where to stop. If we cannot believe that he saw the Pontus that he talks about, we can hardly be sure that he went to the Pontus at all.

Herodotus' evidence and authority on the Black Sea need rethinking. Herodotus was not a simple traveler, looking for himself and recording what he saw and heard. Ionian tradition rather than Herodotus' own experience was decisive in shaping his story of the northern waters and all their wonders. We cannot go on indefinitely trying to account for what he found in them on the basis of a simple-minded and confused autopsy. It is difficult to understand how one of such wide and varied Greek genius might have grown confused enough to set down in full earnest these impressions of the Pontus if he really went to see for himself. Either he did go and remained content to tell his readers what they wanted and expected to hear in the first place even though it was not true, or he did not go at all. And in either event, we cannot go on treating his stories as serious evidence of the fifth-century Black Sea. Herodotus drew heavily on previous Greek traditions of the north when he came to build these claims, and we must look to those traditions to account for them.

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# ANNOUNCED ENTRANCES IN GREEK TRAGEDY

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ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Κρέοντα, τῆσδ' ἄνακτα γῆς,
στείχοντα, καινῶν ἄγγελον βουλευμάτων.

WITH these words the chorus of the *Medea* heralds the approach of Creon, and many other characters in Greek tragedy are announced in much the same way.[1] Despite the clearly conventional nature of these announcements, an explanation of their presence in some cases and absence in others has never been sought in a systematic fashion.[2]

Since an announcement usually contains the name of the entering character, one would naturally assume that identification is the purpose of the announcement.[3] If this were its only purpose, one might expect

[1] Entrances are identified by the entering character's first line; for a complete listing see the appendix. Most announcements contain at least two of the following standard elements: announcing particles (*καὶ μήν, ἀλλὰ γάρ*), deictic pronoun, name, reference to the entering character's movement, reference to the announcer's perception of the arrival. Those that do not but that are still clearly regular announcements are: *OT* 1123; *Tr.* 734; *Or.* 850; *Ba.* 658; and perhaps *IA* 630. There are, in addition, a number of what W. Nestle (*Die Struktur des Eingangs in der attischen Tragödie* [Stuttgart 1930]) called "Ersatz" announcements: a person is called or summoned; a noise is heard within; a door opens or is knocked. Since these "doubtful" announcements, as I call them, do not conform with the regular announcements in form or content (often we do not know *who* is coming but only that *someone* is coming), I have set them aside until my preliminary analysis is completed.

[2] The only studies of entrance announcements are found in P. Graeber, *De poetarum Atticorum arte scaenica quaestiones quinque* (Göttingen 1911), and N. C. Hourmouziades, *Production and Imagination in Euripides* (Athens 1965), hereafter referred to by authors' names alone. The former is concerned primarily with the identification of characters and the latter deals only with Euripides. Of the more than one hundred commentaries I have consulted, only G. Müller (*Antigone* [Heidelberg 1967]) discussed entrances with consistency. Schmid-Stählin referred only to Graeber (vol. 1 part 2, p. 75 n.9); Hourmouziades cited only T. B. L. Webster, "Preparation and Motivation in Greek Tragedy," *CR* 47 (1933) 117–123, which involves a different problem.

[3] More recent proponents of this view include E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae* (Oxford 1960²) *ad Ba.* 171–172; Hourmouziades 138; H. Hunger, "Euripides,

all entrances of all characters to be announced, but this is clearly not so: the absence of an announcement is as frequent as its presence (one hundred and thirty-six unannounced entrances, one hundred and thirty-six announced entrances).[4] One might then assume that a character once identified would remain identified throughout the play and that consequently only his first entrance would need to be announced. However, the distribution of announcements does not support this assumption either. In Aeschylus eleven characters are not announced at all and two are announced only upon their *second* appearance while only nine are announced upon first entering.[5] Similarly in Sophocles ten characters are not announced at all, ten only at a later appearance, four both upon first and later appearances, while only fifteen are announced upon first entering.[6] In Euripides forty-one characters are not announced at all, thirteen only upon a later entrance, thirteen at first and later entrances, while only thirty-eight are announced

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Andromache 147–153 und die Auftrittszenen in der attischen Tragödie," *RhM* 95 (1952) 372; R. Kannicht, *Euripides Helena* (Heidelberg 1969) *ad Hel.* 857–864; Müller (above, n.2) 227; and P. T. Stevens, *Euripides Andromache* (Oxford 1971) *ad And.* 146. Graeber's chapter "De personarum in scaenam prodeuntium indicatione," although it ultimately discussed entrance announcements, was ostensibly a study of how and when characters are named and was meant in part to qualify Wilamowitz's short statement on the subject in *Analecta Euripidea* (Berlin 1875) 199–204, which was itself a correction of E. Hiller, "Über einige Personenbezeichnungen griechischer Dramen," *Hermes* 8 (1874) 442.

[4] There are forty-five entrances in Aeschylus: twelve announced, twenty-four unannounced and nine doubtful. There are eighty-four in Sophocles: thirty-eight announced, thirty-two unannounced and fourteen doubtful. There are two hundred and four in Euripides: eighty-six announced, eighty unannounced and thirty-eight doubtful.

[5] Eight of the nine appear only once and so do not really confirm the rule (*Per.* 249; *ScT* 875/879; *Su.* 836; *Ag.* 503; *Cho.* 84, 734; *PV* 944). The unannounced characters are Xerxes, Agamemnon, Aegisthus (in *Ag.* and *Cho.*), Orestes, Pylades, Apollo, Oceanus, Io, the messenger and herald of the *Septem.* Unannounced and then announced are the spy and Eteocles*; announced and then unannounced only Atossa (here and in the two following notes I have marked with an asterisk characters whose first appearance is to an empty stage and therefore necessarily unannounced).

[6] Thirteen of these fifteen appear only once: *Aj.* 1047; 1226; *Ant.* 635, 1183; *Tr.* 180, 983; *OT* 316, 1123; *El.* 1442; *Ph.* 542; *OC* 36, 728, 1254. Only Jocasta and Chrysothemis are announced then unannounced. The unannounced characters are: Odysseus (*Aj.*), the guard (*Ant.*), Teiresias (*Ant.*), Deianeira and the old man in the *Trachiniae* and the messengers entering at *Aj.* 719; *Ant.* 1155; *OT* 923, 1223; *OC* 1579. Announced and then announced are Creon (*Ant.*), Hyllus, Lichas, Ismene (*OC*). Unannounced then announced are Tecmessa, the nurse (*Tr.*), Antigone (*Ant.**, *OC*), Ismene* (*Ant.*), Oedipus (*OT*) Orestes, Neoptolemus, Odysseus (*Ph.*), Theseus.

upon first entering.[7] It seems unlikely, then, that identification is the primary purpose of announcements.

A second possibility is that a character's rank will determine whether he is announced or not. Aeschylus generally announces servants but rarely nobles.[8] Five entrances by servants are announced and three are not while, conversely, only six entrances by nobles are announced and nineteen are not.[9] Thus twenty-four of thirty-three entrances can be explained by saying that Aeschylus announces only servants.

In Sophocles, however, the situation is reversed: nobles are announced more often than not (thirty-two announced, twenty not) while five servants are announced and ten are not.[10] Similarly in

[7] Thirty-one of these enter only once: *Al.* 141, 614; *Med.* 271, 1121; *Hcld.* 55; *Hi.* 198, 1153; *And.* 504, 881; *Hec.* 218; *Su.* 399, 990, 1034; *HF* 1163; *Ion* 735; *Tro.* 308, 577; *El.* 341*, 998; *IT* 238; *Hel.* 865; *Pho.* 1335; *Or.* 470, 852, 1323, 1369; *Ba.* 660, 1168; *IA* 304; *Rh.* 87, 642. The only ones to fully confirm the rule are the tutor in the *Medea*, Demophon, Peleus, Agamemnon (*Hec.*), Lycus, Ion (if we ignore the doubtful announcement), and Eteocles. Unannounced then announced are Heracles (*Al.*), Theseus (*Hi.*), Andromache*, Hermione, Megara*, the farmer* and Electra in the *Electra*, Orestes* (*IT*), Pylades* (*IT*), Helen (*Hel.*), Theoclymenus, Achilles, Odysseus* (*Rh.*). Announced then announced are Admetus, Hippolytus, Hecuba (*Hec.*), Amphitryon*, Xuthus, Talthybius (*Tro.*), Orestes* (*El.*, *Or.**), Iphigenia* (*IT*), Creon (*Pho.*), Menelaus (*Or.*), Pylades (*Or.*) and Pentheus. Not announced at all are Jason, Aegeus, Makaria, Eurystheus, the nurse (*And.*), Menelaus (*And.*; *Tro.*, *Hel.*, *IA*), Talthybius (*Hec.*), Theseus (*Su.*), priestess (*Ion*), Athena (*Tro.*), old man (*El.*, *IA* not counting doubtful announcement), Thoas (not counting doubtful announcement), Teucer, Polyneices, Teiresias (*Pho.*, *Ba.*), Menoeceus, Helen (*Or.*), Electra* (*Or.*), Dionysus, Dolon, cowherd (*Rh.*), and the messengers in the *Heraclidae* (three), *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Suppliants*, *Ion*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Helen* (two), *Phoenissae*, *Bacchae* (two), *Iphigenia in Aulis* (two).

[8] Graeber (22) noted that Aeschylus clearly indicates his nameless characters: "has personas, quas in scaena inspicere nondum consueverunt spectatores indicat diligenter Aeschylus: nuntium in Pers., praeconem in Suppl. et Agam., in Choeph. nutricem" (cf. Wilamowitz [above, n.3] 200). One might explain this by saying that, since nobles generally are given personal names, servants need to be announced because they are not given personal names.

[9] If we consider Hermes in the *PV* a servant (he is identified only as "Zeus's lackey") we will have one less exception.

[10] "Nuntiorum et ministrorum adventus omnino non commemoratur . . . Hae enim personae ipsa veste cognoscebantur . . . adventum personarum certarum fabulariumque a sinistra vel dextra parte prodeuntium spectatori nondum notarum indicari omnium — excepto Tiresia in Antigona" (Graeber 24). Since six of the nine unannounced servants are messengers while only one messenger is announced (*Tr.* 180), one might be tempted to argue that all characters in Sophocles except messengers are announced. However, this will reduce the number of exceptions by only one (to twenty-four) and will require explaining why Aeschylus and Euripides do not treat their messengers similarly. Graeber's

Euripides seventy-one entrances of noble characters are announced and fifty-one are not while only eleven entrances by servants are announced and twenty-two are not. Not only is the situation reversed in the later poets but also the number of exceptions increases noticeably: in Aeschylus there are nine exceptions in thirty-three cases (twenty-seven percent) while in Sophocles there are twenty-five in sixty-six cases (thirty-eight percent) and in Euripides there are sixty in one hundred and fifty-one cases (forty percent).

We may conclude, then, that although rank explains Aeschylean announcements fairly well it does not explain Sophoclean and Euripidean announcements well at all.

Another popular explanation is that unannounced entrances are unexpected and surprising (presumably to the audience).[11] In Aeschylus there are at least four unannounced unexpected entrances (*ScT* 1005; *Ag.* 1577; *PV* 284, 561) and only two announced unexpected entrances (*Cho.* 734; *PV* 944), but this is no different from the ratio of unannounced to announced entrances in Aeschylus as a whole (twenty-four to twelve). Similarly in Sophocles the ratio of unannounced to announced surprise entrances (eight to nine) is not much different from the undifferentiated ratio of unannounced to announced entrances

idea that clothes identify messengers (an idea that goes back at least to Wilamowitz [above, n.3] 202) is still put forth: H. D. Broadhead, *The Persae of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1960) *ad Per.* 247; P. Groeneboom *Aeschylus' Agamemnon* (Groningen 1944) *ad Ag.* 489–492. Yet it was effectively refuted long ago by J. Fischl *De nuntiis tragicis* (*Dissertationes Philologae Vindobonenses* 10 [1910] 26–27) on several grounds: (a) "qualem enim fuisse putaveris vestem communem pastori, nautae, agasoni, satelliti, nutrici qui omnes nuntiari solent?"; (b) messengers are recognized not by their clothes but by their hurried and breathless approach and their downcast faces; (c) messengers are, *contra* Wilamowitz, identified either by themselves or someone else indicating their role as soon as they enter.

[11] So W. S. Barrett, *Euripides Hippolytos* (Oxford 1964) *ad Hi.* 1283; V. di Benedetto, *Euripidis Orestes* (Florence 1965) *ad Or.* 844–845; G. W. Bond, *Euripides Hypsipyle* (Oxford 1963) 106; A. P. Burnett, *Ion by Euripides* (Englewood Cliffs 1970) *ad Ion* 1319; T. V. Buttrey, "Accident and Design in Euripides' 'Medea,'" *AJP* 79 (1958) 4; A. M. Dale, *Euripides Alcestis* (Oxford 1954) *ad Al.* 476; J. Goth, *Sophokles Antigone* (diss. Tübingen 1966) 48; Hourmouziades 141; Müller (above, n.2) 251; A. S. Owen, *Euripides Ion* (Oxford 1939) 142; Stevens (above, n.3) *ad And.* 1070. One should distinguish between entrances surprising to both audience and actors and ones surprising only to actors. I have considered only the former category, which is a subset of the latter, to avoid deciding whether we care enough about the psychology of the announcer (in many cases the chorus) to warrant including the latter. Since an announcement can be of an unknown character (*Phil.* 542; *And.* 881), uncertainty of identity is not a sufficient explanation for its absence.

(thirty-two to thirty-eight).[12] Likewise the Euripidean ratio for surprise entrances (eleven to eleven) resembles the general ratio (eighty to eighty-six).[13]

Graeber, in his discussion of Sophoclean announcements (above, n.11) mentions a fourth variable, place of entry, and Hourmouziades has argued that entrances in Euripides will not be announced when "there is only one person on stage and another enters from the skene . . . If, however, the new-comers appear at one of the parodoi, their entrance is normally announced" (140). However, place of entry, generally, has no effect on announcements:

| Entrance | Parodos | Skene |
|---|---|---|
| *Aeschylus* | | |
| Announced | 4 | 1 |
| Unannounced | 12 | 5 |
| *Sophocles* | | |
| Announced | 25 | 13 |
| Unannounced | 19 | 13 |
| *Euripides* | | |
| Announced | 54 | 32 |
| Unannounced | 60 | 20 |

Concerning Hourmouziades' rule in particular there are only two exceptions (*Tro.* 48; *Hel.* 68) but since there are only six entrances that follow the rule (*Al.* 28, 773; *And.* 56; *El.* 54; *Or.* 71; *Rh.* 642) it is not very useful. Furthermore, if one adds those entrances where the announcing character exits or hides immediately after making his announcement, there are probably two more exceptions in three cases (*Hec.* 59; *Ion* 82; but not *Hi.* 58).[14] The crucial factor seems to be, rather, the presence of someone on stage to hear the announcement.

[12] Unannounced surprise: *Aj.* 646, 1318?; *Ant.* 988; *OT* 911; *El.* 871?, 1398?; *Ph.* 974, 1293; announced surprise: *Aj.* 1047?; *Ant.* 635, 1183; *Tr.* 64; *OT* 634; *El.* 328; *Ph.* 1222/1224; *OC* 36?, 324. Each reader's list will vary somewhat but the ratio will, I think, remain the same.

[13] Unannounced surprise: *Med.* 663; *Hcld.* 474; *And.* 802; *Tro.* 48, 860, 1260; *Ion* 1320; *Hel.* 597; *Or.* 71; *Ba.* 170; *IA* 303/304. Announced surprise: *Al.* 614; *And.* 881; *Su.* 990, 1034; *HF* 523, 1163; *Tro.* 709; *Hel.* 865?; *Or.* 470, 729, 1369.

[14] Unlike Hourmouziades I do not include the doubtful *Med.* 49 or *Hcld.* 55 where several people are on stage.

If there is only one person on stage, the entrance will not be announced.[15] Almost all the exceptional announcements are made by a god (*Al.* 28; *Hi.* 58; *Hec.* 59; *Ion* 82; but not *Or.* 140); conversely, these are the only entrances involving a god, except for Athena's entrance in the *Troades*, which is clearly a surprise to Poseidon.[16] The natural conclusion is that the god in each case is speaking to the audience.[17]

Hourmouziades has also suggested a quite different and much more productive approach, but his study is incomplete in its sample and somewhat arbitrary in its method. He found that characters are generally announced in Euripides except that "characters entering at the end of a choral song are not announced, unless their entrance is of a particular character ... Out of about sixty-nine such instances only fifteen are announced, and of these only four — *Alc.* 1006f., *Hipp.* 1151f., *HF* 138f., and *Ph.* 1308f. — could not be explained on satisfactory grounds. In most of the other cases the entrance is very much like a 'moving tableau' and therefore some kind of preparation or accompaniment is perfectly justifiable" (140–141). Hourmouziades never defined "moving tableau" and only two of his types of tableau comprise more than a single example: "group of prisoners with escort" and "dead bodies brought in."[18] Also, in presenting his statistics he seems to have made two unwarranted assumptions: (1) that it makes

[15] *Al.* 773; *Med.* 131; *And.* 56, 117; *Hec.* 98; *Ion* 184; *Tro.* 48; *El.* 54; *Hel.* 68, 179; *Or.* 71. The chorus of the *Heracles* is not announced even though there are two characters present.

[16] "The entrance of Athena comes as a shock," J. R. Wilson, "An Interpolation in the Prologue of Euripides' *Troades*," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 209.

[17] For the continuing controversy concerning direct address to the audience see most recently D. Bain, "Audience Address in Greek Tragedy," *CQ* 25 (1975) 13–25.

[18] To Hourmouziades' list (*And.* 501/504; *Su* 794; 990; *HF* 451/497; *Tro.* 577, 1123; *IT* 482/650) can be added fifteen further examples from Euripides. In Sophocles all dead body tableaux are announced (*Aj.* 348, 896; *Ant.* 1261, 1292; *El.* 1465), while in Euripides all but one are announced (*Med.* 1317; *Hi.* 810; *And.* 1166; *Hec.* 1051; *Tro.* 1123; *Su.* 794, 990; *HF* 1030ff; *El.* 890; *Pho.* 1485; *Ba.* 1169, 1215). *Hec.* 658 is not announced because it is dramatically inappropriate that the body be identified. All escorted prisoner tableaux in Sophocles are announced (*Ant.* 384, 806; *Tr.* 229; *OT* 1123; *OC* 1098) and most of those in Euripides (*Al.* 1008; *And.* 501/504; *HF* 451/497; *Tro.* 895; *IT* 482/650, 1222) but not *Hcld.* 983; *And.* 309 (where the prisoner does not speak); or *Ba.* 434/461. I have added to the dead body tableaux the arrivals of the dying Heracles in the *Trachiniae* and of Alcestis, both of whom are carried in on beds, and the arrivals of Phaedra and Hippolytus (*Hi.* 176/198, 1347), who are brought in with a bed but not on it. I have added to the escorted prisoner tableaux the cart arrivals at *Tro.* 577; *E.El.* 998; *IA* 607/631. The Aeschylean practice is more

no difference whether a "choral song" is strophic or astrophic, sung by the chorus alone, by an actor alone, or by chorus with actor; (2) that a delayed entrance is no different from an entrance directly following a choral song.[19] Granting these assumptions we find in fact sixty unannounced entrances following a choral song in a total of one hundred and one, a ratio quite different from Hourmouziades' fifty-four unannounced entrances in sixty-nine.[20] Without these assumptions, thc rule is quite effective.

If we consider only entrances immediately following purely choral strophic songs, we have sixty-eight entrances following a strophic chorus, of which fifty-two are unannounced. Ten of the sixteen exceptions fit one of Hourmouziades' two types of tableau mentioned above: *Al.* 244/246, 1008; *Hipp.* 176/198; *And* 501/504; *Supp.* 990; *HF* 451/497; *Tro.* 577, 1123; *IT* 482/650; and *IA* 607/631. Thus we are left with only six exceptions to the rule that an entrance immediately following a strophic chorus is not announced unless it is a tableau: *Hi.* 1153; *HF* 140; *Tro.* 235; *Pho* 1310; *Or.* 356, 1022/1069.[21] The striking similarity between these figures and Hourmouziades' seems to be fortuitous. Since he presents no list other than his tableaux and exceptions, comparison must be limited to these, but even in this small group there are numerous discrepancies: his list ignores two of the exceptions listed above (*Tro.* 235; *Or.* 356) and three of the tableaux (*Al.* 244/246; *Hipp.* 176/198; *IA* 607/631). Thus his list of announced entrances must be raised from fifteen to twenty. A corresponding rise in the unannounced entrances would bring us close to the one hundred and one mentioned above.

It is important to note, as Hourmouziades did not, that the converse of this rule is generally true as well. Seventy of the ninety-seven entrances not directly following strophic chorus are announced. Thirteen of the twenty-seven exceptions are entrances to a stage with

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amorphous: dead body tableaux are announced (*ScT* 875/879), unannounced (*Cho.* 973), or doubtful (*Ag.* 1372) while cart arrivals are announced (*Per.* 159; *Su.* 234), unannounced (*Ag.* 810), or doubtful (*PV* 128).

[19] His view on delayed entrance is clear from p. 139 n.2 and on "kommos" from p. 139 but his inclusion of astrophic lyrics in "choral song" must be deduced from his examples (*Or.* 1022/1069, 1369; *Ba.* 1168) and from his theory that song is technically incompatible with announcements.

[20] This does not include nineteen doubtful announcements.

[21] *Pho.* 1310 is not a tableau (see H. Erbse, "Beiträge zum Verständnis der Euripideischen 'Phoinissen,'" *Philol.* 110 [1966] 18) nor is *Or.* 1022/1069, *pace* Hourmouziades 141 (cf. *Ant.* 988; *Ph.* 730/733).

only one person present, which, as we have seen, understandably precludes announcement (*Al.* 773; *Med.* 131; *And* 56, 117; *Hec.* 98; *Ion* 184; *Tro.* 48; *El.* 54, 167; *Hel.* 68, 179, 515; *Or.* 71). Fourteen exceptions remain: *Hcld.* 474; *Hi.* 790; *Su.* 1165; *HF* 107; *Ion* 1250, 1320; *Tro.* 1260; *El.* 880; *Hel.* 528, 597, 1441; *IA* 414, 819, 1532. Four of these are clearly surprise entrances (*Hcld.* 474; *Ion* 1320; *Hel.* 597; *IA* 414).[22]

The theory that a Euripidean character entering directly after a strophic chorus will not be announced unless he is part of a tableau and that, conversely, all other entrances will be announced unless they are to a stage occupied by only one actor is strongly supported by the evidence of the extant plays: one hundred and forty-five entrances follow this modified version of Hourmouziades' rule and only twenty do not.[23]

If we turn now to Sophocles we find that the same rule holds true. All but twelve of the forty-one entrances not directly following strophic choral song are announced: *Aj.* 1318; *Ant.* 223, 1278; *Tr.* 94; *OT* 924; *El.* 121, 660, 871; *Ph.* 135, 974, 1293; *OC* 1751. Three of these are entrances to a stage occupied by only one person (*Tr.* 94; *El.* 121; *Ph.* 135). Four of the nine real exceptions are clearly unexpected, surprise entrances: Odysseus twice leaps out of hiding in the *Philoctetes* (974, 1293) while the prayers of both Jocasts and Clytaemestra are suddenly (and deceptively) answered by the unexpected arrival of a messenger (*OT* 924; *El.* 660).[24]

Conversely, entrances directly following a strophic chorus are not announced (twenty cases) unless they are tableaux (*Ant.* 443, 806; *Tr.* 983; *OT* 1123?; *OC* 1099). There are four exceptions: *Aj.* 1226; *Ant.* 162, 635; *OC* 1254.[25]

[22] *IA* 819 may be a surprise entrance as well (cf. v.855) At *Su.* 1165 there is some question as to whether Theseus reenters. The arrival at *Hec.* 1109 is prepared by the call at 1091ff. At *Tro.* 1260 the "flaming hands" have been announced even if Talthybius has not. If Menelaus enters with Helen (see A. M. Dale, *Euripides Helen* [Oxford 1967] *ad Hel.* 1369, *contra* Kannicht [above, n.3] *ad Hel.* 1390–1391) then this becomes unexceptional. Further distinctions within the lyric category (i.e., chorus *vs* actor/actor plus chorus; strophic *vs* astrophic) do not lessen the number of exceptions.

[23] I do not count the unanalyzable *Rh.* 154. For the confusion regarding this see W. Ritchie, *The Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides*, (Cambridge 1964) 113–115.

[24] One might add *El.* 871. These unannounced surprise entrances can be distinguished from the others listed above in note 12 in that an actor is already on stage in these while in those (except *Ant.* 988) only the chorus is present.

[25] Since the blind Oedipus needs to have entrances announced to him, every entrance in the play is announced (including 1254) until he leaves the stage.

In Sophocles, then, fifty-seven entrances follow the modified version of Hourmouziades' rule and only thirteen do not. This ratio is like the Euripidean (eighty percent to eighty-eight percent).

The Aeschylean ratio is somewhat different. Indeed, sixteen entrances directly following a strophic chorus are unannounced and only four are announced (*ScT* 375, 397; *Su.* 836?; *Ag.* 503) but the converse is not so striking: eight of the remaining entrances are announced and eight are not. Still, two of these eight unannounced entrances are to a stage with only one person present (*ScT* 39; *Eum.* 244) and four of the six real exceptions are probably surprise entrances (*ScT* 1005; *Ag.* 1577; *Cho.* 212; *PV* 284).[26] In Aeschylus, then, twenty-six entrances follow the rule and ten do not and so the ratio (seventy-two percent) is not as impressive as either the Sophoclean or Euripidean ratio. However, it is no worse than that of the explanation offered earlier, that Aeschylus announces servants (seventy-three percent), and has the advantage of being a uniform practice for all three tragedians. Furthermore, if we add in those exceptions that can be easily explained, we have only six exceptions left in thirty-six cases (seventeen percent), which compares quite well with the Sophoclean and Euripidean ratios of unexplained exceptions (thirteen and ten percent, respectively).

We should return finally to the doubtful announcements excluded at the beginning of the study.[27] Surprisingly enough, they seem to function in much the same way as regular announcements. In Aeschylus two of the nine directly follow strophic chorus (*Per.* 681; *Eum.* 397); in Sophocles none of the fourteen does and in Euripides only one of the thirty-eight does (*Rh.* 728). Thus only three of the sixty-one doubtful announcements differ from regular announcements.[28]

This study has shown, on the negative side, that two commonly held

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The exceptional *Aj.* 1226 may well be a delayed entrance: normally a two or three line announcement directly following a strophic chorus would not be counted as delaying the entrance but since the announcement is made by an actor who has just rushed on stage I think here it might be.

[26] We are therefore left with two unexplained exceptions (*Cho.* 892/900; *Eum.* 1032). Tableaux do not seem to be announced with any regularity (see above, n.18).

[27] One might wish to include the fourteen announced entrances of non-speaking characters (see appendix, note *a*), all but one of which (*E.Su.* 794, a tableau) do not follow a choral stasimon. Unannounced entrances of non-speaking characters we have no way of determining.

[28] I owe to M. Griffith the observation that recitative anapests by the chorus should not be equated with choral lyric. This should have been obvious to me since the announcements themselves are often in recitative anapests (these, of course, like all announcements do not affect the coding — it is what precedes the

and reasonable assumptions about entrance announcements are unwarranted: their purpose is not to identify characters even though they in fact usually do identify them; the absence of an announcement is not in itself an indication that the entrance (of Aegeus in the *Medea* for example) is sudden or surprising and conversely the assumption that an announced arrival cannot be sudden or surprising, though logical, is incorrect.[29]

The positive result of this study is that we can now be confident that it was a convention of Greek tragedy that a character whose entrance directly followed a choral stasimon was not announced unless he was part of a tableau. All other characters are announced unless there is no one to whom they can be announced. The explanation for this is simple. As O. Taplin has noted, an entrance was expected after a choral stasimon;[30] naturally the expected entrance would not be announced. All other entrances, since they were to some degree indeterminate, would be marked by an announcement, unless they were to be surprising. If there were something special about the expected entrance following a choral stasimon, it would be pointed out — a recurring type is the escorted entrance of a prisoner or a corpse.

The immediate implications of this study are obvious: there is a consistent practice in Greek tragedy regarding entrance announcements, and appreciation of any particular entrance should begin with consideration of it. The larger implications are not so clear. If the non-announcement of an entrance following a choral stasimon marks that entrance as expected, we seem to have some objective verification for the (pseudo-?) Aristotelian division of tragedies into episodes. Taplin, however, suggests that this is part of a more general phenomenon wherein act-dividing lyrics are marked by *both* a preceding exit *and* a following entrance.[31] This may well be true and the suggestion is

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announcements that is being studied). Of the eighteen examples (marked with an *a* in the "Stasimon" column of the appendix) fourteen will not affect my statistics whichever way they are coded. The four that would make a difference (*Per.* 159; *ScT* 875/879; *Al.* 141; *Rh.* 388) are all announced and so Griffith's observation is borne out empirically.

[29] A student of mine, Monica Barran, corrected me on precisely this assumption about Aegeus by pointing to the unannounced entrances of Jason. This inspired the present study.

[30] "It is a structural feature of Greek tragedy that after a choral song the new act begins with a new entry," O. Taplin, "Aeschylean Silences and Silences in Aeschylus," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 84.

[31] The implications of this theory for Aeschylus are fully explored by Taplin in his stimulating book, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977), which appeared after this article had gone to the printer.

certainly deserving of full explication but it should be noted that in terms of entrance announcements it is no more helpful to speak of act-dividing lyrics than of choral stasima and the additional problem of those lyrics preceded by an exit but *not* followed by an entrance adds a new group of exceptions that must be explained.[32]

[32]Among the many colleagues and students to whom I am indebted, I should like to thank especially R. La Bombard, G. W. Dickerson, M. L. Lang, and O. Taplin.

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## APPENDIX

### Aeschylus

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Per.* | 159 | queen | 150–152 | c | (x)[a] | |
| | 249 | *messenger | 246–248 | c–a | — | |
| | 598 | queen | — | | x | |
| | 681 | Darius | (called) | (c) | x | |
| | 907 | Xerxes | — | | x | |
| *ScT* | 39 | *spy | — | | — | |
| | 181 | Eteocles | — | | x | |
| | 375 | *spy | 369–371 | c–c | x | |
| | 397 | Eteocles | 372–374 | c–c | x | |
| | 792 | *messenger | — | | x | |
| | 875/879? | Antigone/ Ismene | 861–862 | c | (x)[a] | |
| | 1005 | *herald | — | | lyr | |
| *Su.* | 234 | king | 180 | a | — | |
| | 600 | Danaus | — | | x | |
| | 836? | *herald | 825 (schol.) | c? | x? | |
| | 911 | king | (called) | (c) | (lyr) | |
| | 980 | Danaus | (called) | (c–a) | —[a] | |
| *Ag.* | 264 | Clytaemestra | — | | x*? | s |
| | 503 | *herald | 493–494 | a?–c | x | p |
| | 810 | Agamemnon | — | | x | p |
| | 1035 | Clytaemestra | — | | x | s |
| | 1072 | Cassandra | — | | x* | p |
| | 1372 | Clytaemestra | (noise) | (a) | — | s |
| | 1577 | Aegisthus | — | | (lyr)[a] | p |
| *Cho.* | 22 | chorus | 10–12 | a | — | p |
| | 84 | Electra | 16–17 | a | —* | p |
| | 212 | Orestes | — | | — | p |
| | 652 | Orestes | — | | x | p |
| | 668 | Clytaemestra | (called) | (a–a) | (x) | s |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cho.* | 734 | *nurse | 731 | c | —[a] | s |
| | 838 | Aegisthus | — | | x | p |
| | 875 | *messenger | (noise) | (a) | —[a] | s |
| | 885 | Clytaemestra | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 892/900 | Orestes/ Pylades | — | | — | s |
| | 973 | Orestes | — | | x | s |
| *Eum.* | 179 | Apollo | — | | x | s? |
| | 244 | chorus | — | | — | p |
| | 397 | Athena | (called) | (a) | x | p |
| | 566 | Athena | — | | x | p |
| | 576 | Apollo | — | | x? | p |
| | 1032 | epichorus | — | | lyr | p? |
| *PV* | 128 | chorus | (noise) | (a) | lyr | p? |
| | 284 | Oceanus | — | | —[a] | p? |
| | 561 | Io | — | | x | p |
| | 944 | Zeus's messenger | 941 | a | — | p |

SOPHOCLES

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Aj.* | 91 | Ajax | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 201 | Tecmessa | — | | x | s |
| | 348 | Ajax | (door) | (a–c) | — | s |
| | 646 | Ajax | — | | x | s |
| | 719 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 787 | Tecmessa | (called) | (c) | — | s |
| | 896 | Tecmessa | 894–895 | c | lyr | p? |
| | 977 | Teucer | (noise) | (c–a) | — | p |
| | 1047 | Menelaus | 1042 | c–a | — | p |
| | 1223 | Teucer | — | | x | p |
| | 1226 | Agamemnon | 1223–1224 | a–c | x | p |
| | 1318 | Odysseus | — | | — | p |
| *Ant.* | 162 | Creon | 155–156 | c | x | s? |
| | 223 | *guard | — | | — | p |
| | 384 | *guard | — | | x | p |
| | 387 | Creon | 386 | c–a | (x) | s |
| | 443 | Antigone | 378–379 | c | x* | p |
| | 536 | Ismene | 526 | c | — | s |
| | 635 | Haemon | 626–630 | c–a | x | p? |
| | 806 | Antigone | 804–805 | c | x | s |
| | 988 | Teiresias | — | | x | p |
| | 1155 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 1183 | Eurydice | 1180 | c | — | s |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ant.* | 1261 | Creon | 1257 | c | — | p |
| | 1278 | *messenger | — | | lyr | s |
| *Tr.* | 64 | Hyllus | 58 | a–a | — | p |
| | 94 | chorus | — | | — | p |
| | 180 | *messenger | 179 | c–a | — | p |
| | 229 | Lichas | 225–226 | a–c | lyr | p |
| | 393 | Lichas | 391–392 | a–a | — | s |
| | 531 | Deianeira | — | | x | s |
| | 598 | Lichas | 594–595 | a–c | — | s |
| | 663 | Deianeira | — | | x | s |
| | 734 | Hyllus | 731–733 | c–a | — | p |
| | 871 | *nurse | 869–870 | a–c | (x) | s |
| | 971/974 | Hyllus/*old man | — | | x | p |
| | 983 | Heracles | 968 | c | x* | p |
| *OT* | 87 | Creon | 78–79 | a–a | — | p |
| | 216 | Oedipus | — | | x | s |
| | 316 | Teiresias | 297 | c–a | — | p |
| | 513 | Creon | — | | x | p |
| | 532 | Oedipus | 531 | c–a | — | s |
| | 634 | Jocasta | 631–632 | c–a | — | s |
| | 911 | Jocasta | — | | x | s |
| | 924 | *messenger | — | | — | p |
| | 950 | Oedipus | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 1123 | *cowherd | 1111 | a–c | x | p |
| | 1223 | *messenger | — | | x | s |
| | 1307 | Oedipus | (door) | (a–c) | — | s |
| | 1422 | Creon | 1416–1417 | c–a | — | s? |
| *El.* | 86 | Electra | (noise) | (a–a) | — | s |
| | 121 | chorus | — | | —*a* | p |
| | 328 | Chrysothemis | 324–327 | c–a | — | s |
| | 516 | Clytaemestra | — | | x | s? |
| | 660 | *tutor | — | | — | p |
| | 871 | Chrysothemis | — | | lyr | p |
| | 1098 | Orestes | — | | x | p |
| | 1326 | *tutor | (noise) | (a–a) | — | s |
| | 1398 | Electra | — | | x | s |
| | 1424 | Orestes | 1422 | c | lyr | s |
| | 1442 | Aegisthus | 1428–1429 | a–a | lyr | p |
| | 1470 | Orestes | (door) | (a) | — | s |
| *Ph.* | 135 | chorus | — | | — | p |
| | 219 | Philoctetes | (noise) | (c–a) | lyr | p |
| | 542 | *trader | 539–541 | c–a | — | p |
| | 730/733 | Neoptol./Phil. | — | | x | s |
| | 974 | Odysseus | — | | — | s? |
| | 1222/1224 | Odysseus/ Neopt. | 1220–1221 | c–a | lyr | p |
| | 1263 | Philoctetes | (called) | (a) | — | s |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ph.* | 1293 | Odysseus | — | | — | s? |
| *OC* | 36 | *stranger | 29 | a–a | — | p |
| | 117 | chorus | 112–113 | a–a | — | p |
| | 138 | Oedipus | (sought) | (c–c) | lyr | s |
| | 324 | Ismene | 311–312 | a–a | — | p |
| | 551 | Theseus | 549–550 | c–a | lyr | p |
| | 728 | Creon | 722–723 | a–a | (x)? | p |
| | 887 | Theseus | (called) | (c) | lyr | p |
| | 1099 | Antigone | 1097–1098 | c–a | x | p |
| | 1139 | Theseus | — | | x*? | p |
| | 1254 | Polyneices | 1249–1253 | a–a | x | p |
| | 1500 | Theseus | (called) | (a) | lyr | p |
| | 1579 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| 1670/1689 | | Antigone/ Ismene | 1668 | a–c | — | p |
| | 1751 | Theseus | — | | lyr | p |

EURIPIDES

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Al.* | 28 | Death | 24 | a | — | p |
| | 141 | *messenger | 136–137 | c | (x)[a] | s |
| 244/246 | | Alcestis/ Admetus | 233 | c | x | s |
| | 393 | child | — | | x* | s |
| | 476 | Heracles | — | | x | p |
| | 509 | Admetus | 507–508 | c | — | s |
| | 606 | Admetus | — | | x | s |
| | 614 | Pheres | 611–612 | c–a | — | p |
| | 773 | Heracles | — | | — | s |
| | 1008 | Heracles | 1006–1007 | c–a | x | p |
| *Med.* | 49 | *tutor | (46–47) | (a) | — | p |
| | 131 | chorus | — | | —[a] | p |
| | 214 | Medea | (called) | (c–a) | lyr | s |
| | 271 | Creon | 269–270 | c–a | — | p |
| | 446 | Jason | — | | x | p? |
| | 663 | Aegeus | — | | x | p |
| | 866 | Jason | — | | x | p? |
| | 1002 | *tutor | — | | x | p |
| | 1121 | *messenger | 1118–1119 | a–c | —[a] | p |
| | 1293 | Jason | — | | x | p |
| *Hcld.* | 55 | *herald | 49–50 | a | — | p |
| | 73 | chorus | (called) | (a) | — | p |
| | 120 | Demophon | 118 | c | — | p |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[c] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Hcld.* | 389 | Demophon | — | | x | p |
| | 474 | Macaria | — | | — | s |
| | 630 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 646 | Alcmene | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 784 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 928 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 983 | Eurytheus | — | | x* | p |
| *Hi.* | 58 | Hippolytus | 51–52 | a | — | p |
| | 61 | epichorus | 54–56 | a | — | p |
| | 176/198 | nurse/Phaedra | 170–171 | c | x | s |
| | 601/603 | Hipp./nurse | (noise) | (a–c) | — | s |
| | 790 | Theseus | — | | — | p |
| | 902 | Hippolytus | 899 | c–a | — | p |
| | 1153 | *messenger | 1151–1152 | c | x | p |
| | 1160 | Theseus | 1156 | c–a | (x) | s |
| | 1347 | Hippolytus | 1342 | c | — | p |
| *And.* | 56 | *messenger | — | | — | s? |
| | 117 | chorus | — | | lyr | p |
| | 147 | Hermione | — | | x | s |
| | 309 | Menelaus | — | | x | p? |
| | 501/504 | Andromache/ child | 494–495 | c | x | s |
| | 515 | Menelaus | — | | x* | s |
| | 547 | Peleus | 545–546 | c | (lyr)*a* | p |
| | 802 | *nurse | — | | x | s |
| | 825 | Hermione | 823–824 | c–a | — | s |
| | 881 | Orestes | 879–880 | c | — | p |
| | 1047 | Peleus | — | | x | p? |
| | 1070 | *messenger | (1066–1069) | (a) | — | p |
| *Hec.* | 59 | Hecuba | 53 | a | — | s? |
| | 98 | chorus | — | | —*a* | p |
| | 177 | Polyxena | (called) | (a) | lyr | s |
| | 218 | Odysseus | 216 | c–a | lyr | p |
| | 484 | *Talthybius | — | | x | p |
| | 658 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 670 | Hecuba | 665–666 | c–a | (x) | s |
| | 726 | Agamemnon | 724–725 | c–c/a | (lyr) | p |
| | 953 | Polymestor | — | | x | p |
| | 1044 | Hecuba | (noise) | (a) | — | s |
| | 1056 | Polymestor | 1053 | a–c | — | s |
| | 1109 | Agamemnon | (called) | (a) | (lyr) | p |
| *Su.* | 87 | Theseus | — | | x | p |
| | 381 | Theseus | — | | x | p |
| | 399 | *herald | 395 | a | — | p |
| | 513 | Adrastus | — | | x* | p |
| | 634 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 838 | Theseus | — | | x* | p |
| | 990 | Evadne | 980–981 | c | x | s? |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[d] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Su.* | 1034 | Iphis | 1031 | c–a | lyr | p? |
| | 1123 | epichorus | 1114–1115 | c | — | p |
| | 1165? | Theseus | — | | lyr? | p |
| *HF* | 107 | chorus | — | | — | p |
| | 140 | Lycus | 138–139 | c | x | s |
| | 451/497 | Megara/ Amphitry. | 442–448 | c | x | s |
| | 523 | Heracles | 514 | a–a | — | p |
| | 701 | Lycus | — | | x | p |
| | 707 | Amphitryon | 701 | a | (x) | s |
| | 910 | *messenger | (noise) | (a) | lyr | s |
| | 1042 | Amphitryon | 1039–1041 | c | lyr | s |
| | 1088 | Heracles | (door) | c–c | lyr* | s |
| | 1163 | Theseus | 1154 | a | — | p |
| *Ion* | 82 | Ion | 78–79 | a | — | s? |
| | 184 | chorus | — | | lyr | p |
| | 247 | Creusa | (236) | (c–a) | lyr | p |
| | 401 | Xuthus | 392–393 | a–a | — | p |
| | 510 | Ion | — | | x | p |
| | 517 | Xuthus | 516 | c–a | (x) | s |
| | 725/735 | Creusa/*old man | — | | x | p |
| | 1106 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 1250 | Creusa | — | | (lyr)[a] | p |
| | 1261 | Ion | (1257–1258) | (a) | — | p |
| | 1320 | *priestess | — | | — | s |
| *Tro.* | 48 | Athena | — | | — | p |
| | 153 | chorus | (called) | (a) | —[a] | s |
| | 235 | Talthybius | 230–232 | c | x | p |
| | 308 | Cassandra | 306–307 | a–a | — | s |
| | 577 | Andromache | 568–569 | c–a | x | p |
| | 709 | Talthybius | 707–708 | a | — | p |
| | 860 | Menelaus | — | | x | p |
| | 895 | Helen | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 1123 | Talthybius | 1119–1122 | c–c | x | p |
| | 1260 | Talthybius | — | | —[a] | p |
| *El.* | 54 | Electra | — | | — | s |
| | 112 | Electra | 107 | a–a | — | p |
| | 167 | chorus | — | | lyr | p |
| | 220 | Orestes | 216–217 | a–c | (lyr) | s |
| | 341 | *farmer | 339–340 | c–a | — | p |
| | 487 | *old man | — | | x | p |
| | 503 | Electra | 493 | a | (x) | s |
| | 553 | Orestes | 549 | a–a | — | s |
| | 751 | Electra | (called) | (c) | (x) | s |
| | 761 | *messenger | (759–760) | (a–c) | — | p |
| | 880 | Electra | — | | lyr | s |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *El.* | 890 | Orestes | (855–856) | (a–a) | lyr | p |
| | 998 | Clytaemestra | 963–964 | a–a | —*a** | p |
| | 1177/1182 | Orestes/ Electra | 1172–1173 | c | lyr? | s |
| *IT* | 238 | *cowherd | 236–237 | c–a | lyr | p |
| | 482/650 | Orestes/ Pylades | 456–457 | c | x | p |
| | 725 | Iphigenia | 724 | a–a | — | s |
| | 1153 | Thoas | — | | x | p |
| | 1159 | Iphigenia | 1156 | c–a | (x) | s |
| | 1284 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 1307 | Thoas | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| *Hel.* | 68 | Teucer | — | | — | p |
| | 179 | chorus | — | | lyr | p |
| | 437 | *old woman | (door) | (a) | — | s |
| | 515 | chorus | — | | — | s |
| | 528? | Helen | — | | lyr | s |
| | 597 | *messenger | — | | — | p |
| | 865 | Theonoe | 858–859 | a–a | — | s |
| | 1165 | Theoclymenus | — | | x | p |
| | 1193 | Helen | 1184–1185 | a | — | s |
| | 1369 | Helen | — | | x | s |
| | 1390 | Theoclymenus | 1385–1386 | a–c | — | s |
| | 1441 | Menelaus | — | | — | s? |
| | 1512 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| *Pho.* | 202 | chorus | 196–197 | a–a | lyr | p |
| | 261 | Polyneices | — | | x | p |
| | 301 | Jocasta | (called) | (c) | lyr | s |
| | 446 | Eteocles | 443–444 | c–a | — | p? |
| | 690? | Eteocles | — | | x | s? |
| | 697 | Creon | 696 | a | (x) | p |
| | 834 | Teiresias | — | | x | p |
| | 977 | Menoeceus | — | | x* | p |
| | 1067 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 1072 | Jocasta | (called) | (a) | (x) | s |
| | 1270 | Antigone | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 1310 | Creon | 1308–1309 | c | x | p |
| | 1335 | *messenger | 1332–1334 | a | — | p |
| | 1485 | Antigone | 1481–1484 | c | — | p |
| | 1539 | Oedipus | (called) | (a) | lyr | s |
| *Or.* | 71 | Helen | — | | — | s |
| | 140 | chorus | 132–133 | a | — | p |
| | 356 | Menelaus | 348–349 | c | x | p |
| | 470 | Tyndareus | 459–460 | c | — | p |
| | 729 | Pylades | 725–726 | a | — | p |
| | 844 | Electra | — | | x | s |
| | 852 | *messenger | 850–851 | c–a | (x) | p |

| Play | Line[a] | Character[b] | Announced[c] | By/to whom[d] | Stasimon[e] | Entry[f] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Or.* | | | | | | |
| | 1022/1069 | Orestes/ Pylades | 1012–1014 | c–a | x | p |
| | 1323 | Hermione | 1314 | a–c | (lyr) | p |
| | 1369 | *Phrygian | 1366–1368 | c | lyr | s |
| | 1506 | Orestes | 1504–1505 | c | lyr | s |
| | 1554 | Menelaus | 1549 | c–a | lyr | p |
| | 1567 | Orestes | (door) | (a) | — | (s) |
| *Ba.* | 170 | Teiresias | — | | x | p |
| | 178 | Cadmus | (called) | (a) | (x) | s |
| | 215 | Pentheus | 212 | a–a | — | p |
| | 434 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 461 | Dionysus | — | | x | p |
| | 604 | Dionysus | (noise) | (c) | lyr | s |
| | 642 | Pentheus | (noise) | (a) | — | s |
| | 660 | *messenger | 658 | a–a | — | p |
| | 912 | Dionysus | — | | x | s |
| | 918 | Pentheus | (called) | (a) | (x) | s |
| | 1024 | *messenger | — | | x | p |
| | 1168 | Agave | 1165–1166 | c | lyr | p |
| | 1216 | Cadmus | (called?) | (a) | — | p |
| *IA* | 2 | old man | (called) | (a) | (x) | s |
| | 303/304 | old man/ Menelaus | — | | x? | p |
| | 317 | Agamemnon | (called) | (a) | — | s |
| | 414 | *messenger | — | | — | p |
| | 607/631 | Clytaemestra/ Iph. | 591–593 | c | x | p |
| | 641 | Agamemnon | 630? | a–a | — | s |
| | 801 | Achilles | — | | x | p |
| | 819 | Clytaemestra | — | | — | s |
| | 855 | old man | (noise) | (a) | — | s |
| | 1098 | Clytaemestra | — | | x | s |
| | 1106 | Agamemnon | (1089–1099) | a | (x) | p? |
| | 1211 | Iphigenia | 1120 | a–a | —* | s |
| | 1345 | Achilles | 1338–1339 | a–a | (lyr) | p |
| | 1532 | *messenger | — | | lyr | p |
| | 1534 | Clytaemestra | (called) | (a) | (lyr) | s |
| | 1621 | Agamemnon | 1619–1620 | c–a | —[a] | p |
| *Rh.* | 11 | Hector | (called) | (c) | —[a] | s |
| | 87 | Aeneas | 85–86 | c | — | p |
| | 154 | Dolon | — | | ? | p? |
| | 264 | *cowherd | — | | x | p |
| | 388 | Rhesus | (called) | (c) | (x)[a] | p |
| | 642 | Paris | 627–628 | a–a | — | p |
| | 683 | Odysseus | 677 | c–c | lyr | p |
| | 728 | *charioteer | (noise) | (a) | x | p |
| | 808 | Hector | 806–807 | c–a | — | s? |

[a] The line number refers to the first line spoken by the character who is entering. All line references are to the Oxford texts of Aeschylus (ed. D. L. Page, 1972), Sophocles (ed. A. C. Pearson, 1924) and Euripides (ed. G. Murray, 1913). This list does not include: (1) entrances of nonspeaking characters (*Aj.* 544, 685?, 1168; *Ant.* 1292; *S.El.* 1466?; *Med.* 894; *Hcld.* 720?; *Hi.* 811; *And.* 1166; *E.Su.* 794; *Tro.* 1120, 1207; *IT* 1222; *Or.* 124); (2) entrances to an empty stage (besides prologue entrances and entrances of the chorus: *A.Su.* 178; *Eum.* 235; *Aj.* 815; *Al.* 747, 861; *Hel.* 386; *Rh.* 565) unless the entering character is being avoided by someone who announces him and then exits (*Hi.* 58; *Hec.* 59; *Pho.* 202) or goes into hiding (*Cho.* 84; *S.El.* 86; *OC* 117; *Ion* 82); (3) *dei ex machina* (following Hourmouziades, Graeber, Hunger [above, n.3], although the precise rationale of these *dei* has not been convincingly explained); (4) unlikely entrances (*A.Su.* 1034; *Ag.* 587, 855; *Cho.* 657; *Eum.* 588; *Ant.* 631, 883; *Med.* 1116; *Hi.* 88, 433, 682, 776; *IT* 467; *Hel.* 1514, 1627; *Pho.* 1584; *Ba.* 451; *Rh.* 264).

[b] An asterisk designates servants. The term "messenger" has been used for colorless servants in spite of occasional awkwardness (e.g., *Al.* 141).

[c] Line references give the minimum announcement, which is often embedded in a larger rhetorical unit. Doubtful announcements (see above, n.1) are enclosed in parentheses and indicated only by generic labels if possible. I have not included addresses or "self-announcements" since they imply that a character has already entered (*Ag.* 264, 810; *Aj.* 1318; *Rh.* 379; the choral parodoi of the *Eumenides* and the *Bacchae*). Although Aegisthus (*Cho.* 838), Jason (*Med.* 866), Theseus (*E.Su.* 87), and Teiresias (*Pho.* 834) are in fact summoned (= "called"), I have not indicated this since the summons in all cases occurs before a stasimon, with a resultant break in the action that would allow indefinite delay (contrast Medea at *Med.* 214). A character who enters in a group that is announced but who himself is not specifically designated as part of that group is considered unannounced (*Ag.* 1072; *Ant.* 384; *Tr.* 971/974; *OC* 1139; *Al.* 393; *Med.* 49?; *Hcld.* 983; *And.* 515; *E.Su.* 838, 1165), contrary to Hourmouziades (p. 142). The talk of spies at *ScT* 36–38 is no more an announcement than the talk of guards at *Ant.* 217.

[d] *a–c* means an actor announces to the chorus.

[e] *x* means that the entrance directly follows a purely choral strophic lyric; those following all other lyrics are coded *lyr*. Those not following lyric are coded "—." If the entrance occurs a few lines after a lyric, the *x* or *lyr* is put in parentheses. The announcement itself, of course, is not counted as delaying the entry. An entering character who is at first silent for at least twenty lines (e.g., *Tr.* 983) is marked with an asterisk. Recitative anapests as defined by A. M. Dale (*The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* [Cambridge 1968²] chap. four) are treated as a dialogue meter and marked with a raised *a* (see above, n.28). For *Ag.* 1577 and *And.* 547 see Dale, p. 50. I consider the strophe-antistrophe-(nonresponding) epode form strophic (*Per.* 681, 907; *Ag.* 503; *Aj.* 201; *Tr.* 531; *S.El.* 516; *OC* 1254; *Hcld.* 389; *Hi.* 176/198, 1153 = 1160; *And.* 802; *Hec.* 658 = 670, 953; *E.Su.* 838?, 990; *HF* 140; *Ion* 510=517, 725/735; *Tro.* 577; *E.El.* 487; *Pho.* 690=697, 834=977; *Or.* 844, 1022/1069?; *Ba.* 170?, 912, 1024; *IA* 607/631, 801?, 1098? — a question mark indicates a very long epode). When dialogue meter intrudes between strophe and antistrophe, the following entrance is coded *lyr* (*OC* 887, 1500; *E.El* 880, 890; *Or.* 1544; cf. the extreme examples in *Phil.* 391ff=507ff, *Hi.* 362ff=669ff; *Rh.* 454ff=820ff). An entrance

following just the strophe of a strophic lyric is marked *lyr* since the strophic nature of the lyric would not be evident yet (*Aj.* 896; *S.El.* 1424?; *OC* 138; *Hec.* 177; *Or.* 1369). Sometimes the timing of an entrance within a choral song is unclear (*Ag.* 264, 810; *E.El.* 890).

[f] Entrance is from the parodos (*p*) or skene (*s*). There is no conventional indication of this except that about half the skene entrances are designated as "outside the house" or "outside." This explains the large number of question marks in this column. The staging for the *Persians*, *Septem*, and *Suppliants* of Aeschylus is so disputed that I have left them blank.

# EURIPIDES *ALKESTIS* 636–641

MARK GRIFFITH

οὐκ ἦσθ' ἄρ' ὀρθῶς τοῦδε σώματος πατήρ,
οὐδ' ἡ τεκεῖν φάσκουσα καὶ κεκλημένη
μήτηρ μ' ἔτικτε, δουλίου δ' ἀφ' αἵματος
μαστῷ γυναικὸς σῆς ὑπεβλήθην λάθρᾳ·
ἔδειξας εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐξελθὼν ὃς εἶ,
καί μ' οὐ νομίζω παῖδα σὸν πεφυκέναι.

AS Dale remarks in her note,[1] these lines are a *locus conclamatus*. Editors have rightly been unwilling to believe that Admetos is seriously denying his parentage and claiming to be of slave origin: but they have surely been mistaken in trying to make him say something else, whether by excising lines,[2] or by turning his words into a series of rhetorical questions ("Were you not my father after all . . . ?").[3]

A third alternative seems to me much to be preferred.[4] The formula

[1] *Euripides Alcestis*, ed. A. M. Dale (Oxford 1954) 103–104.

[2] Line 641 was rejected by G. A. Wagner (1800) and since by many others; lines 634–639 by M. L. Earle, whose arguments are paraphrased by Dale; 636–641 by K. Schenkl (1862), C. Badham (1865), and others; *alii alia:* cf. J. Baumert, *Enioi athetousin* (diss. Tübingen 1968) 210.

[3] "Nos signa interrogationis posuimus," Murray in his *apparatus* (1902): but Weil had already made the same proposal in 1891. This recourse is followed by Méridier (Budé ed., Paris 1926, 1965), Dale, and L. Torraca (Naples 1963), and is therefore in danger of becoming the standard reading.

For discussion of the "imperfect of recognition" with ἄρα, see J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* (Basel 1920) 1.185, Kühner-Gerth 1.146, Denniston, *Greek Particles* (2nd ed. Oxford 1954) 36–37.

[4] It is implied by Wilamowitz (*Griechische Tragödien* 3, Berlin 1906) in his translation and perhaps by Paley ad loc. (637–639 are "effective lines") in his scornful rejection of Nauck's excision. It is now again partially represented by J. Baumert (n.2) 212–214. Since Baumert tends to defend almost anything that stands in the majority of the manuscripts, and since neither he nor Wilamowitz quotes parallels to support his interpretation, I think further argument is required. This note attempts to supply this.

A fourth alternative (mentioned by Baumert, p. 211) was put forward by J. Meunier, *Mus. Belg.* 33 (1929) 147–148 (and E. Epke *Über die Streitszenen . . . in der griechischen Tragödie* [diss. Hamburg 1951] 30 [*non vidi*]). It involves printing ἤ for ἦ in 642, and treating 636–641 and 642ff as opposing hypotheses ("disjunctive argument"), of which only the second is true. This seems to me to

(οὐκ) ἄρα ἦσθα / ἦν (ὀρθῶς) ... is sometimes employed in Greek, especially by Euripides, in a form of rhetorical *etymologia*.[5] So we find:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Hipp.* 359–360 | ... *Κύπρις οὐκ ἄρ' ἦν θεός*<br>*ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζον ἄλλο γίγνεται θεοῦ.* |
| *IT* 369 | *Ἄιδης Ἀχιλλεὺς ἦν ἄρ', οὐχ ὁ Πηλέως ...* |
| *Med.* 1279–1280 | ... *ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθα πέτρος ἢ σίδαρος ...* |

This last passage, of course, takes us back to a celebrated Homeric hyperbole, *Il.* 16.33–5:

> *νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοί γε πατὴρ ἦν ἱππότα Πηλεύς*
> *οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα*
> *πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι ...*

In the *Medea* passage, Euripides is again referring to the lack of normal, human feelings, but he has slightly altered the point of the implied syllogism, which goes, in Homer, as follows: (1) Anyone with human parents feels pity. (2) You feel no pity. (3) Therefore (ἄρα) you are not, after all (ἦσθα / ἦν), human. In Euripides, (1) is instead: Any human mother feels pity.[6]

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have nothing to recommend it. (Méridier prints ἦ in 642, after punctuating 636–639 as questions: his apparatus does not record the mss. ἦ.)

[5] This figure is based on the belief that the true nature (φύσις) of a person or thing is, or should be, reflected in its name (ὄνομα). So someone is ὀρθώνυμος if his nature corresponds to his name (e.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 681ff, 699ff, with Fraenkel's notes, Soph. *Ajax* 430–433 with Stanford's note, Eur. *Ba.* 507–508, fr. 781.11–13 = *Phaethon* 224–226, ed. J. Diggle, Cambridge 1970, with note), ψευδώνυμος if it does not (e.g., Aesch. *Th.* 670–671, *Prom.* 85–87 with Groeneboom's note, 717; also *IG* 3.1308 [? first century A.D. sepulcral epigram] *οὔνομα δ' Εὐτυχίδης· ψευδώνυμον ἀλλά με δαίμων / θῆκεν ἀφαρπάξας ὠκύτατ' εἰς Ἀίδα*). The fact that many proper names *did* correspond to particular traits or qualities made it easier for the Greeks to look for etymologies even where they did not exist (see further M. Sulzberger, *REG* 39 [1926] 381–447, Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 367). In the fifth century, Prodikos, Protagoras, and others began to discuss whether the connection between ordinary objects and their names existed by nature (φύσει) or merely by convention (νόμῳ, later θέσει): cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Sophists* (Cambridge 1971) 205–209; D. Fehling, *Rh. Mus.* 108 (1965) 212ff. The sophistic term for "correct" assignation of name to object was ὀρθός (ὀρθότης, ὀρθοέπεια, etc.); cf. Plato *Crat.* 391a–b, Wilamowitz on Eur. *Hks.* 56, Diels-Kranz, *VS* 3 (index) 317 s.vv. ὀρθός, ὀρθότης, and n.8 below.

[6] The basic syllogism of all these negative etymologies is the same: (1) All A's are B. (2) X is not B. (3) Therefore X (despite his/her name) is *not* really (ὀρθῶς) an A. In each case, (3) is an *hyperbole* and not meant literally. (Obviously, in *Hipp.* 359–360, nothing is more powerful than a god: but the point is that

A similar syllogism, applied as a "proof" of parentage, occurs at Eur. *Hipp.* 1169–1170:

> ὦ θεοὶ Πόσειδόν θ', ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἐμὸς πατὴρ
> ὀρθῶς, ἀκούσας τῶν ἐμῶν κατευγμάτων.

([1] Only true fathers listen to their sons' prayers. [2] You listened to my prayer. [3] Therefore you are my true father.) Barrett is surely wrong here[7] to see this as evidence that Theseus has hitherto doubted his divine parentage: rather, he too is using a variation on the figure of *etymologia;* the emphasis falls on ὀρθῶς.[8]

So when we find precisely the same phrase (ἦσθ' ἄρ' ὀρθῶς . . . πατήρ) in the *Alkestis* passage, we should immediately recognize that Admetos is using an old rhetorical figure. His implied syllogism (similar to that of Patroklos in *Il.* 16.33–35, quoted above) is simple: (1) True fathers (and mothers) help their sons in times of danger. (2) You (and your wife) did not help me. (3) Therefore you (and she) are not, after all, my true father (and mother) in which case I must be a suppositious child. Obviously the audience is not expected to take him literally (as modern editors, unfortunately, have done),[9] but rather to see the paradox, that

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Aphrodite, who has accomplished more than any normal god can accomplish, deserves another name than mere "god.")

For further parallels to the Homeric passage cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 242–244, σιδηρόφρων τε κἀκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος / ὅστις . . . σοῖσιν οὐ συνασχαλᾷ / μόχθοις, with Groeneboom's note.

[7] *Eur. Hippolytos,* ed. W. S. Barrett (Oxford 1964) 378. Barrett's argument is based on the fact that Poseidon is only mentioned as Theseus' father in reference to the curse (887, 1169, 1315, 1318, 1411); elsewhere Aigeus is named (1283, 1431). But there is no hint anywhere in the play, least of all in Theseus' imprecation at 887ff (cf. 44–46), that he feels any uncertainty about his parentage. Barrett himself (887) has pointed out the complications inherent in a myth which combines older, Trozenian elements (including Poseidon as father) with newer, Athenian elements (including Aigeus, king of Athens).

[8] Position (delayed, in enjambement) and sense both affirm this. ὀρθῶς, ἐτύμως, ἀληθῶς, (οὐ ψευδωνύμως), ἐνδίκως, are all regularly used for this figure: cf. R. Pfeiffer (*Sitzb. Bayr. Akad. Phil.-hist.* [1938] 2.9 n.2). One might choose to see Euripides' frequent use of ὀρθός in this quasi-technical sense as a sign of sophistic influence (see above, n.5): but the usage of ὀρθώνυμος, ψευδώνυμος, etc., in Aeschylus should give us pause (see below, n.10). In Hom. *Od.* 9.528ff (another imprecation to Poseidon from a son), Polyphemos uses the word ἐτεόν: εἰ ἐτεόν γε σός εἰμι, πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεαι εἶναι . . . Again there is no doubt as to his parentage.

[9] Thus the reference to "slave blood" is simply *reductio ad absurdum,* the logical consequence of denying Pheres' parenthood (cf. n.6 above). Elsewhere, 'a lioness" or "a rock" is more rhetorically effective.

Pheres, Admetos' natural father, is no *true* father. Again the emphasis falls on ὀρθῶς. The point is made explicitly in 641 (καί μ' οὐ νομίζω παῖδα σὸν πεφυκέναι, "I do not *regard* myself as being [*truly*] your son"),[10] embellished by the sarcastic hyperbole of 638–639, and crowned by 645–647:

> ... τήνδ' εἰάσατε,
> γυναῖκ' ὀθνείαν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα
> καὶ πατέρα γ'[11] ἐνδίκως ἂν ἡγοίμην μόνην.

If any doubt remained that Euripides is indeed using an old rhetorical formula, it should surely be dispelled by the verbal echoes between *Alk.* 636–638 and *Il.* 16.33–34 (οὐκ ἦσθ' ἄρα ... πατήρ, οὐδὲ ἡ ... μήτηρ μ' ἔτικτε ... δὲ ... / οὐκ ἄρα ... πατὴρ ἦν ..., οὐδὲ ... μήτηρ· ... δὲ ... τίκτε ...). Context, language, and rhetorical point ("You lack all natural feelings") are, I think, too close to be the result of chance.[12]

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[10] Here the sophistic play on *νόμος* and *φύσις* is surely intentional, as Admetos contrasts the true nature of this relationship with its conventional name: cf. 637 ἡ ... φάσκουσα καὶ κεκλημένη μήτηρ. (He could have used λόγῳ ... ἔργῳ or ὀνόματι ... ἔργῳ, cf. Eur. *Hks.* 55–56, *Or.* 454–455.) The paradox is that the biological (φύσει or ἔργῳ) father is in this case *not* by nature (φύσει) nor in deed (ἔργῳ) a *true* father: he deserves the name less than Alkestis (645–647, and cf. 666–668, quoted in n.12 below).

[11] πατέρα τέ γ' LP: πατέρα τ' VB. καὶ ... τε is rare enough (Denniston, *GP* 535, LSJ s.v. τε AII 3), and τέ γε not elsewhere attested in tragedy (Denniston, *GP* 161). Hartung's insertion of καί is probably right. For ἐνδίκως in *etymologia* cf. Aesch. *Th.* 405 (and n.8 above).

Of course, *Alk.* 645–647 are themselves a rhetorical exaggeration of another Homeric passage, Andromache to Hektor at *Il.* 6.429–430.

[12] Further examples and variations of this rhetorical point may be found at Soph. *Tr.* 817–818, ὄγκον γὰρ ἄλλως ὀνόματος τί δεῖ τρέφειν / μητρῷον, ἥτις μηδὲν ὡς τεκοῦσα δρᾷ; 1064, ὦ παῖ, γενοῦ μοι παῖς ἐτήτυμος γεγώς ... ; *El.* 1194, μήτηρ καλεῖται· μητρὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἐξισοῖ (and cf. 273–274), and Terence *Heaut.* 1035, "Non sunt haec parentis dicta" (from a son to the man who has just been found to be his father). Compare, too, Hom. *Il.* 5.635–637, 812–813, *Od.* 9.529. In *Alkestis* 666–668, the same point is made in a different way: τέθνηκα γὰρ δὴ τοὐπὶ σ'· εἰ δ' ἄλλου τυχὼν / σωτῆρος αὐγὰς εἰσορῶ, κείνου λέγω / καὶ παῖδά μ' εἶναι καὶ φίλον γηροτρόφον.

# CONIECTURARUM IN ARISTOPHANIS LYSISTRATAM REPERTORIUM

JEFFREY HENDERSON

E CODICIBUS potissimis (vide infra) qui Aristophanis Lysistratam exhibent solus ille Ravennas fabulam totam sed incuriose admodum exscriptam conservat: ceteri vero ex archetypo quinque fere foliis carente sunt descripti. Huius igitur fabulae textus, quamvis Bergkio eum omnium corruptissimum opinanti vix adsentiendum sit, nihilominus in plurimis locis ab integritate pristina longe abest. Quoniam perpaucae papyri et exile scholiorum corpus et variae lectiones in testimoniis imprimis apud Sudam latentes nobis ad probum textum redintegrandum raro adsunt, virorum idcirco doctorum coniecturis in hac fabula quam maxime opus est. Mihi igitur novam huiusce fabulae editionem cum commentario instructam paranti non solum codices denuo perscrutari sed etiam omnes coniecturas ab anno 1516 usque ad annum 1976 propositas colligere visum est, ut etiam quae minime memoratu dignae videntur de novo excutiam. Quas nunc tres ob causas in usum virorum doctorum prodo: primo ut quaeque coniectura proprio suo auctori attribuatur; deinde ut coniecturae quibus argumentis fretae sint facilius inveniatur; denique ut coniecturae longa immeritaque oblivione obrutae rursus in lucem reducantur. Me unam quamque coniecturam invenisse multum abest ut putem, graviores tamen me non fugisse spero. Utcumque haec se habet res, spero equidem, lector benevole, omnes qui Lysistratae operam dent e multis incommodis taediisque saltem hoc repertorio fore liberatos.

Coniecturas in editionem Coulonianam (Paris 1928) rettuli eiusque versuum enumeratione usus sum. Quo coniecturae facilius intellegantur et codicum papyrorumque lectiones non a Coulonio relatas attuli et lectiones viris doctis falso adsignatas codicibus reddidi.[1] Codices ΓBC

[1] Vide ad vv. 20, 141, 156, 160, 167, 168, 180, 194, 291, 311, 316, 350, 380, 391, 433, 437, 476, 499, 502, 503, 506, 507, 514, 541, 560, 603, 605, 616, 734, 758, 761, 789, 799, 839, 852, 885, 896, 987, 988, 1000, 1003, 1004, 1007, 1016, 1036, 1043, 1062, 1074, 1076, 1077, 1123, 1124, 1140, 1144, 1165, 1180, 1186, 1234, 1252, 1255, 1265, 1267, 1285, 1299, 1305, 1320.

in situ, reliquos photographica imagine depictos ipse contuli; quorum sigla sunt haec:

R = Ravennas 429 (XI in.)
*Γ* = Leidensis Vossianus gr. F. 52 (XIV in.)
Mu2 = Monacensis gr. 492 (XV), ex R exscriptus.
Vp2 = Palatinus gr. 67 (XV); Siglo P utar.
H = Havniensis gr. 1980 (XV)
B = Parisinus gr. 2715 (XVI)
C = Parisinus gr. 2717 (XVI), ex Vp2 exscriptus.[2]
*Δ* = Laurentianus gr. 31.16 (XVI), ex B exscriptus.[2]
*p* = consensus codicum Vp2H

Papyri (*Π*) Lysistratae fragmenta continentes sunt hae:

1. PColon. inv. 3, edd. A. Henrichs et L. Koenen, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 117 = PColon. 14 nuper edd. B. Kramer et R. Hübner, *Kölner Papyri I*, Papyrologica Coloniensia 7 (1976) 43. Versus 145–153, 182–199 (om. 186–96) continet.
2. PAntin. 75, edd. J. Barns et H. Zilliacus, II (London 1960) 64. Versus 308–314, 343 continet.
3. PAntin. 211, *ibid.*, III (London 1967) 180. Versus 318–320, 353–362 continet.
4. PHermoup., ed. B. Grenfell, *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva 1905) 217. Versus 433–447, 469–484 continet.

Haec signa praeterea notanda: {delenda}; ⟨supplenda⟩; : = verba quae coniecturas aut praecedunt aut sequuntur (e.g. v. 634 ὦδε Bgk[2] πάντα Richards: γάρ μοι); ? = coniectura dubitanter proposita; [2] = editio secunda, etc.; * = fontem nescio; v. = ad versum; — = paragraphus; d.p. = duplex punctum (:). In auctorum nominibus per compendium scriptis si quid obscurius est, tabulam fontium adeas.

Editionum ante Kusterum proditarum lectiones rettuli quas aut coniecturas aut emendationes esse opinor; meros typothetae errores omisi nec non menda quae aperte e codicum scripturis male intellectis sunt facta.

In plurimis locis et imprimis in personis distribuendis lectiones codicis R a secunda manu (R[2]) correctae sunt, quae et saeculi sexti decimi esse videtur et fortasse ipsius Euphrosyni Bonini qui iussu B. Iuntae codicem R recensuit: vide A. von Velsen, *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriazusen des Aristophanes* (Halle 1871). Hae igitur

[2] Id quod me alibi demonstraturum esse spero.

lectiones, ubi nullo codice fretae videntur esse, numero coniecturarum habendae sunt.

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## Coniecturarum tabula

**2** *'s Κωλιάδος* Bent *-ιάδ' εἰς* Wila ‖ *Γενετυλλίδων*? Bl *-ίδας* Herw 8.78 **4** *ἐνταυθὶ* Elms 1 v. 152 **5** *ἤ γ'* Kust **6 et 9** *Κλεο-* Wila **6–603** *Κλε.* Wilamowitzio auctore Coul **7** *ὦ τάλαν*? Bl **8** *τοξοποιεῖ* Herw 8.78 **13** *ἐνθαδὶ* Mein **14** *πρ. οὐ φ. πέρι* Naber 26 **16** *χαλεπή: τῶν* Grotius 545 *δ' ἡ* I. Voss ap. Scal *γ' ἡ* Raper ap. Dawes 572 *'σθ' ἡ*? Bl ‖ *χαλεπὸς* (*-ὸν*? Bl) *ἡ* Toup 346 ‖ *χαλεπαί γ' αἱ γ. ἔξοδοι*? Bl ‖ *γυναιξὶν ἥξοδος* (*ἥξ.* iam Dawes 593) Geel 107 **18** ⟨*τὸ*⟩ *π.* Naber 26 **20** *ἀλλ' ἕτερα γὰρ ἦν* ⟨*γε*⟩ (B) Inv ‖ *ἀλλ' ἦν: γὰρ ἕτερα* (*ἕτ. γ.*) Pors *ἐκείνων ἕτ.*? Dobr 112 *ἕτερ' ἄττα*? Bl ‖ *ἀλλ' ἐστ' ἐκείνων ἕτ.*? Bl ‖ *ἀλλ' οὐκ: ἐκεῖν' ἦν τῶνδε* Reis 21 *ἐκείνων ἕτ.*? Dobr 112 *ἐκείνων ἦν τάδε* Lent (fort. e $\Sigma^{r2}$) ‖ *ἀλλ' οὐχ ἕτερά γ' ἦν*? Reis 23 ‖ *γ' ἆρ'* (*γ' ἦν ἂν*?) Bent *γὰρ ἦν γε* (*γάρτ' ἦν*?) Brun *γ' ἦν γὰρ* (*τἄρ' ἦν* 3.134) Herm 1.152 *τἆρ' ἦν* Elms 1 v.323 *τἂν* (*γ' ἄττ'*?) *ἦν* Bl **22** *συνεκάλεις*? Lange **24** delet Nauck ‖ ⟨*καὶ*⟩ *νὴ Δία καὶ* (*νὴ Δὶ* Dind[2]) *παχύ* Reis 3 ⟨*καὶ*⟩ *νὴ Δὶ παχύ γε* (*παχύ γε νὴ Δία*)? Bl ‖ *νὴ τὸν Δία* ⟨*καὶ*⟩ *παχύ*? Bl ‖ *νὴ Δία: παχύ* ⟨*γέ τι*⟩ (*γέ* Seidler 100) Herm 5.104 *πάχιστον* Cob 1. 107 *παχύτατον* Herm 10.271 ⟨*πάνυ*⟩ *παχύ*

Mein 2.117 *παχὺ* ⟨*πάνυ*⟩ Bamberg 222 ‖ *κἄπειτα* Seidler **25b** *Καλ.* Lent ‖ *ξυνῆλθον ἄν*? vL **27** *πολλαῖς τ'* ⟨*ἐν*⟩? vL *-αισί γ'* Reis 3 **31** *ἐπ' ὀλίγῳ* Berg ‖ *ἐπ' ὀλίγου: γὰρ οἴχετο* (*ᾤχετο* vel *οἴχεται* FlCh) Iunt *γ' ἄρ' οἴχεται* (*ἔρχεται* Wake 97) Berg *γ' ὠχεῖτ'* (*ὀχ-* Eng) *ἄρα* Dobr 1 *τἄρ' εἴχετο* Mehler* ‖ *ἐστ'*; *ὀλίγου γ' ἄρ' οἴχεται* Elms 8 **33** *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονας* e $\Sigma^{R}$? Ruth **38** *ἄλλ'* Brun **39** *ἐνθαδί* Mein **41** *γε* Voss **42** *αἱ γ.* Bl ‖ *-σαίμεθ' ἂν* Lent **45** *ὀρθόσταδα* e $\Sigma^{R}$? Ruth ‖ *τί* (*καὶ* Berg) . . . *περιβαρίδες* Bent **46** *-δόκα* Naber 29 **47** *χαί* Reis 3 **49** *μηδένας* Mein **51** *'νάψομαι* Herw 6.286 *λήψομαι* vel *βαστάσω*? Rog **52** *-ίδ' ἀνελεῖν* Reis 3 **54** *δῆτα χρῆν* vL **55** *Λυσ.* Anz 2 ‖ *μὰ τὸν Δί' ἀλλὰ* Bl *οὐ γὰρ βραδέ'* e $\Sigma^{R}$? Ruth **56–57** *Καλ.* Anz 2 **56** *καὶ σφόδρ'* Bl ‖ *Ἀττικῶς* Groeneboom 318 **64** *τοὐκάτειον* (*θούκ-* ap. Dobr) Bent 2 *θοὐκάταιον*? Mein 2.118 *τἀκάτειον* vL ‖ *ἀνῄρετο* (*ἤρ-* Kust) Bis *ἐπῄρετο* Wyttenbach VI.177 *τἀκάτι' ὑπεδήσατο* (si Polluci 7.93 sit fides)? vL **66** *Λυσ. αἴδ'* . . . *τινες* Dobr 1 ‖ *αἰδὶ δ'* (*-ί θ'*) Dobr 1 *χαὐθάτεραι* Dind² *αἱ δ' ἔτ. αὖ* (*αἱ δ' αὖ 'τεραι* [*γ' ἔτ.* Mein]? Eng. 3.133) Geel 108 *αἴδ' ἔθ' ἔτ.*? Eng ibid. *αὗται δ'* (*-ί θ'*? Bl)? Bgk² **70** *οὐκ* . . . *Μυρρίνην* Inv *οὔ σ'* . . . *Μυρρίνη* Hal 119 **71** ⟨*σ'*⟩ *ἥκ.*? Bgk² ‖ *τοσούτου*? Bl **74–81** *Καλ.* et *Λυσ.* Bake 390 ‖ 74–76a *Λυσ.*, 76b *Μυρ.*, 77–81 *Λυσ.* Süss 242 **74** *ἔτ' ἀναμ-*? Bl ‖ *ὀλίγου* (*-ον* Seager) *γ' οὕνεκα* Brun **79** {*σου*} vel potius {*ὦ*} Bis. *κ. σοῦ γλ. φ.* Scal *ὦ γλύκη σου*? Mein **81** *γ'* (*κ'*? Bl) *οἰῶ* (*οἴω* Voss *ὀῶ* Bo²), *ναὶ τὼ* Reis 2.18 *γ' ἂν οἰῶ ναὶ σιώ* Dobr 1 *γὰρ ὧν ναὶ τὼ* Herm 10.272 **82** *-μαί γα* Brun *-μαι γὰρ* Hal 119 **83** *λυ.* R²(—R¹) *Καλ.* Bake 390 *Μυρ.* vL ‖ *ὡς δὴ καλὸν: τὸ* (*τι* Cob 1.108) *χρῆμα τιτθίων* FlCh *τὸ χρῆμα τῶν τιτθῶν* (*μήλων*? Bl) Scal *τὸ χρῆμ' ἔχεις τῶν τιτθίων* Bgk ‖ *ὡς δὲ καλὸν αὖ* vel *ὡς δ' αὖ κ.* vel *ὡς καὶ κ.* vel *ὡς δ' ἁπαλὸν αὖ*? Bl **84** *αἴπερ* R *ἅπερ* Iunt *ἕπερ* (*ἅπερ* Wila) Berg ‖ *ἱερῆον* Mein 2.135 *ἰαρεῖον* Herw 7.262 ‖ *-άδδετε* Cob 1.108 **85** *ἀτέρα* Dind² **86** *πέργειρά* Herw 6.287 **87** *ἁμὲ* Ham 108 ‖ *Μυρ.* (*Καλ.* Wila) *νὴ* vL ‖ *νὴ* (*ναὶ*?) *μὰ Δία B.* Mein *ὡς B.* Hot **88** *λα.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Καλ.* (*Μυρ.* Wila) *καὶ* Bent ‖ *ναὶ σιώ* Brun **89** *τὴν* Bent *τὰν* . . . *-μένα* Scal ‖ *γληχώ* Koen 41 *γλαχώ γα* Brun ‖ *-μένον* vL **90** *ἀτέρα* Dind² ‖ *χαΐα*; Lent 2 *χαία* (*-ΐ-* Ahr) {*μὲν*} Bent *μὲν ναὶ* {*τὼ*} Brun **91** *Κορινσία* Valck 4.388 ‖ *λυ.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Καλ.* (*Μυρ.* vL) *χαΐα* Bake 390 **92** *οὖσ' ἐνταυθαγὶ κἀν-* Bent *οὖσα. Bo οὖσα τοιαδὶ*? Bl **93** *συν-* Brun *ξ-ίαζε* Iunt **94** *ἥδ'* Brun ‖ *μυσίδδεο* FlCh *μούσιδδε τὺ* Valck 3.105 *μυσιδδέτω* . . . *λῇ* ($\Sigma^{R}$) Wake 1.76 *μώϊδδε*? Bl ‖ *τὸ* (*τοι* Bent *τὺ* Toup 2.367) FlCh *γῶν* Eldick *νυν* Bl **95** *πόθ' ἁμὲ* (*ἅμε* Valck 1.168) Iunt *ποτ' ἁμὲ* (*ἄμμε* Scal) Brub **95b** *Λα.* R² (d.p. R¹) *Λυσ.* Iunt Brun *Καλ.* Lent *Μυρ.* Bgk² **96** *μυ.* R²(—R¹) Iunt Brun Lent *Καλ.* Bgk² **95–96** *Μυρ.* Beer 163 *Καλ.* Wila **97** ⟨*δὲ*⟩ *λ.* Kust *λέγειν* ⟨*δ'*⟩ Brub **98**

-μαί, Bo. ‖ τὸ Richards ‖ μυ. R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Καλ.* Kr 6: ὅ τι **100** ⟨μυ.⟩ εὖ R²Iunt Lysistratae continuat R¹ Bent **101** delet Ham 2.16 ‖ ἡμῖν Iunt **102** λυ. R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Bent *Καλ.* Brun ‖ ὅ γ' οὖν Bent ‖ ἐμὸς ἤδη Elms 8 ἐμὸς μὲν {ἀνὴρ} Herm 10.271 ἀνὴρ Bgk 2.948 **104** μυ. R²Iunt (—R¹) *Καλ.* Bent *Λυσ.* Brun **105** καΐκ' ἐκ (καΐκα 'κ Hir* Mein) Ahr 382 ‖ τᾶς στρατιᾶς? Bl **106** φρῶδος? Bl **107** φεψάλυξ, Naber 27 **108** οὖ δέ γ' Herw 4.87 οὗπερ Naber 27 **110** συκίνη Zan **112** *Καλ.* νὴ Kr 6 **113** ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄν Ell ἔγωγ' ἂν οὖν Scal ἐγὼ μὲν (γὰρ Mein 1) ἄν Bent ἔγωγ' ἄν, εἴπερ καί με χρείη (χ. iam Dawes 594) Reis 3 ἔγωγέ τοι κἂν vel ἔγωγέ τἂν εἰ καί με Lent ἔγωγέ τἄν Bgk² ‖ χρείῃ (-η Dawes) Kust κἂν: εἴ μ' ἐχρῆν vel με χρεΐ', ἦ Bent (cf. Sudam) **114** καταθεῖσ' ἂν FlCh ‖ ἐκτιεῖν Rsk περιπατεῖν Naber 27 ἐμπιεῖν? Bgk² **115** κα. R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Kr 7 ‖ ἐγὼ: γὰρ οὖν Scal δὲ δὴ? Elms 3 v.1227 δέ, κἂν εἴ μ'? Bl ‖ ψῆττάν με δῇ Dind³ **115–116** ἐγὼ δέ μοι, κἂν ὡ. ψῆττ' ἂν (ψήττης) δοκῶ | δοῦνἂν Bl ‖ κεΐ μ' ὡ. ψ. (κἂν εἴ μ' ὅπως ψῆτταν vel κἂν ὡ. ψῆττ', εἰ) δέοι | δοίην ἂν (μεταδοῦν' . . . παρατεμοῦσαν)? Bl κἦν ὡ. ψ. δέῃ, | δοῦναί μ'? Bl ‖ δοκῶ | δοῦναι ἂν . . . παραταμοῦσα (παρτ. Bo) Brun δοκῶ, | δοίην (καὶ δοῦν') . . . παραταμ. Herm 10.273 δέῃ (δοκῇ Wila) | δοῦναί μ' . . . παραταμοῦσαν (-τεμ- Wila post Dind³) Mein 2.119 δοκοῦν | δοῦναί μ' . . . παρατεμοῦσαν Schenk 2 **116** καταθεῖσ' ἂν ἐμ. FlCh δαίειν ἐμαυτὴν? Bent δοῦναί μ' Reis 39 δοῦνἂν Elms 3 v.1227 δοῦν' ἄν γ' ἐμαυτῆς παραταμοῦσα Bo² ἐπιδοῦν' Dind³ δοίην ἂν Bl ‖ παραταμοῦσα (-τεμ- Elms 3 v.1227) Brun ἀρταμοῦσα? Bgk² **117** ἐγὼν Bl ‖ κα καὶ Cob 1.108 ‖ Ταϋγέτου κ' ἄκρον? Bl ‖ κ' ἄνω Elms 4 v.710 {γ'} ἄνω Bo γ' ὄρος? Bl **118** ὅσα (ὅσεν vel ὁπόσεν? Dobr 1) Frob ὅπᾳ Berg ὄρος, αἱ Mein ὅπω Wila ‖ ῥειράναν ἰδῆν Bgk 2.434 ‖ ἔλσοιμί κ': αἱ μέλλοιμι εἰρ. ἰδῆν vel αἱ λάβοιμί γ' εἰράνας σέαν? Bl **119** οὐδὲν (οὐ γὰρ) δεῖ Lent **122** ἐστιν Kust ‖ κα. R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Μυρ.* τοῦ Bent **123** κα. R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Bent ‖ κἦν vL **124** ἀφεκτέ': ἐστὶ τ. ἡμῖν? Eng ἡμῖν ἐστι Mein ἀφεκτέον νυν Bl 3.172 ‖ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Bent ἡμίν ἐστιν (ἐστι Brun) Bis ἥμίν ἐστι Bgk² **125** μεταστ-, . . . βαδ-, | αὗται;? Bl **126** μοιμυᾶτε (-μυλ-? Bgk²) L. Dindorf V.1238 **127** κατείβετε Bent **129–130** *Καλ.* et *Μυρ.* Kr 7 **129** οὐ τἄν? Bl **130** ἔγωγ' ἄρ' Brun ἐγώ γ' (ἔγωγ') ἂν Reis 3 **132** παραταμεῖν Dobr 1 **133** κᾆν ἐμὲ χρῇ (χ. iam Brun) Wake III.49 κἦν vL **134** πᾶν τι (ut iam vL) μᾶλλον τουτουί Herw 7.262 **136b** μυ. R² (d.p. R¹) *Λαμ.* Iunt ‖ δήλομαι . . . τῶ Brun **137** ὡς Bl ‖ παγκαταπύγον (-τάπ- Brun) Rsk ‖ θηλύτερον Naber 28 **139** ἴσμεν Kust (cf. Sudam s.v. οὐκ ἐτός) **141** τὸ πρᾶγμα σωσαίμεσθ' (-σόμεσθ' Reis 248) ἔτι (ἔτ' ἄν Sobolewski* post Brun) Mu2 Scal ‖ ἀνασωσαίμεσθ' ἔτ' ἄν Brun ἔτ' ἂν σωσαίμεθα? Mein ἂν ἀνασώσαιμ' ἔτι Bgk² ἀνασωσόμεσθ' ἔτι? Bl ἔτ' ἀνασωσαίμεθ' ἄν vL **142** {μὲν} ναὶ

⟨μὰ⟩? Bl **143** ἐσθ' ὑπνῶν Dawes 598 ὑπνῶν γυναῖκάς ἐστ'? Bl ‖ ἄνις ψ. Bl **144** ὅμα (-ᾶ) . . . δῆ Mein 2.135 ‖ γα (iam Ell) μάν· (μάν, Koen 236 μάν. Tyr 69) δεῖ Tyr. 1.IV.420 μάν τοι Bast 237 μὰν δεῖ· δεῖ γὰρ Toup II.164 ‖ τᾶς γὰρ εἰρ. μέλει (-ω) Dawes 598 δεῖ: τᾶς γα ϝειράνας vel γὰρ τι ϝειράνας (κειρ.) μέλειν? Bl δεόμεθα δ' εἰρ.? Bl ‖ μάλ' εὖ Brun μάλα Dind³ **146** κα. R²Iunt (—R¹) **148–149** λυ. γένοιτ' . . . κα. πολύ . . . λυ. εἰ R²Iunt (R¹ solum p.d. ante πολύ) **148** πο]λυ γε et *Π* πάνυ γε? Bl **149** καθοίμεθ' Brun καθῄμεθ' Dobr 1 **151** ]οιμεν *Π* πάριμεν ⟨τὸ⟩ Herm. 4.813 **152** στύοιντ' ἂν ᾧ 'νδρες (ἄνδρες) Brun στύοιντο δ' ἄνδρες (ἄ- Eng) Bo ‖ ᾱνδρες *Π* ‖ σπεκλοῦν Zan σπλεκοῦν ex Hsch Dind² **153** προσϊδο[ιμεν *Π* προσοίμεθ' (-ιοίμεθ' Herw 3.65) Hal 119 -είμεθ' (-ιείμεθ' Coul)? Bgk² παρέχοιμεν Naber ap. Herw 3.66 προσέχοιμεν Herw 3.65 **155** Μενέλας τὰ μᾶλα τᾶς Ἑλ. ποκὰ Herw 3.66 Μενέλας πα τ. Ἑλ. τὰ τιτθία (τιττία)? Bl ‖ πᾳ Bgk 4.29 **156** γυμνὰ (iam Ahr 42) παριδὼν ἐξέβαλεν Naber 28 ‖ παρεσιδὼν (C) Brub παρανϊδὼν Bgk 4.29 παραϊδὼν Mein ‖ σκίφος? Bl **157** κα. R²Iunt (—R¹) ‖ ἀφιῶσ' Port -ιῶσιν Kust ‖ ἄνδρες Brun **158** λυ. R²Iunt (—R¹) Καλ. cont. Madvig 280 **159** κα. R²Iunt (—R¹) Λυσ. Madvig 280 **160** Μυρ. Bent Καλ. Madvig 280 ‖ ἐὰν δὲ λαβόντες {δ'} (*BΔ*) vel τί δ' ἦν λ.? Bl **161** ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν Bl **162** κα. R²Iunt (—R¹) ‖ τύπτωσιν, ⟨τί;⟩ (⟨γε;⟩ Weise) Dind² ‖ παρέχειν: ⟨τότε⟩ χρὴ κακῶς Scal κακὰς κακῶς Rsk κακοῖς κακῶς Wake II.52 χρὴ κακὰ κακοῖς Hot χρεὼν κακῶς C. Ahlwardt in *Jenaische allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (1810) fol. 124 p. 390 χρὴ κακῶς (iam R²Iunt) Dind² ⟨σε⟩ χρὴ κακῶς? Bgk² ἡμᾶς κακῶς Kuehne 39 χρὴ κακακακῶς Zacher 26 κακὴ (-αὶ) κακῶς Radt **163** delet Kuehne 49 **165** οὐδέποτε γὰρ Elms 1 v.127 οὐ γὰρ μή τις εὐφρανθῇ ποτε? Bl **166** ἀνήρ Ham 1.17 **167** ante hunc v. Calonicae unum vel duos vv. excidisse Bgk² ‖ Μυρ. Brun ‖ αἵ τοι? Bl ‖ {ταῦτα} σφῷν ταῦτα (*BΔ*) Zan σφῷν, ταῦτα χ.? Reis 133 ‖ χ' ἁμῖν? Brun **168** λα. R²Iunt (om. R¹) ‖ τὼς μέν γα ἀμῶν ἄνδρας? Bl ‖ ἀμῶν (*P*) Iunt ἀμὼς Bl ‖ ἄμμες (ἅμες Kust) Brub ἆμιν Herm 2.81 ἆμες Bek ἀμὲς Dind³ **169** παντᾶ (-ᾷ Bgk) Maire πάντας Kust ‖ ἄγην (-εν? Bl) Ahr 158 **170** τῶν ⟨δ'⟩ Bo² ῥυᾶχετον (- ϝάχ-? iam Bl) vL ex Hesych. (cf. *ΣΓ*² γρ ῥυάχετον) **171** κά . . . ἀναπ. Dobr 1 ‖ ἀμπ. Ahr 381 ‖ πλαδδιοῦν (-ῶν) ap. Bis πλαδδίῃ (-ίην Ahr) Kust **172** λυ. R²Iunt (—R¹) ‖ σὺ τά ap. Bis **173** ὀχ Abresch I.414 ‖ οὐ λισπόπυγας ἔχοντι Bis οὐκ αἱ σποδᾶς ἔχωντι Bent οὐκ ἀσπίδας Rsk ‖ ᾶς: στολὰς Ell σπονδάς γ'? FlCh σποδάς γ' Toup 1.III.12 πέδας γ' Wüst 4: ἔχοντι ‖ ᾶς σπονδάς γ' ἔχωντι Scal ‖ ᾶς σποδάς (ᾶς . . . -ᾶς Brun) Koen 189 πόδας (π. κ' Bgk²) Valck 2.235 σπολάς Bgk 3.94 τούλας Schn 5.173 σποδάν (-άς) κ'? Bl σφοδρῶς Will II.428: γ' ἔχωντι ‖ τόσας κ' ἔχωντι τὰς τριήρεας Herw 5.622 ‖ τριήριες Koen 189 **174** τὠργύριον ap. Bis ‖ πὰρ Koen 189

**176** delet Bgk² ‖ *τὴν γὰρ πόλιν καταληψόμεσθα* Kapp *καταληψόμεσθα τὴν πόλιν γὰρ* Cob 1.108 **177** *πρεσβυτέραις* Lent 1.210 **178** post v.173 ponendus? FlCh **179** delet Kr 12 *καταλαβεῖν . . .* delet Mein 2.120 ‖ *τὴν πόλιν καταλαμβάνειν* Kapp **180** *παντῇ* (*πάντῃ*)? Bl ‖ *πάντα κεν ἔχοιτ' ἄν, καὶ τάδε* (*ἔχοι· καὶ ταῦτα*) ap. Bis ‖ *παντᾷ* (-ᾷ Koen 214) *κ' ἔχοι καὶ* (*κα* Koen) *τᾷδε* (*τᾶδε B*) *γὰρ* (*τᾷ* Koen) *λέγεις* (-*οις* Koen) Bent ‖ *πάντ'εὖ* (*εὖ πάντα* Will II.429) *κ' ἔχοι καὶ τᾷδε* (*κα, καὶ τάδε* Will) Schaefer 214 ‖ *παντῇ* (-ᾷ Weck 545) *γ' ἔχοι κα τᾷδ' ἄρ', ᾷ* (*κ' εὖ· τᾷδε* [*καὶ τάδε*] *γὰρ* Weck) Herm 10.274 ‖ *παντᾷ γ' ἔχοι κα ταῦτα* (*τάδε γα*), *κατ τὰ*? Bgk² ‖ *κὰτ τάπερ* vL **181** *λυ.* R²Iunt (—R¹) **183** *πάρφαιν' ἐμὶν* (-*αινέ μοι*)? Bl ‖ *ὁμώμεθα* (*ὀμ-* Port) R²(*ομ-*) Iunt *ὁμούμεθα* Frob *ὀμιόμεθα* Elms 1 v.729 *ὁμοόμεθα* Bl **184** *λυ.* R²Iunt (—R¹) **186** *τις*: *Π τις τὰ τόμι'. Καλ.* ⟨*ὦ*⟩? Bl ‖ *κα.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Λυσιστράτη* **187–188** versuum ordinem 187, 197, 199, 198, 188 exhibet *Π* **188** *ὡς ἐποίησεν Αἰσχύλος ποτέ* Mein 2.120 ‖ *φησὶν* Kust ‖ *φασὶν ἔπτ'* (*οὔπτ'*) *ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ ποτέ* (*ὥσπερ οὔπτ' . . .*? Bl) Bent ‖ *ἔφρασεν Αἰσχύλος* Herw 3.67 ‖ ]*αισχυλω*[ *Π* **189** *κα.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) **190** delet Ham 2.17 ‖ *εἰς ἀσπίδα θύσῃς* Mein 2.121 **191–192** *κα.* ante *εἰ* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *ἢ . . . ἐντεμούμεθα* (*-μώμ-* Römer 621); Lysistratae continuans Ham 2.17 **191** *οὔρκος* Bl ‖ *ἢ φάλιον* e *Σ*^R? Ruth **192** *τόμιά γ'* vel *λάβοιμεν καὶ τόμι' ἐντεμοίμεθα*? Bl **193–194** *Καλ.* et *Λυσ.* Ham ap. Römer (e *Σ*^R²) 621 *Μυρ. ἀλλὰ . . . Λυσ. ἡμεῖς* (*ὅπως*; Herw 3.68); Lent ‖ *ἵππον*; . . . *ἀλλὰ* Lysistratae continuans lacunam indicat Mein, qui postea (2.121) supplet e.g. ⟨*τί σὺ λέγεις*; *ἀφροδισίων* | *αὕτη θυσία 'στιν·*⟩ ‖ "hic . . . nonnulla interciderunt: . . . personarum distributio incerta, ut pro *Καλ.* videatur *Λυσ.*, et proximo versu pro *Λυσ.* potius *Μυρ.* scribendum" Bgk² ‖ *ὁμοόμεθα*? Bl **194–197** *Καλ.* (*Μυρ.*? Bgk²) *ἐγώ* Ham *Μυρ.* (*Λυσ.*? Dover *Lustrum* 2 [1957] 93) *ἐγώ . . . ὁμόσωμεν. Καλ. ἐς* Dobr 1 **194** *εἰ βούλει* (*β. RΓ*¹) Kust **198** *κα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) ‖ *ἐπαινετιῶ* Bis *ἐπαινίω* Elms 1 v.729 **199** *κύλικάς τις* Bgk² **200** *λυ.* R² in rasura *Λυ.* Iunt (—R¹) *Καλ.* Bent *Μυρ.*? Reis 245 ‖ *ὦ φιλτάτη* (*-τος*? Bl) *γυναιξὶ* (*γύναι*? Bl) Bent ‖ *κεραμέων* Port *ἐκ κεράμων* Bis *ὄχλος κεραμέων* (*-μῶν* Toup 167) Scal ⟨*ὁ*⟩ *κεραμὼν* (*-εὼν* Tyr 1.IV.420) Rsk ⟨*ὁ*⟩ *κεραμῶν ὄχλος* Herm 3.xiv *κεραμίων ὅσος ὄχλος* vel *κεραμεῶν ὄχλος* vel *κεραμεοῦς πίθος*? Bl ‖ *ὅσον* Farr *σύ γε*? Bl **201** *Μυρ.* (*Καλ.* Süss 2.245) Ham 2.18 ‖ *ταύτην τίς οὐκ ἂν*? Bl **202** *Λυσ.* Bent ‖ *μοι τοῦ* Brun **205** *κα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Brun ‖ *-πυτίζει* ap. Bis **206** *ποτόμφει* Valck 4.390 ‖ *-ει ϝαδὺ* (*ἁδὺ* Ahr 42) Bgk 2.434 **207–208** interpolatos Kr 11 **207** *Καλ.* (*Μυρ.* Ham 1.18) Lent ‖ *ἐᾶτ' ἐμὲ* (*ἐμ' ἐᾶτε*)? Bl **208–211** *Λυσ.* Lent **208** *κα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Brun **209** *λυ.* R²Iunt (—R¹) ‖ *λάζοισθε* Iunt **210** post hunc v. unum v. excidisse Bgk² **211** *ταῦτα* Hir* **212–**

**213** *οὔτε . . . οὔτ'* Bek **213–236** Lysistratae interlocutricem *Κα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) fecerunt, *Μυρ.* Brun **216** *μοι τὰ* Cob 1.108 **217** *ἀταυρωτεὶ?* Lobeck 242 *-τος* Herw 1.51 **221** *ὦ'νὴρ* Brun ‖ *μοι* Lent **223** *γ' ἀνδρὶ* Lent *τῷνδρὶ τῳμῷ* (*τῷ μῷ* iam Iunt)? Bl **225** *οὐδέ μ' ἄκουσαν βιάσεται βίαν* Pors **229** *οὐκ ἀνατενῶ πρὸς τὴν ὀροφὴν* vel *πρὸς τὴν ὀρ. οὐκ ἀν.*? Bl ‖ *τὰς Περσικάς* Scal *τὼ Περσικά* Dind² **235** *ἐμπλῇθ'* (*-πλεῖθ'* Buttmann 274n.) *ἦ* Dawes 600 **237** *ξυνεπόμνυθ'* (*συν-* Rsk) Bent ‖ *μυ.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Καλ.* Brun *Πᾶσαι.* Kr 13 **238b** *κα.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Μυρ.* Brun (Kr 13 Myrrhinae solum v.238b dat, v.239 Calonicae) ‖ *γ',* *ὦ* Zan **239** delet Ham 2.18 *Λυσ.* Jackson 192 *Καλ.* Radt 9 **240** *ἅδ' ὀλο-* Brun *ὡλο-* (*ἁ 'λο-* Bent) Dind² ‖ *ταῦτ' ἐκεῖν' οὐ* (*ἃ* Berg) *'γὼ 'λεγον*; Amst *τοῦτ' . . . οὐγὼ* Kust **241** *τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῆς* Hir **243** *ὑμῖν* Reis 3 **244** *-λιφ'* Brun ‖ *ἐνθαδί* Mein **245** *ἄλλαισι* Scal **247** *κα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Brun ‖ *ξυμ. εἴη* Pors **249** *οὔτ' . . . οὔτε* Bek ‖ *οὔτε δικέλλας* Naber 28 **253** *κεκλύμεθ'* Frob *κεκλῄμεθ'* Gryph *κεκλήμεθα* Bis *κλυοίμεθ'*? Bent **252–253** *κα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.* Brun **254** *Δράκη*? Berg **255** *β. χλ. φέρων* Bent ‖ *ἐλάας* Brun **256** ⟨*πολλὰ*⟩ *πόλλ' ἄελπτ' ἐστ'* (*ἄ. ἐστ'* iam Inv) Hot ‖ *ἄελπτά γ' ἐστὶν* Scal *ἄελπτα γίγνετ'* Mein 2.121 ‖ *ἔνεστιν* Reis 249 *ἂν ἔστιν* Bo **259** *-υμόδ-* Brun 2 **263** *κατὰ δ'* Dind² ‖ *δὲ πόλιν κλεινὰν λαβεῖν* Kapp *δὲ πόλιν λαβεῖν ἐμήν*? Mein *δὲ λαβεῖν ἐμὰν π.*? Mein 2.122 **264–265** *μοχλοῖς* Brun ‖ *κλῄθροισι δ' εὖ καὶ μοχλοῖσι* Reis 3 *μοχλοῖσι κλῇσιν καὶ θύρησι* Burg 287 *κλῄθροισι δὲ | τὰ πρ. καὶ μοχλοῖσι πακ.* Herm 6 v.192 *κλῄθροις δὲ καὶ μοχλοῖσιν* Herm 10.275 *μοχλοῖς* (*κλῄθροις* Wila) *δὲ* ⟨*δὴ*⟩ *καὶ κλῄθροισι* (*μοχλοῖσι* Wila) Bo *μοχλοῖσι καὶ κλῄθροισιν* Hanovius 143 *κλῄθροισι* (*μοχλοῖσι*) *καὶ* *** Dind² *κλῄθροισί μου*? Mein *κλῄθροις* (*μοχλοῖς* Herk 5 n.1) *τε καὶ μοχλοῖσιν* (*κληῖθροισι* Herk) Bgk² *μοχλοῖς δὲ καὶ κλῄθροις* Sudhaus 516 ‖ *μοχλοῖσιν αὖ- | τὰ* Herm 10.275 *τά* ⟨*γε*⟩ Hot *πακτοῖν δὲ τὰ πρ.* Hanovius 143 **267** *αὐτὰς* Reis 3 **272** *ἐμοὶ ζῶντί* ⟨*γ'*⟩ Bl **277–278** *ἦεν θ' ὅπλα π. ἐμ. | σμικρόν τι πάνυ* Burg 287 *θὤπλ' ᾤχετο* (iam Brun) *π., ἔχων | σμ.* (⟨*τι*⟩ Bo) *πάνυ* Hot *ᾤχετό θ' ὅπλα* (*ᾤχεθ' ὅπλα τε* Herm 10.275) *π.* (*ᾤχετο παρά θ' ὅπλα δοὺς*? Bgk²) *ἐμοὶ | σμικρόν τ' ἔχων* (*ἔχων τε πάνυ* Herm ibid.) *τριβ.* Herm 6 v.192 *θὤπλ' ᾤχετ' ἐμοὶ π., πάνυ σμικρόν γ' ἔχων τρ.* Bo² *θὤπλ' ᾤχετο π. ἐμοί* (*θὤπλα π. ἐμ. ᾤχετο*), | *σμικρόν γ' ἔχων*? Bl *σμικρόν τε πάνυ τριβώνιον* {*ἔχων*}? Wila **278** *τρίβων' ἔχων πάνυ σμικρόν* (*σμ. πάνυ*) Brun 1 ‖ *σμ. πάνυ τρ. ἔχων*? Mein **279** {*ῥυπῶν*} Sudhaus 517 ‖ *ῥυπῶν: ὧν τ'* Burg 288 *ἀπάρτιλτος* Bo *ἄκαρτος* Eng 1.469 *ἀπαρτί θ'*? Bgk² *ἄλεκτος* (*ἄλ. τ' ὧν* JSchmidt ccxc) Bgk² *ἄτιλτος*? Bl *ῥύπ'* Schroeder ‖ *σμικρόν, πινῶν, ἀφ' ἓξ ἐτῶν | ἄλουτος, ἀπαράτ.* Herm 10.275 ‖ *ἀπαράτιλτος ῥυπῶν*? Mein **280** *ἐξ* ap. Bis ‖ *ἐτῶν τ'* Burg 288 **281** *οὕτω 'ξεπ.* Dobr 1 ‖ *ὠμῶς* Bent ‖ *ὅμως ἐκεῖνον* FlCh

**284** ἆρ' οὐκ (οὐκ ἆρ') ἐγὼ vel ἆρ' οὐκ (ἐγὼ οὐκ) ἐπισχήσω vel ἐγὼ οὐ κατασχήσω? Bl ‖ πυρῶν? Bl **285** τετραπτόλει Musgrave ad Eur. *Heracl.* v.81 ⟨τῇ⟩ (⟨γε⟩? Bl) τετραπόλ. Mein 2.123 ἐνταῦθ' (ἐνθάδ' vel ἐχθρῶν) ἐν πόλει? Bl ἐν ἑτέρᾳ (τημῇ) πόλει? Bl ἐν τῷ Παλλάδος? Bl ἐν τῇ γ' ἀκροπόλει? Bl ‖ τροπαῖον Dind (τρόπ- codd.) **286–287** ἀλλὰ βραχὺ (τόδε) γάρ? Bl αὐτὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μόνον? Bl ἐστὶ γάρ μοι (ὀλίγον ἐστὶ) τῆς ὁδοῦ | λοιπὸν ἔτι? Bl **289** χὡς τόδ' Scal πῶς ποτ' cum interrog. MSchmidt 451 καὶ πῶς ποτ' cum interrog. Richards ‖ πῶς: ⟨καί⟩ ποτ' Jackson 75 ⟨δή⟩ ποτ' Fraenkel 2.104 ⟨πῶς⟩ ποτ' Radt 9 ‖ -σωμεν Iunt **290** ταῦτ'? Bl **291** ἐμόν (ἐμοί? vL) Herw 5.622 ‖ τῷ (R) ξύλῳ (Mu2) Iunt **294** {τῆς ὁδοῦ} Iunt ‖ φὺ φῦ, φὺ φῦ (et v.304) JRichter 53 **296–297** δεινὸς . . . προσπεσών Frob δεινά μ' . . . προσπεσὼν ἐκ vel δ' αὖ τί μ' . . . προσπεσόν μοὐκ vel λιγνύς . . . προσπεσοῦσ'? Bl **299** καὶ ἔστι Voss κάρτ' ἐστὶ? Bl **301** οὐ γὰρ ⟨ἂν⟩ Brun οὐδ' ἂν γάρ Inv **302** ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν? Bl **304** ἢ (εἰ Brun 'πεὶ Dobr 1 ὡς? Bl) πότ' Ell ἤ ποτ' Rsk ‖ ὦ Δράκης? Bl ‖ ἀρήξαμεν FlCh **305** ἰού {ἰού} Wila **306** πνοᾶς (χύτρας vel σπυρίδος? Bent) Scal **307** οὔκουν Brun ἦν . . . θώμ. Reis 255 τί δῆτ' (οὖν) ἄν, εἰ? Bl οὐκοῦν χαμαὶ (ὁμοῦ) vel πρώτιστον οὖν . . . θώμ.? Bl (cum -σωμεν FlCh v.309) οὐκοῦν τὰ νῦν Schenk 2 οὐκοῦν ἂν οὖν· τῷ (R) μὲν ξύλῳ Iunt ‖ αὐτῷ (-τὼ Bent) Scal **308** πανὸν Dind ad Ar. Frag. 666 (cf. Photium s.v.) **309** vide v.307 **310** κἦν Bl ‖ καλόντων FlCh 'μβαλόντων Herw* **311** ἐμπιμπράναι (*Π*) Brun ἐμπίμπρατε Lobeck 1.96 ‖ τὴν πυρὰν Ham 2.19 τὰς πίλας? Bl **312** τοῦ πόνου (κόπου?) vL **313** τίς τοῖν ξύλοιν (τ. ξ. iam Bo²) ἂν ξυλλάβοι? Bl **316** τὴν λαμπάδα θ' ἡμ. (θ' ὅπως ἡμ.? Bl) B*p* Kust καὶ λαμπάδ' (τὴν λαμπάδ' Mu2 [-άθ' R*Γ*])? Bl ‖ ὅπως: ἐμοὶ (πρώτην ἐμ.) FlCh πρώτως Brun πρώτῳ γ' Bo πρόφρων Reis 125 πρώτιστ' Bl 1.iv πάντως ἐμ. παροίσεις? Herw 3.67 πρὸς τὴν θύραν (τήνδ' ἐγὼ) προσοίσω Herw 5.622 τάχιστ' ἐμ. παρέξεις Herw* τοῖς πρεμνίοις προσοίσω Herw 7.265 παρὼν ἐμ. προσοίσει Wila πρὸ τῶνδ' Jackson 125 ‖ καλῶς ὅπως ἐμ. παρέξεις vL **317** τῶν γ' (δ' Voss) Bo {τ'}? Bgk² **319–320** transponunt R Iunt **320** ὡς δὴ πυρὸς Scal **321** {Ἡμιχ. γυν.} πέτου Bent **323** πυρὶ φ. Scal -φρυγήτω Rsk -φυσήτω ⟨γ'⟩ vel -φλυσθείσας? Bl -φλεύστω Bl 2.46 **324–325** ὑπό: τε νέων Rsk τ' ἀνέμων Oeri 1.40 τ' (γ'? Bl) ἀνόμων Bo² νεανιῶν τ'? Bl μιαρῶν ἀργ. | τυφογερόντων (τυμβογ.)? Bl **326** {Ἡμιχ. γυν.} ἀλλὰ Bent ‖ τόδε, . . . βοηθῶ. Bgk² τοδὶ μή πως (μὴ δεῦρ') ὑστέρῳ? Bl ‖ ὕστερός που β. vel ὕστερος προσβοηθῶ? Bl **327** νυνδὴ (-δὶ Cantarella) Coul **330** δούλαισιν Dind² **331** μαστιγίαις *** στιγματίαις θ' Herm 1.313 μαστιγίαις τ' ἀνδραπόδοις? Bl ⟨περὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἠλιβάτους⟩ στιγμ. JSchmidt ccxcii **332** aut ante aut post ἀρ. ⟨τὴν ὑδρίαν⟩? Bl ἀρ. ⟨δεῦρο δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένη⟩ vL **333** -μέναισι Hot **336** ἕρπειν S. Ravius ap. Kapp

**337** ⟨γ'⟩ Hot -*εύοντας*? Bl **338** *ὡς* (*ἅτε* Voss *ὅσα* Herm 10.276) *τριταλανταῖα* (-*τάλαντα* Herk 33 n.1) Bent *εἰς ἀκρόπολιν* (*ἀνὰ πόλιν* Herm 3.157), *ὡς τριτάλαντον* (*ὡς ἐς τρ.* Herm) Brun *τριταλανταῖ' ὡς, εἰς π.* Herm 1.314 *ὡς τριτάλαντον τὸ* (*τι*? Bl) Hot *δεῦρο, τριτάλαντόν τι* Reis 3 *ὡς τριτάλαντ' ἐς τὴν π.*? Bl *εἰς π. ὁμοῦ τρισσοβαρῆ δεινόταθ' ἁπ.* JSchmidt ccxcii *μυριοτάλαντόν* (*ὡς τετρατάλαντόν* vel *ἑπτατ.*? Bl) *τι* Herw 6.287 {*εἰς π.*} *ὡς τριτάλαντον τὸ β.* Christ 482 *ὡς τριτάλαντον* {*β.*} *εἰς π.* Wila **339** *δεινά τ'* Bent *δείματ'* Hot *θρασύταθ'* Herm 10.276 *δείν' ἄττ' ἁπ.* (*ἐπαπειλ-*)? Bl **340** *μιαρὰς*? Bl ‖ *ἀνθρακίσαι γυναῖκας* Voss *γρᾶας ἀπανθρ.* (-*ίζειν*? Bl) Mein 1 *τὰς κύνας ἀνθρ.*? Mein *πλάτιδας ἀνθρ.* JSchmidt ccxcii *τάσδε κατανθρ.* Herw 7.265 *ἄντικρυς ἀνθρ.*? vL **341** *'μπιμπραμένας*? Bgk² ‖ *ἴδοιμ'* Hot **342** *πτολέμου* Hot ‖ *ῥυσομένας*? Bl **345** *πολίοχε*? Dind² *σὰς* (*σὰν*), *πολιοῦχ', ἔσχον ἕδρας* (-*αν*) Bent **347–348** *εἴ τις . . . ὑποπίμπρησιν* Reis 255 *καί σε καλῶ, Τριτογένει', | ἤν ὑποπ. ἀνήρ, | φέρειν* Voss *ἤν τιν' ἐκεί- | νων ὑποπιμπρῇ τις* Dind³ ‖ *ὑποπιμπρῇσιν*? GCurtius, *Das Verbum der gr. Sprache*² (Leipzig 1877) 57 {*ὑποπ. ἀν.*} Hot **350** {*Στρατυλλίς*} *ἔασον* Dind² ‖ *ὦ* Bois ‖ -*πονηροί* (Mu2)? Wila **352** ⟨*τί*⟩ *τὸ* Frob ‖ *ἡμῖν: τὸ πᾶν* Bis *πάνυ 'προσδ.* Scal *Δράκης*? Bent **353** *ἑσμὸς* Dind (*ἐσ-* codd.) *οὐσμὸς* Reis 178 ‖ *θύραζέ τις*? Bl *θύραζ' ἰδοὺ* Herw. 7.287 ‖ *βοηθῶν* Kapp **357** -*κατᾶξαι* (-*πατ-* Eng) Dind² **358** {*χἠμεῖς*} *χαμᾶζ' ὅπως ἂν*⟨*ἡμῖν*⟩ Bis **359** *τοῦτό γ'*? Bl **360** *εἰ νὴ: τὸν Ἀπόλλω* vel *Ποσειδῶ* vel *Διόνυσον* Bent *Δία γέ τις . . . ἂν ἦ δὶς*? Bent *Δί' αὐτὰς* (-*τῶν*) . . . *τούτῳ*? Bl ‖ *καὶ νὴ Δί' ἦν γε* (*ἤδη*? Bl) Bent *νὴ τὸν Δί'*? Bl ‖ *τὰς τούτων γνάθους, τις ἡμῶν* Bis ‖ *τις εἰ δὶς*? Bl **361** *κόψειεν . . . ἂν οὐκ ἔχοιεν*? Bl ‖ *Βουτάλου* (-*παλίων*)? Bl ‖ *ἀνεῖχον*? Bent *ἔτ' εἶχον*? Bl *εὗρε Γ*¹ unde *οὐκ ἐνεῦρεν* (coll. S. *Ai.* 1144)? vL **362** *καταξάτω* Eng ‖ {*τις*} *καὶ* FlCh ‖ *παρέλξω* Naber 28 **363** post v. 367 posuit Jackson 107 ‖ *κύον* Bo ‖ *γυνὴ τῶν*? Bl **364** *θενὼν* Dind² ‖ *ἐκκοκκιῶ τὸ γῆρας* {*σου*} (*τρίχας σου*? Bent) FlCh *σου 'κκοκκιῶ τὸ γ.* Reis 245 **365–386** *στρ.* R²Iunt (—R¹) **366** *τί σ'*? Bl ‖ *ἦ* (*εἰ* Farr) Iunt ‖ *σπ. σε κονδ.*? Bl **368** post h.v. excidisse unum v.? Herm 10.276 ‖ *ἔστιν ἆρ'*? Bent **369** *ὧδε*? vL ‖ *ἀναιδὲς ἔστιν* Reis 118 **370** *ὕδατος* ⟨*αὖ*⟩? Bent *θὕδατος* Elms 5 v.56 ‖ *κάλπιδ'*? Bl **371** *χο.* R²Iunt (—R¹) ‖ *θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὰ δεῦρ'* FlCh **372** *δ' αὖ* Reis 121 ‖ *τυμβόγερον*? Bent **373** *ἐγὼ μίαν νήσας* FlCh *ἐγὼ μέν, ὡς . . . ὑφάψων* Herw 1.51 *ἐγὼ μέν, ἵν' ὑφάψαιμι σὰς φίλας πυράν γε νήσας*? Bl ‖ *ὑφάψαιν*? Mein 2.124 **374** *ἐγὼ δὲ μίαν* FlCh *ἐγὼ δέ γ', ὡς τὴν σὴν πυρὰν τούτῳ κατασβέσουσα*? Bl *ἡμεῖς δέ γ', ἵνα . . . κατασβέσωμεν* (*κ.* iam Dobr 1) Bl ‖ *τούτῳ σβέσω 'γχέασα*? Bl ‖ *κατασβέσωμι*? Mein 2.123 *κατασβέσω. ΧΓΕ. τί; | τοὐμόν*? Bl **376** *οἶδ' ἂν εἴ σε τῇδ'* (*τῇδί σ'*? Mein 2.124) *ἐγὼ* Cob 1.109 *τῇδὶ σβέσω . . . σταθεύων*? Bgk² **377** *ἐγὼ λ. π.* FlCh ⟨*σοι*⟩ (⟨*σὺ*⟩ Pors) *λ. ἐγὼ* Brun ‖ *λουτρόν:*

⟨σ'⟩ (⟨γ'⟩ Bent) Brub *γέ σοι π.* Reis 125 ‖ *λουτρῶν ἐγὼ?* Bo **379** *ἠκούσατ'?* Bl **380** *οὐκέτ' ἠλ-* *ΓBp* MacDowell v.193–195 *οὐκέθ' ἡλ-* R ‖ *ἡλιάξει* Buttmann I.383 *-άζει* Cob 1.109 *-άσῃ* Stanger 1 ‖ *οὐκ ἐφήλικ' ἄγξεις?* Bgk² **384** *ἂν βλαστάνῃς* Brun *ἀμβλαστάνῃς* (*-βλυστονῇς?* Herm 10.276 *-βλαστανεῖς* Mein) Reis 39 *ἀναβλαστανεῖς* Dobr 1 **385** *αὐτός?* Bo *αὖ-?* Vl **386** ⟨*σὺ*⟩ *συγχλ.* Pors *σύ* ⟨*γε*⟩ *χλ.?* Brun "Lieber möchte ich es auswerfen, damit der vorn verkürzte Dimeter die Szene schliesst wie Wolk. 1114." Wila **391** *ἔλεγεν* {*δ'*} Palmerius 765 *ἔλεγον δ'* Herm 3.xx *ἔλεγεν δ' ὁ μή* ⟨*γ'*⟩ Bo² *ἔλεγε δὲ* (*δ' ὁ* [H] Mein) *μὴ* Rsk ‖ *'s ὥρας?* Bent *'ν ὥραισι* (*ὥρ.* iam Zan) Rsk *γ' ὥρασι* Bo² (*'s*) *ὥρας ἰὼν* vel *ὥρασι δὴ?* Bl ‖ *ὁ μὴ ὥρας ἰξόμενος μὲν?* Bl **393** *αἴαζ'* Elms 8 **395** *ἡ 'πὶ τοῦ τ. γυνή* Bach 24 *γυνὴ* ⟨*ἡ*⟩*?* Mein **398** *τοιαῦτά γ'?* Bl ‖ *ἀκόλαστ' ᾄσματα* Brun *ἀκολαστήματα* Dobr 116 **400** *αἳ γ' ἄλλα?* Dobr 1 *αἳ κἄλλα γ'?* Bl **401** *θοίμ.* Kust **402** *-κότες* Elms 8 *-κόσι?* Bl **407** *ἐκ τῶν* Iunt **408** *ὅν* (*ὡς*) *τ'* FlCh *ὅν γ'* Bent: *ἐσκ.* **413** *εὐαρμ-* (*εὖ ἀρμ-* FlCh) Iunt **416–417** *τὸ δακτυλίδιον τοῦ ποδὸς* | *τοῦ τῆς γυναικός μου* Pors *τοῦ τῆς γυναικός μου ποδὸς* | *τὸ δ. ἐμπιέζει* (*ἐμπ.* iam Reis 3 *γὰρ πιέζει* Herm 10.276) Eng *μου τῆς γ. . . . δακτυλίσκιον* Mein 1 **417** *τὸ δακτύλιον ἴδιον π.* Schn 4.111 ‖ *ὑποπιέζει?* Bis *ἓν π.* Hot *ἐμπιέζει* Reis 3 *συμπιέζει* Dobr 1 *σφόδρα π.?* Dind³ **419** *εὐρύτερον?* Bl **420** *ἀπήντησ'* vel *ἀποβέβηκ'?* Bl **421** *ὅτ' ὢν* (*ὢν γ'*) Lent *θ' ὅπως?* Bl **423** *ἀποκέκλημαι* Dind² ‖ *ταῖς πύλαις* Ham 2.19 **424** *οὐκέτ'* Ham 2.19 **426** *ποῖ κῆχος* Bent ex *EM* **427** *οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἄλλ'* (*ἄλλ'* iam Brun) *ἢ 's* vel *οὐδέν ποτ' ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς?* Bl **428** *-βαλόντε* Iunt **429** *ἐντεῦθεν* vel *ἐνταυθοῖ* vel *ἐνθαδί: δ'?* Bent *ἐντευθενὶ 'κμοχ.* Herw 4.109 **430** *ξυν-* Brun ‖ *-εύσατε?* Bl **431** *τίθει μοχλόν?* Bo² **432** *οὐ νῦν?* vL **433–465** *ὑπηρέτης* (437 sqq. *ὑπη.*) R²Iunt (—R¹ personarum mutationis signis omissis ante vv. 435, 437, 445, 462) **433** *ποῦ ἔστι* vL, quod et *Π* mihi habere videtur: vide Grenfell, p. 218 **435** *λυ.* R²Iunt (om. R¹) **436** *προσοίσει*, Eng post Berglerum vertentem "quamvis publicus sit minister" **437** *ἔδησας* (B) Bgk 3.94 ‖ *-αρπάσεις* Rsk **438** *λυ.* R²Iunt (om. R¹) ‖ *χἀνύσαντε* (*χἀ-* Coul) Bois **439** *Γυνὴ α'.* Dind² *Καλ.* Rog post Bgk² ("ceterum haec mulier prima videtur non alia esse quam Calonice, sicut *Γυνὴ β'*, quae loquitur inde a v.735, non diversa a Myrrhina, sed nolui quidquam novare") *Γραῦς α'.* vL **440** *πεκτούμενος?* Bl **443** *στρα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) *Μυρ.?* Dobr 1 *Γυνὴ β'.* Dind² *Γραῦς β'.* Süss 2.241 **445** *ποῦ* ⟨*ὁ*⟩ vel *ποῦ τοξόται?* Bl **447–448** *στρα.* R²Iunt (—R¹) *Γυνὴ γ'.* Dobr 1 *Γραῦς γ'.* Süss 2.241 **448** *ἐγὼ 'κποκιῶ* (*τάχ' ἐκπ.?*) Bl ‖ *μακροκωκ-?* Bl **449** *-λοιπεν ὁ στρατός* vL **450** *οὐδέποτέ γ' ἡσσητέα* Elms 1 v.127 **451** *οἱ Σ.?* Bl **453** *τέσσ-* Iunt **459** *οὐκ* ({*οὐκ*}*?* Berg) *ἐξέλθετ'* (*ἔλθετ'?* FlCh) Farr *οὐ 'ξέλθετ'?*

FlCh *οὐκ ἔξιτ'* Bent ‖ *ἀράξετε* Wake I.135 **460** *οὐκ ὀρχιτομήσετ'* Kock 262 **461** *Προ.* Rsk ‖ *π.*; *ἐπ.*; *μὴ σκ.*; Hot **465** *ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία* Hanovius 120 **466** *ἐὰν* ⟨*μὴ*⟩ Ell *ἐὰν μὲν* Scal {*γ'*} *ἐάν* (*γ' ἐάν* Bent) *γε* (*τις*) FlCh **467** ⟨*τῆς*⟩ *γῆς* Bent **471–475** *Λυσ.* vL **473** *'θέλω* Bach 75 **475** post h.v. duos vv. excidisse Helbig 259 **476** *τί τοῖσδε χ. τοῖς κν.*; Voss ‖ [*τοισ*]*δε τοις* (*τοῖς δὲ τοῖς*? EWüst *PhW* 48 [1928]4) *κν.* in *Π τοῖς δὲ* (*τοῖσδε* Wila) *κν.* Burg 288 **478** *ἔτ' ἀνεκτὰ τάδε γ' p* (*τάδ'B*) ‖ *οὐχὶ γὰρ ἀν. τάδ'* ⟨*ἔστ'*⟩? Dind *ἀνεκτέα τάδ'* Dobr 1 *ἀνεκτὰ ταῦτ'* Bgk² *ἀνασχετὰ τάδ'*? Bl **479** {*τὸ*} Brun ‖ *ἐμοῦ γ'* (*'σθ'* Bgk²) Reis 176 **480–482** *ἐπὶ τῷ* (*ἐφ' ὅτῳ* Engero tribuens Mein 2.125) *ποτε τὴν* Eng ‖ *ποτε τὸ*? Mein ‖ *Κρ. μετὰ τῶνδ' ἀρετῆς ἕνεχ', αἷς ἔνι φύσις* Herm 10.277 **482** *μεγ. ἄβ. ἀκρόπολι*? Mein *ἄβατον*, *** Eng **484** *μὴ φείδου*? Bgk 3.95 **485** *πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτο μ.*? Bl **486** *μὴν*: *αὐτῶν* Reis 206 *πάντων* Ham 2.20 *αὐτὸς*? Bgk² *αὐτό γε* (*ὑμῶν*) vel *αὐτὰς* (*ὑμᾶς*) . . . *πρῶτον ἐρέσθαι*? Bl **487** *ἀκρόπολιν* (iam Brub) . . . *ἀπ. μοχλοῖς* Kust ‖ *οὕτως ἡμῶν μοχλοῖς ἀπέκλῃσαν* Bl ‖ *ἀπεκλήσατε* Dind³ ‖ *τοῖσδε μοχλοῖσιν* (*-σι* FlCh) Scal *κλῆσι μοχλοῖς τε* Burg 287 **488** *γῶν παρ.* FlCh ‖ *παρέχωμεν* (iam Frob) . . . *πολεμῆτε*? Dind³ **489** *γὰρ πολεμοῦμεν*? Bl **491** *ἐποίουν*? Bl ‖ *εἵνεκα* Kust **492** *μὴ*: *καθελοῦσιν*? Bent *προέλωσιν*? Bl *μ' ἀφέλωσι* Herw 5.623 **494** *τί* ⟨*δὲ*⟩ (⟨*τὸ*⟩) Bent **495** *οὐ γὰρ* Brun **497** *ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν δεῖ*? Bl **498** *ἡμεῖς σώσομεν. Πρ. ὑμεῖς ἡμᾶς*;? Bl **499** delet Weck 549 ‖ *κἢν* (*κεἰ*?) *μὴ βούλει* (*β.* iam Mu2 ante correctionem) Bl ‖ *δεινόν* ⟨*γε*⟩ Ell ‖ *ἀγανακτεῖς*;? Bl **500** *Πρ. ἀλλὰ . . . Λυσ. νὴ . . . Πρ. ἄκοντί γε* Rsk **501** *σωστέα σ'*? Bl ‖ *ὦ 'τὰν* Brun ‖ *οὕνεκα* Brun **502** *π.* B*p* R² in rasura Iunt (—R¹) **503** *λυ.* et *πρ.* et *λυ.* B*p* R²Iunt (—, : , : R¹) *Γυνὴ α'. ἡμεῖς . . . Πρ. λέγε . . . Γυνὴ α'. ἀκροῶ* Beer 89 **505** *λ.* R²Iunt (d.p. R¹) *Γραῦς* Bent *ΧΓΥ.* Dobr 1 *Γυνή* (*α'*. Beer 90). Eng *Μυρ.* Kr 14 *Στρατυλλίς.* Rog *Κλε.* Coul: *κλαύσει* **506** *πρ.* B*p* R²Iunt (om. R¹) ‖ *σαυτῇ*: *'κρωξας* Mein *κρῶξαι* vel *κρώζειν*? Bl **507** *τὸν μὲν πρότερον πόλεμον καὶ* (*τοῦ μὲν προτέρου πολέμου κατὰ* Rog) *τὸν χρ. ἠνεχόμεσθα* (B) FlCh *πόλεμον πάντ' ἐξηνεσχόμεθ'* (*καὶ πάντ' ἠνεσχ.* Hanovius 105) ⟨*ἀεί*⟩ Reis 218 *καὶ χρόνον* (*σιγῇ γ'* Herw 3.68 *καὶ χρόμον*? Schn 2.42 *πράως* Wila) *ἠνεσχόμεθ'* (*-νειχ-* Lent Wila) ⟨*ὑμῶν*⟩ (⟨*οὕτως*⟩ Lent ⟨*ἄν που*⟩ Schn) Pors *πρ. σιγῇ χρ. ἐξηνεσχόμεθ'* ⟨*ὑμῶν*⟩ Herm 10.277 *πρότερον* (*-έρου*? Rog) *πολέμου χρ. ἐξηνεσχόμεθ'* ⟨*ὑμῶν*⟩? Bgk² *πρότερόν γε χρ. κόσμιαι ἠνειχόμεθ' ὑμῶν* vL **508** *ἄττα ποιεῖτε* (*-οῖτε* vel *-εἶτ' ἄν* Berg) FlCh *ἄττ' ἐποιεῖτ' ἄν* (*ἂν ἐποιεῖτ'* vel *ἂν ἐποίουν*)? Bent **509** *καίτ' οὐκ* (*καίτοὐκ* Eng) Rsk ‖ *ἠρέσκετ' ἄν* FlCh *ἤρεσκε τόδ'* (*τάδ'*? Bl) Pors *ἠρέσκετ' ἔθ'* Hir 1.286 **511** *ἠκούομεν*? Bl ‖ *-σομένους* e *Σ*[R]? Ruth **512** *εἶτα λέγουσαι* FlCh **514** *δὲ σοὶ* (P) Bo ‖ *ἂν ὦ 'νήρ* (*ἀνήρ*) Brun **515** *ἄλλη τίς γυνή* in

margine $R^2$ (d.p. $R^1$) *Αλλη τὶς γυνή*. Iunt (cf. Mu2 ubi *ἄλλη ἵς γύ* in margine, —in textu) *Γυνή*. Brun *Γυνὴ α′*. Beer 89 *Στρατυλλίς*. Rog *Κλε*. Coul ‖ *ἂν ἔγωγ' ἂν*? Bl **516** post h.v. unum (Oeri 3.30) aut duos vv. (Eng) excidisse ‖ *τοιγὰρ*: ⟨*ἔγωγ'*⟩ {*ἔνδον*} *ἐσίγων* Iunt ⟨*ἔγωγ' αὐτίκ'*⟩ *ἐσ*.? Bent ⟨*ἐγὼ οὖσ'*⟩ *ἔνδον ἐσ*.? Bl ⟨*ἐγὼ μὲν τότ'*⟩ *ἐσ*. Wila ⟨*τοὔγωγ' ἄν*⟩ *ἐσ*. Coul **517** *ἕτερόν τι πονηρότερον* (*-τατον*? Bl) ⟨*πολλῷ*⟩ (⟨*τούτου*⟩ Pors) Bent *ἕτερον* ⟨*δ' ἑτέρου*⟩ *τι* Herw 7.267 ⟨*εἶθ'*⟩ *ἕτερον* ⟨*δή*⟩ *τι*? Bl ‖ ⟨*εἰ δ' αὖ*⟩? Bent ⟨*ἀλλὰ τάχ'*⟩? Brun ⟨*ἔνδον δ'*⟩ Reis 225 ⟨*αὖθις δ'*⟩ Dobr 1 ⟨*κἄπειθ'*⟩ Dind$^2$ ⟨*μετὰ ταῦθ'*⟩? Bl ⟨*ταχέως δ'*⟩ vL ⟨*ἑτέρου δ'*⟩ Coul: *ἕτερόν τι* ‖ *βούλευμ'* ⟨*ἤνπερ γ'*⟩ Kust **519** *ἔφασκεν* (*ἔφασκ' ἂν*? Bl) *ὑποβλ*. Valck 1.353 ‖ ⟨*ἂν*⟩ *ἔφασκ'· εἰ* Pors 1.96 ‖ *ἔφασκεν* (*φ-* D'Orville 506) *εἰ* Ell *δεινὸν εἰ*? Bent *φάσκεν* ⟨*ἂν*⟩ . . . *-νήσεις* Brun ‖ *τὰ στήνι' ἀνήσεις* e $\Sigma^R$? Ruth **520** *ὁτοτύξει τοι*? Brun ‖ *πολέμου*? Bl **523** *ὅτε δ' ὦδ'* Rsk **524** *ἀνὴρ ταύτῃ χ*. FlCh ‖ *οὐ*⟨*δεὶς*⟩ *δῆθ'* Tyr 70 ‖ *δῆθ'* ⟨*εἷς*⟩ Bent *δῆτ'*: ⟨*ἔσθ'*⟩ Brun ⟨*οὐχ·*⟩ Reis 235 ⟨*εἶφ'*⟩ vel ⟨*ἦ δ'*⟩ vel ⟨*ἦδ'*⟩? Dobr 1 **525** *μετὰ τοῦτ'*? Wehr 60 **526** *ξυλ-* Inv ‖ *ποῖ ποτε* Pors **528** *κἀντισιωπᾶν* Kust **530** *λ. σίγ'* $R^2$Iunt (*σοίγ'* $R^1$) . . . *π. σιωπῶ* . . . *λ. καὶ* $R^2$Iunt (personarum signa om. $R^1$) *Λυσ. σοί* . . . *Πρ. σιωπῶ* . . . *Λυσ. ἀλλ' εἰ* JMarkland v.454 **531** *εἰς τοῦτ'* Rsk ⟨*σοὔστιν*⟩ *τοῦτ' ἐμπόδιον* {*σοι*}? Eng *τοῦτ' ἐμ. σοὐστιν* Mein *τουτί σοὔστ' ἐμ*.? Bl **532** ⟨*αὐτὸς ταχέως*⟩ *παρ' . . . λαβὼν* ⟨*σὺ γενοῦ 'γώ*⟩ Reis 203 **533–534** {*περὶ . . . σιώπα*} Bo$^2$ **533** post h.v. unum aut duos vv. excidisse Mein ‖ *ταχέως περίθου*? Bl ‖ *περιδοῦ*? Mein **534** {*κᾆτα σ*.} Ham 1.20 ‖ *ὠδί, κἄπειτα σ*. ***? Eng supplens e.g. ⟨*Γυνὴ α′. καὶ ταυτηνὶ λαβὲ τὴν ζώνην*.⟩ ⟨*καὶ τόνδε πόκον δέξαι παρ' ἐμοῦ*⟩ Mein 2.166 ⟨*πάνυ σεμνῶς. Γραῦς α′. καὶ τὸν ἄτρακτον τοῦτον δέξαι*⟩ vL "eine Lücke anzunehmen; es wird derselbst der auf den Monometer v.534 *κᾆτα σιώπα* folgende, noch der Rede der Lysistrate angehörige Paroemiacus und hinter demselben ein Dimeter der *Γυνὴ α′* ausgefallen sein" Oeri 2.361 **535–536** *κᾆτ' ἔχε* (*ἐς*) *τοῦτον . . .* | *ξαίνειν ἔρια ξυζ*.? Bl **535** *Γυνή*. Eng *Μυρ*. Kr 14 *Γραῦς β′*. vL *Καλ*. Süss 1.16 ‖ *τοῦτον δὴ* Bent *τονδὶ* Hot *τοῦτόν μου* (*μοι*? Bl) Dobr 1 *τουτονγὶ* Elms* Eng *καὶ λαβὲ τοῦτον*? Bl **536** *Λυσ*.? Eng ‖ *ξαῖνε*? Bl **537** *φρύγων* (*φώγων*)? vL **539** *αἴρεσθε δ'* Brub *-σθέ γ'* Scal *ἀρύετ'* (*-σατ'*) FlCh *αἰρώμεθ'* Bent *ἀπαίρετ'* (*-άρατ'*? Bl) Brun *αἴρεσθε νῦν* (*-σθ' ἄνω*) Pors *αἴρεσθ', ὦ γ*., *ἀπὸ* {*τῶν*} Bo$^2$ *ἄραισθ' ἂν* Mein 2.127 *αἴροισθ' ἂν* Meinekio tribuentes H-G **540** *συλλαλῶμεν* Naber 29 **541** *ἐγὼ γὰρ*: *οὔποτ' ἂν κάμοιμ' ὀρ*. (*BΔ*) Brun *ἔτ' ἂν* (*εἶτ'* JSchmidt ccxcii) *οὔποτε* (*οὐκ ἄν ποτε* Reis 177 *οὐπώποτε* R-W 171) *κάμοιμ' ἂν ὀρ*. Herm 3.383 *ἐγὼ γὰρ* verba ab interpolatore posita esse cum quinque syllabae ante *οὔποτε* excidissent quae responderint verbis *ὦ Ζεῦ τί ποτε* v.476 censet Dind$^2$; primam versus syllabam

fortasse ὡς fuisse Dind³ ‖ ἔγωγε (ἐγώ τε Holden) γὰρ ἂν οὔποτε κάμοιμ' ἂν ὀρ. Eng ⟨εὖ γ'·⟩ οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε κάμοιμ' ἂν ὀρ. Herm 10.278 ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἔγωγ' ἀποκάμοιμ' ἂν ὀρ.? Bl **542** interpolatum Dind² ‖ οὐδὲ (οὔτε Bo) τὰ γόνατα (οὐδὲ τὰ γόνατ' ἄν? post Hermannum Dind²) κόπος ἕλοι (ἑλεῖ Reis 177) με καματηρὸς ἄν (ἄν om. Hot Bo) Bent οὔτε γόνατ' ἂν κόπος ἕλοι με καματήριος (καμ. ex Hesychio) Herm 3.383 οὐδὲ καματηρὸς ἔμ' (ἂν Jackson 46) ἕλοι τὰ γόνατ' ἂν ({τὰ} γόνατά μου Jackson) κόπος Herm 10.278 οὔτε καματηρὸς ἂν γόνατα κόπος μ' ἕλοι Voss οὐδὲ τὰ γόνατα κόπος εἶλε (vel μ' εἶλε [γ' εἶλε JSchmidt ccxcii]) καματηφόρος? Bgk² οὐδέ με τὰ γοῦνα (vel γυῖα [οὐδ' ἐμοῦ τὰ γόνατα White 121]) καματηρὸς ἂν ἕλοι κόπος? Bl **544** μετὰ τῶνδε φίλων vel μ. τῶνδ' ἀρετῆς σφετέρης? Bent μ. τῶνδέ γε τῆς ἀρετῆς Reis 177 {ἀρετῆς ἕν.} Hot ἀρετῆς ⟨μεγάλης⟩? Mein **545** {ἔνι χάρις} Reis 177 **546** δὲ ⟨τὸ⟩ ({δὲ} τὸ Bl) σ. Herm 3.383 ‖ ⟨δὲ⟩ φ. Reis 177 ‖ cum R deleto φρόνιμος Hot **549** ὦ ⟨'κ⟩ Amst ‖ ἀνδρειόταται Scal **550** ὀργὴ FlCh ‖ μέχρι (ἄχρι) γὰρ? Bl **551** ⟨γ'⟩ ὁ Bent ὅ ⟨τε⟩ Hot **552** ἡμῖν Bent **553** κἀντέκῃ ἡδὺν vel κἀν. ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τερπνὸν τέτανόν τινα? Bl ‖ ἐνστάξῃ Hir 1.287 ἐντέξαι Bgk* ἐντείνῃ? Bl ἐντίκτῃ? Bl ἐμπήξῃ? Richards ‖ τετ. στερρὸν Herm 10.278 ‖ ῥοπαλισμόν Bent **554** οἶμαι ἂν ἡμᾶς πότε Hir 1.288 οἶμαι τότε Römer 605 ‖ ἄν τοῖς Bgk² **556** περ μ. Port ‖ *Γυνή.* (α'. Beer 89) Brun *Λυσ.* (ad v.558) Bo² *Μυρ.* Kr 15 *Στρατυλλίς.* Rog *Κλε.* Coul (*Καλ.* ad v.558 Süss 2.240): νὴ ‖ μαιομένους Schn 4.667 μισγομ. vel γ' ὡς μαιν.? Bl {καὶ} διαγιγνομένους Schenk 3 **557** γὰρ δή γ' ἐν? Bl ‖ κἀν . . . κἀν Brun καὶ . . . κἀν Reis 241 **560** ἀσπίδα τις καὶ Γοργόν' ἔχων εἶτ' Bo ‖ ὠνεῖται (R) Iunt **561** *Γυνὴ α'.* Beer 89 *Μυρ.* Kr 15 *Γραῦς α'.* vL *Στρατυλλίς.* Rog *Κλε.* Coul ‖ ἔγωγ' οὖν Amst ‖ ἔφιππον Kraus 39 **562** λεκίθου (-ων)? Bl **563** δ' αὖ (δέ γε Reis 243) *Θρ.* Brun ad *Αν.* 579 ‖ *Τήρης* Kaehler 60 **564** ἐδεδίττετο Maltby 221 **565** πῶς οὖν: ὑμεῖς δυναταὶ (-τοὶ Valck* Reis 243) Ell ὑμῖν (ὑμεῖς Inv) δυνατὸν vel γε δύνασθ' ὑμεῖς Bent ὑμεῖς ἔξετε Brun ὑμεῖς πράγματα παῦσαι τετ. πολ. δύνασθε Tyr* ὑμεῖς οἷαι (οἷαί θ' ὑμεῖς? Bl) παῦσαι Lent ‖ πράγματα πάντα vel πράγματ' ἔσεσθε? Bl **567** κλωστῆρ' Bent **568** τοῖσί τ' ἀτράκτοις ὑπεν. Bo² **569** καταλύσομεν? Bl 2.49 **570** delet Helbig 258 **571** ἐκ τῶν (εἶτ' ἐξ? Dobr 1) ἐρίων Elms 2.95 **572** ὡς ἀνόητοι Dobr 1 ‖ κἀν Lent 1 v.221 κἄν, Reis 248 ‖ εἴ τι γ' Reis **574** φέρε. *Λυσ.* πῶς;? Bl *Λυσ.* φέρ'? Lent ‖ χρῆν Lautensach 158 ‖ πόκου Kust **575** ἐπικλίνεις (-εἰς FlCh) Iunt **576** ἀπολῦσαι (-λέσσαι) Bent **577** καὶ συμπιλοῦντας (ξυμ- vL)? Bl **579** ξυνάγειν . . . ἁπάντων vL ‖ κοινῇ γ' εὐνοίᾳ? Bl ‖ εὔνοιαν, ἅπ. | κατ., Reis 251 ὁμόνοιαν? Bl **580** κῆν (κεἴ Bgk² κἄν [ἤν?] Wila) . . . ᾖ Bois ‖ ἦεν (ἔστιν Bent) ἐφ' FlCh ‖ ἡμῖν? Wila **581** ὀφείλῃ Bgk² (-ει codd.) **582** τάσδε πόλεις? Lent **583** ὥσπερ γε Reis 257 **584** τι κάταγμα?

Bl ἔρι᾽ ἄττα Herw 6.288 τι ξάσμα Will II.368 n.2 **588** λακκατάρατε Bent **589** πλεῖν: ἢ (⟨γ᾽⟩ ἢ? Bl) τὸ? Dind ἠὲ Dind² ἢ διπλοῦν (-όον) γ᾽? Bl ‖ αὐτοῦ Abresch I.39 **590** ὁπλοτέρους e $\Sigma^{R}$? Ruth ‖ σίγα· Radt 11 **591** ἡνίκ᾽ ἐχρῆν Dind² **592** καὶ θἠμ. Ell ‖ ἐάσω (-άσθω)? Bgk² **593** τῶν κουρῶν δ᾽? Bl **594** χἄνδρες Reis 258 **595** ⟨ἀλλ᾽⟩ (⟨ὡς⟩? Bl) ὁ μὲν ἦκων Dobr 1 ⟨ὅθ᾽⟩ ὁ μέν ⟨γ᾽⟩ ἦκων? Bl ‖ μὲν ἄρ᾽ ἦκων Salmasius 192 γὰρ ἦκων μέν FlCh ‖ ἠβῶν Palmer ‖ κῆν Bl **596** χἄν Mein κἢν Bl **597** ἐθελήσει γῆμ᾽ αὐτήν? Bl ‖ γῆμαι ᾽τ᾽ αὐτήν Lent **598** delet Oeri 1.14 ‖ Λυσ. ἀλλ᾽ . . . δυνατὸς ⟨***⟩ Bamberg ap. Oeri 2.361 ‖ ἔτι (ἔτ᾽ οὐ? Bgk²) FlCh ‖ {ἐστὶ} στύσασθαι? (-ύεσθαι? Herw 7.267)? Bl **599** Ἄλλη γυνή. (ἄλλη R) Bis ΧΓΥ. Bent ‖ τί δὲ δὴ σὺ μαθὼν? Bl ‖ παθὼν FlCh **600** Γυνὴ α΄. Velsen ‖ καίριόν ἐστι (-ιν? Bl) Zan χ᾽ ὥριόν (ὥρ- Bent) ἐστιν Bis καίριος ἐσσί γε Brun χοιρίον (χωρ- Bgk²) ἔσται Elms 1 v.788 χωρεῖν ἔστιν Reis 261 ὥριον ὄν σοι Dobr 1 χωρίον ἐστίν Voss ὥριος ἐσσί Weise χόριον δέξει Oeri 1.14 καίριον ἦν (ὄν) σοι vel καιρὸς δ᾽ ἐστίν vel ὥρα σοὐστὶν? Bl χοιρίδιον καὶ Herw 5.624 ‖ {σορὸν ὤν.}? Helbig 261 σορόν ⟨γ᾽⟩ Weise ‖ ὠνῆσαι? FlCh ὤνησαι Rsk ὠνεῖσθαι? Bl **601** Λυσ. Velsen ‖ verbis σ. ὠν. in v.600 deletis (cum Helbig 261) καὶ δὴ μάξω μ. ἐγώ Oeri 1.14 ‖ μελιτοῦταν (-τταν Brun) Bent ‖ μάσσω (-ττω? Bl) Zan **602** Γυνὴ γ΄. v. attribuens post v.604 posuit Velsen ‖ ταυτασὶ? Bl **603** Γυνὴ (Γραῦς Wila) α΄. (β΄. Velsen) Brun (γυνή. *p*) Κλε. (post Süss 1.17 qui v.604–607 Calonicae continuat) Coul ‖ τουτουσὶ Rsk ταυτασγὶ Elms 1 v.784 ‖ {δέξ. π. ἐμ.}? Helbig 261 **604** Γυνὴ (Γραῦς Wila) β΄. Brun Λυσ. Beer 89 ‖ τοῦτον δὴ Bent τουτονδὶ (-γὶ Elms 1 v.784) Brun τοῦτόν σοι (μου Dobr 1)? Pors ταυτηνὶ . . . τὴν στεφάνην Lent τοῦτον τὸν στ. παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ vel ταυτηνὶ δέξαι παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ vel τουτονγὶ λαβὲ τῷ πορθμεῖ? Bl **605** τοῦ δέοι (δέῃ [B] Zan δεῖ Bent) Iunt τί σε δεῖ Brun τοῦ δῆτα δέει Reis 259 τοῦτ᾽ ἤ τι π. Bo ‖ χωρεῖ ⟨᾽s⟩ (χώρ- Hot) Bent χωρεῖν | ἔστ᾽ εἰς Reis χώρει τὴν? Bo **608** δεινὰ (-ὸν Wila) ταῦτα Bl **612** τριταίαν γ᾽ ἡμ. Reis 3 **613** ἕξει Zan ‖ τρί᾽ (θρί᾽? Rsk) FlCh πρὶν? Rsk **614** ἔστ᾽ ἔργον (ἔργον ἦν) καθ.? Bl **615** ὦνδρες Bent **616** ὄζειν (⟨γε⟩ Hot) RΓp Iunt ὄζει γε BΔ ὄζει (C¹) Coul ‖ {ταδὶ} FlCh **617** πραγμάτων ταδὶ δοκεῖ μοι Brun **621** ἐκ Κλ. Iunt (cf. $\Sigma^{r2}$ post correctionem ἐκ κλεισθένης) **622** ἐξεπάρωσιν Lent εἶτ᾽ ἐπαίρωσιν? Bl **625** {ἐγώ} FlCh **630** ὦνδρες Mein **631** -εύουσ᾽ FlCh **632** {τὸ} γε ξ. vel ξιφίδιον? Bl **633** Ἀριστογείτονος Bl **634** εἶτα θ᾽ . . . ὧδε γάρ? Bl ‖ ἑστήξω· παρ᾽ αὐτὸν αὐτὸ (-τὸ iam ap. Scal) Reis 146 ‖ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ? Bl ‖ αὔτως (αὐτὸ) ap. Scal αὕτως (αὐτοῦ) FlCh αὖρα? Rsk αὐτόθι Herm ad *Nubes* v.1487 ὧδε Bgk² ταὐτὸ (τοῦτο)? Bl πάντα Richards: γάρ μοι ‖ αὐτὸ γάρ μου? Bo ‖ αἴτιος γὰρ (-ός μοι Hot) Bis αὐτὸς οὖν μοι (ἄρ᾽ ἐμοὶ) Brun 1 αὐτόθεν μοι Rog αὐτὸ τοῦτο Will II.436: γίγνεται ‖ γίγνεται γάρ μοι πόθος? Rsk ταὐτὸ γὰρ

*μοὐκγίγνεται*? Bl *εἶτα μοὐκγενήσεται*? Bl 2.49 **634–635** *τοῦτο . . . γίγνετ', εἰ | . . . -πατάξας (-άξω)*? Bl **635** *τὰς . . . ἐχθρὰς*? FlCh *ἐχθρῶς* Amst **636** *οὐκ ἄρ'* Dobr 1 *εἰσιόντος οἴκαδ' ἡ τεκοῦσ' ὀνήσεται*? Eng post JDroysenum vertentem "Sollt ja nicht zu Leckerbissen, kommt ihr heim, der Mutter sein" *οὐ (οὐδὲ) γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰσιόντας {οἴκ.}* Kapp **644–645** *ἦ· . . . καταχέουσα (καὶ χέουσα* Stinton) Berg **644** *ἡ δ.* Iunt ‖ *τἀρχηγέ τις (-γέτις* Bent) Maire **645** *κᾆτ' ἔχουσα* Ell ‖ *τὴν κρ.* FlCh ‖ *ἦν (ἢ 'ν* FlCh) *Bp.* Zan **646** *παῖς περιέχουσ'* Brun 1 ‖ *καλὴ: σχοῦσ'* Bent *ʼχουσ'* Dobr 1 **648** *π.* R²Iunt (*χ. γυ.* R¹) **650** *ἤ ⟨γ'⟩ ἀμ.*? Bl ‖ *τῶν π. γ' εἰσ.* Rsk **653** *γενόμενον* Geel 109 ‖ *ἐπὶ τῶν*? Bent **654** *ἀνταν.*? Bent *εἰσαν.* Reis 3 *ἐξαν.* Herw 3.12 **657** *τῷδέ σ'* Dobr 1 ‖ *τἀψήκτῳ* Cob 1.109 ‖ *κατάξω* Frob ‖ *σου* Cob *'γὼ* Bgk²: *κοθ.* **658** *π.* R²Iunt (*χ. γερ.* R¹) ‖ *εἶτ' οὐ (ἆρ' οὐ) ταῦθ'* vel *ταῦτ' ἆρ' οὐχ* vel *οὔκουν ταῦθ'* vel *ταῦτ' οὐ δῆθ'*? Bl ‖ *{οὖν}* Amst **659** *ἐπιδώσει* e *Σ*ᴿ? Ruth **662** *χ. γερ.* R²Iunt ‖ *τιν' ἄνδρα* Bl **663** *-άσθαι*? vL **664** *ἄγετ' ἴτε λυκ-* Schn 5.175 ‖ *λευκ.* Herm 1.358 ex Hesychio **670** *τοδὶ τὸ γῆρας (τὸ γ. τοδί* Mein) Brun **672** *αὖθις λιπ.* Herw 7.267 **676** *δ' ἐς* Ruhnken 59 ‖ *διαγράφειν* Pors *περιαίρω (-ρῶ)*? vL e *Σ*ᴿ *(-αρῶ Σ*ʳ*)* **678** *κωὐδ' ἀναπ. (ἂν ἀπ.* Cob 2.97) Dawes 602 ‖ *ἀναπολίσθοι* Iunt *ἀναπολεῖται (-εῖσθαι* Bis) Farr *ἀποπολισθαίνει* JTaylor *Lectiones Lysiacae* (Cambridge 1740) 686 ‖ *τάσδ' (τάς γ'* ?) Lent *τὰς {δ'}* Dind³ **679** *ἔγραψ'* FlCh ‖ *ἄφ'* Cob 7.250 **681** *τουτουὶ* Brun *τουτογὶ* Bo² **682** *νὴ τὼ θεώ μ' εἰ* Voss **683** *κύν' ἤδη τὴν ἐμ.* vel *τὴν ἐμ. ἵνα καὶ δὴ (καὶ δὴ* iam Bent) vel *ἵνας ἤδη* vel *τὴν ἐμ. ἵν' (ἰσχὺν) ἐφ' ὑμᾶς* vel *λύτταν ἤδη*? Bl 2.50 **684** *οὖν ἐγὼ* Amst **685** *σέ γ' εὖ (σε μέγα) π.*? Bl ‖ *πατούμενον (κεντούμενον)*? Bl **689** *πρόσειμι* Zan ‖ *μηκέτι* Bl **691** *⟨μ'⟩ εἰ* Eng *⟨ἔμ'⟩ εἰ {καὶ}* Dobr 1 *εἴπερ μόνον*? Bl ‖ *⟨μ'⟩ ἐρεῖς* Bent *ἐρεῖς ⟨μ'⟩* Dindorfio tribuens Bl **696** *{Ἄλλη} οὐ* Bent ‖ *ἦν μόνον (γέ σοι*?) Bl **697** *'Ισμηνίχα*? Bl **698** *ἔσται πόλεμος*? Bl **699** *παισὶ καὶ*? Bent *πᾶσι τοῖσι* Elms 8 **700** *θἠκάτῃ* Dind² **701** *ταῖς π.*? Bl **702** *κωπαΐτιν ἐκ* FlCh *ἐκ Β. (κάγα-πητὴν*? Bl) *ἔγχελυν κωπαΐδα*? Bent **704** *παύσεσθε* Bent **705** *ἡμᾶς* Amst *λαβών τις ὑμᾶς* Pors *θέλων* Suda *θένων (= θενών)*? Bent *'θέλων (βαλών)* Schenk 3 **706** *ἄνασσα* Iunt **709** *ἀθυμεῖν* Pors ‖ *{τ'}* *ἄνω* Hot **710, 712, 714, 716** *ἄλλη γυνή.* R²Iunt (—R¹ nullo signo ante v.714 posito) **712** *ταῖς σαῖσιν*? Bl **719** *οἷα 'πὸ* Lent 1 v.1073 **720** *πρῴην*? Bach 52 ‖ *διαλύουσαν* ap. Bis *διαλέουσαν* e *Σ*? Bo² *διαπλέ-κουσαν* Platt 244 **722** *τὴν δέ γ' ἀπὸ τροχιλίας* Bach 54 ‖ *τροχιλιᾶς* FlCh *τροχηλίαις (-ίας* Bach 53)? Bgk *τροχαλίας* vel *τροχιλέας*? Bl *τροχιλείας* vL ‖ *τρ.*: *{αὖ}* Elms 8 *ἅμα* Bach 155 **723** *τὴν δ' αὖ γε μόλις (μόλις γ'* 154) *ἐνθένδ' ἐπὶ στρούθου τινά (νέαν*? 58) Bach 56 *τῇδ' αὐτομολοῦσαν* Schn 5.177 *τὴν δ' αὐτομολοῦσαν νὴ Δί' ἐπὶ στρουθιδίου* Bach 1.756 *αὐτομολεῖν μέλλου-*

σαν (ἐθέλουσαν) Schenk 4 ⟨ἀπ⟩αυτομολοῦσαν Jackson 74 ‖ τὴν δ' ὅπως στροῦθον μέγαν vel τὴν δέ γε Στρουθωνίδου (στρούθου τρόπον)? Bl ‖ Μίκαν? Mein 2.128 τινά Schenk 4 **725** 'χθὲς Herw 3.54 τρὶς? Mein φθάσα Madvig 280 ‖ ἀνέσπασα Mein 2.128 **727** πλέκουσιν Wake I.133 λέγουσιν? Mein 2.128 παρέχουσιν? Bl ‖ ἡδὶ Elms 1 v.108 ἥδε Dobr 1 ἤδη . . . αὕτη 'ξέρχεται? Bl **728** *Γυνὴ α'*. Brun **730** -καπτ-? Brun **731** *Γυνὴ α'*. Brun ‖ ⟨σὺ⟩ πάλιν; {ἀλλ'} Bern* **733** μηδαμὰ (-ῶς)? Bl **734** *Γυνὴ α'*. ἀλλ' Brun ‖ ἀλλ' ὦ Dind² {ἀλλ'} (iam Bo) ἐὼ ⟨ἀπ⟩ολ.? (B) Bl ‖ ἔα Bent ‖ τοῦτό ⟨γε⟩ (οὕτως?) Kust τουτὶ (-τί γε? Bl) Pors τούτου γε (γε τοῦτο)? Bl ‖ δῇ? Bl **735** *Γυνὴ β'*. Brun *Μυρ.* Kr 14 **736** -λέλοιφ' Eng ‖ αὖθ' ἠτέρα Reis 23 αὕτη 'τέρα Dind² **737** interpolatum Kr 4 ‖ *Γυνὴ β'*. Brun *Μυρ.* Kr 14 **739** δὴ μάλ' ἔρχομαι? Bl ‖ ἐπαν. Kust ἀν.? Brun **740** μὴ ⟨μὴ⟩ 'ποδ. Brun μή, μάπ. Dind² ‖ ἄρξῃς Cob 1.109 ‖ τουτουί Bent τοῦδε σύ Reis 3 **742** *Γυνὴ γ'*. Brun *Γυνὴ α'*. Kr 4 ‖ ⟨ἀλλ'⟩ ὦ πότνι' Pors 1.577 ὦ πότνια Brun 1 ‖ 'Ιλείθυ' Coul e titulis ‖ ἐπίσχε? Mein **743** ἂν ὅσιον προσμόλω Herw 5.624 ‖ ἐγὼ 'λθω? Bl **744** *Γυνὴ γ'*. Brun *Γυνὴ α'*. Kr 4 ‖ δὴ τέξω μάλα? Bl **745** γ' ἐχθές Brun ‖ *Γυνὴ γ'*. Brun *Γυνὴ α'*. Kr 4: ἀλλὰ **746** οἴκαδ' ὡς . . . *Λυσιστράτη*, μ' Bern 278 **747** λέγεις λόγον Herw 5.624 **748** *Γυνὴ γ'*. Brun *Γυνὴ α'*. Kr 4: ἄρρεν **749** ἀλλὰ χάλκεον Scal **750** εἴσομαι τάχα (-ομ' αὐτίκα)? Bl **751** τήνδ' Wila **752** *Γυνὴ γ'*. Brun *Γυνὴ α'*. Kr 4: ἵνα ‖ ἵν' ἐμ' Bl 3.262 **754** τόκετος ἐν Scal **756** τί λαλεῖς? Reis 3 **757** οὐ τἀμφιδ. Bent σὺ δὲ τἀμφιδ. (σὺ δ' ἀμφιδ.) sine interrog.? Bgk² ‖ -δρόμι' αὐτοῦ μενεῖς τοῦ παιδίου Herw 6.289 ‖ τοῦ βρέφους αὐτοῦ Herw 6.288 **758** *Γυνὴ δ'*. Brun *Γυνὴ γ'*. Dobr 1 *Γυνὴ α'*. Kr 4 ‖ ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι "γωγ' Bent οὐδὲ δύναμαι 'γωγε Elms 1 v.178 οὐ δύναμαί γ' ἔτ' (γ' ἔτ' iam B) ἔγωγε vel οὔ τοι (μὰ Δί' οὐ) δ.? Bl **759** τότε? vL **760** *Γυνὴ ε'*. Brun *Γυνὴ β'* (vel α'.). Beer 91 *Γυνὴ δ'*. Eng *Μυρ.* Kr 14 ‖ δέ γ' ὑπὸ γλαυκῶν Reis in *Jenaische allgemeine Lituratur-Zeitung* (1817) 404 δέ γε τῶν γλ. Mein 1 ‖ γλ. {γε} Bent γλ., τάλαν,? Bl **761** κικκαβαζουσῶν Dobr 1 κικκαβιζ. (Phot.) Dind² κακκιβαζ.? von der Mühll **762** τερατισμάτων? vL ex Hesychio **763–764** δ' οὐ ποθεῖν | οἴεσθ' Bl **764** ἀργαλέας γ' Dobr 1 **765** ἄγεσθε Jortin 64 **767–768** ὑμῖν . . . στασιάσητ'? Eng ‖ εἰ | μὴ στασιῶμεν ἔτι. τίς ἐστιν οὑτοσί; Elms 1 v.178 **767** ἀεὶ? Elms 1 v.178 **768** ἔστιν {δ'}? Eng **769** ἄλλη R²Iunt (—R¹) *Γυνὴ γ'*. (α'. Eng) Beer 92 *Μυρ.* Kr 15 *Καλ.* Süss 2.242 **772** τὰ δὲ νέρτερ' ὑπέρτερα Dobr 1 **773** *Γυνὴ β'*. (α'. Eng γ'. Coul) Beer 92 *Μυρ.* Kr 15 *Καλ.* Süss 2.242 **774** ἦν (ἂν Δ) δὲ διαστῶσι (-ιν Kust) ΓΒp ‖ δ' ἄρ' ἀποστῶσιν FlCh ‖ ἀνάπτωνται Cob 7.265 **776** ὄρνεων . . . καταπυγότερον γένος εἶναι Mein 2.130 ‖ καταπυγότερόν ποτ' ἂν (πλέον? Bl) εἶναι (γεγενῆσθαι? Bl)? Dobr 1 **777–780** *Γυνὴ α'*. Eng *Λυσ.* ὦ Beer 91

**777** *Γυνὴ γ'. σαφής . . .Δί'.* (. . . *θεοί.* Coul) Beer 92 *Μυρ.* Kr 15 *Καλ.* Süss 2.242 ‖ *πρὸς τῶν θεῶν* vel *Πὰν καὶ θεοί*? Bl **778** *Λυσ.* Dobr 1 *Γυνὴ α'.* Bgk² **783** *εὐθὺς ἔτι*? Bl **785** *ἦν ποτε νέος* Herm 3.512 *μειράκιον ἦν* Kiehl 110 *νεανίας ἦν* Weise *ἦν Μ. νεανίσκος ὃς* JSchmidt ccc **786** *ἐς ἐρήμι' ἐνὶ δὲ τοῖς* Voss **788** {*τοῖς*} Hot *ὄρεσσιν* Herm 1.367 *τοῖς τ' ὄρεσιν ἐνῴκει* (*ἐνῴκει Γρ*) Platnauer 246 **789** *-ωθήρα* (*-ει* Bek) Brun **791** delet Weise ‖ *εἶχε* (Suda) Hot **792** *κατῆλθεν* (*-ῆλθ'* {*πάλιν*} Brun) Iunt **795** *οὕτως ἐβδ. τὰς γ.*? Eng **797** *Γέρων.* Brun *ΧΓΕ.* Eng **798** *ΧΓΥ.* Eng ‖ *κρόμμυόν γ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἔδει* Berg *κρομμύων: ἄρ' οὐ δέει* (*οὐκ ἔδει* Radt 13) Bent *τἄρ' οὐχὶ* (*οὔ σε* vel *οὐ σὲ* Will) *δεῖ*? Bo *τἄρ' οὐκ ἔδει* Wila ‖ Fraenkel 2.105 sqq. lectionem R cum interrog. sign. defendit **799** *Γέρων.* (B) Brun *ΧΓΕ.* Eng ‖ {*τὸ σκέλος*} Bent ‖ *λαικάσαι*? Dobr 149 *πληκτίσαι*? Bl **800** *ΧΓΥ.* Bgk² **803** *ἁπάντων*? Mein 2.130 *ἐπᾴσσειν* Coul **804** *χῶς*? Eng **806** *τοῦ Μελανίωνος*? Bl **809** *τις ἀΰδρυτος* (*-δρευτοῖς ἐν*? Bent) Iunt *ἀίδρυτός τις* Bent ‖ *ἀβάτοις ἀνὴρ*? Bl **809–810** *ἀβάτοισιν ἐν σκώλοισι τὸ πρόσωπον* (*τὰ πρόσωπα* Herm 1.368 *-σιν, ἀπρόσοιστα* Kock 181 et Coul [cum *εὖ σκ-*] 1.38) *περιειργμένος* (*-γασμένος* Toup 276) FlCh *ἀβάτοισι: σκώλοισίν τε τὰ πρ.* Herm 3.512 *τὸ πρόσωπον εὖ* (iam Bl) *σκώλοισι* Wila *τε σκώλοισιν τὸ πρ.*? Kock 181 ‖ *ἀπρόσικτα*? H-G **810** *σκόλοψιν* (*σχοίνοισιν*)? Bl ‖ *περιειργμένος* ⟨*κἀν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ᾤκει*⟩? Herm 1.368 **811** *Ἐριννύος* Herm 1.368 *Ἐρινύος* Dind² *Ἐρινύων* ⟨*δ' ἦν αὐτὸ*⟩ *τὸ πρ.*? Bgk ‖ ⟨*ἄζυγος*⟩ *ἀπορρώξ*? Bgk **812–813** lacunam post *ἀπορρώξ* statuit Herm 3.512, post *Τίμων* Mein, post *μίσους* Bis ‖ *οὑτοσὶ* (*οὗτος ἂν*) *ὁ Τ.*? Hot *νυν ὁ* Bent *ἄρ' ὁ* Herm 1.368 *οὖν* {*ὁ*} Bgk 2.371 ‖ *Τίμων*: ⟨*εἰς τόπον* (*ὄρος*) *ἔρημον*⟩? Bl ⟨*ἄθλιος ἀφ' ὑμῶν*⟩ Rog ‖ *μίσους*: ⟨*κοὐκέτι* (*τ' οὐκέτι*? Coul 1.39) *κατῆλθεν* (*-θε* Hot)⟩ Bis ⟨*φροῦδος ἐς Ὑμηττὸν*⟩ Voss ⟨*κἀν ὄρεσιν ᾤκει*⟩ Coul 1.39 **815** ⟨*κάκ'*⟩ *ἀνδ.* vel ⟨*κακὰ*⟩ *πονηροῖς ἀνδ.* Brun **816–817** *οὕτω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἄνδρας ἀεὶ* | *'κεῖνος ὑμῖν* (*ἡμῖν* Bergkio auctore Wila) *ἀντεμίσει* Mein ‖ *ὑμᾶς* Dobr 1 *ὑμῖν* Mein *ἡμῖν* Bgk (cf. $\Sigma^{R}$) *ἡμῶν* Baar **821** *Γυνή.* Brun *ΧΓΥ.* Eng **822** *Γέρων.* Brun ‖ *μηδαμῶς* ⟨*σ'*⟩ Gryph ‖ *μηδαμῶς: ἔδει χέσαι* Reis 137 *ἔδεις σύ γε* Herm 10.278 *ἐπεὶ χεσεῖ* (*χεσεῖ σὺ γάρ*;) Herw 5.624 *ἔδεισ' ἐγώ* vel *πέλαζέ μοι*? Bl *ἔδει δακεῖν* Schenk 4 *ἔδεισα γάρ* Hansing* **823** *Γυνή.* Brun **824** *Γέρων.* Brun **829–844** *Λυσ.* et *Μυρ.* Herm 8.70 **830** *Γυνὴ α'.* Brun **831** *ἄνδρ'* ⟨*ἄνδρ'*⟩ FlCh ⟨*ἀλλ'*⟩ *ἄνδρ'* Hanovius 120 ‖ *διαπεπλιγμένον*? Mein **832** *εἰλημμένον* Frob **833** *Γυνὴ β'.* Brun *Λυσ.* continuat Dobr 1 *Μυρ.* Bgk² ‖ *ἀλλ' ὦ πότνια, Κύπρου, Κυθήρων* Dobr 1 **834** *ὀρθὸς*? Mein ‖ *ἦπερ ἔρχει νῦν ὁδόν*? Bl **835** *Γυνὴ α'. ποῦ* Brun **836** *ΧΓΥ.* Rsk *Γυνὴ α'.* Brun *Μυρ. ὦ . . . Γυνὴ α'* (*Λυσ.*? Dearden 90). *τίς* Bgk² ‖ *ὥς, νὴ Δί', ἐς τί δῆτα*? Bo² **837** *Λυσ.* Rsk **838** *ἐγῷδ' ὅ ἐστιν* Herw 3.13 ‖

κἄσθ' οὑμός γ' Herm 7.xiv κἀστί γ' Bl **839** σὸν ἂν ἔργον (ἔργον ἂν) ἤδη Dobr 1 σὸν ἔργον ἤδη (ἐστὶ? [Suda] Bl) Dind$^2$ σὸν οὖν ἂν εἴη Jackson 102 ‖ τρέπειν Bl **843** ⟨σοὶ⟩ π. (περιμ. Dobr 1) Pors ‖ παραμένουσά (περιμ. Dobr 1) ⟨γ'⟩ (⟨τ'⟩? Bgk$^2$) Bent παραμένουσά σοι 'νθαδί Lent **844** σοὶ ξ. Bgk$^2$ ‖ γ' αὐτόν? Bl **851** καλῶ Brun 'κκαλέσω Dobr ‖ 'γὼ {τὴν} Kust {'γὼ} τὴν Brun σοι *M.*? Elms 8 ‖ ⟨δὴ⟩ τίς Elms 8 **852** ἀνὴρ Mein ‖ παιονίδης Mu2 **855** γὰρ οὖν ἔχει σ' ἀνὰ στόμ' ἡ γυνὴ vel γ' ἔχει σ' ἀνὰ στόμα vel διὰ στόματός (γλώσσης) σ' ἔχει? Bl **856** κῆν Bl **857** γενέσθω? Bl ‖ ὦ Brun **858** κῆν Bl **862** ἔγωγε: ⟨σοι⟩ Bent νὴ *Δί'* αὐτίκ' Brun ⟨νυν⟩ Hot ⟨τόδε⟩ Burg -γε; ⟨ναὶ⟩? Bo ⟨δὴ⟩ Voss ⟨μέντοι⟩ νὴ *Δ.* vel ναὶ μὰ vel ⟨ἑκὼν⟩? Bl **863** ἐγὼ δὲ? Bgk$^2$ **864** νὶν FlCh ‖ καλῶ? Pierson 216 ‖ ἀναβᾶσά Ell καὶ βᾶσά Bo προβᾶσά Herw 6.289 ‖ πέτου? Bgk$^2$ **865** ἔγωγ' ἔχω βίου Herm 10.278 ἐγῷδα τῷ βίῳ Cob 1.110 ἔχω γε ('τι) τοῦ βίου? Bl **866** αὐτὴ FlCh ‖ 'ξῆλθεν Brub **871** 'κκάλει Lent **873** ἐκεῖσ' ἐγὼ μὲν οὔ vel ἐγὼ οὐ καταβήσομαι? Bl ‖ οὔκ. Brun **879** *Παιδίον.* vL **884** δεινὸν τὸ? Bl ‖ κι. τί R$^2$ τί . . . *Κιν.* (—R$^2$) ἐμοὶ FlCh **885** ante h.v. excidisse ⟨ἦ που μέγα φίλτρον ἡ μακρά ἐστ' ἀπουσία⟩ vel sim.? vL ‖ μὲν αὕτη Brun γὰρ αὕτη R Phot. B. 1212 Lex. Bachm. 20.6 ‖ αὐτῇ (Lex. Bachm.) Bek 2 I.355 αὐτῷ? Bl **886** κἀγανωτέρα Herw 6.289 **888** δή 'σθ' ἃ e $\Sigma^R$ Bent δὴ κἄσθ' ἅμ' Dobr 1 τοι 'σθ'? Bl δῆθ' (δῆτ' ἐσθ')? vL ‖ καί μ' Mein **889** φίλτατον? Bo ‖ χοιρίδιον? Bl **890** γλιχόμενον? Bo$^2$ **891** λυ. R$^2$Iunt (om. R$^1$—manus scholiorum) **892** χἄμ' ἔμ'? Bl **893** *Μυρ.* αὕτη με Tyr 72 **895–897** *Κι.* et *μυ.* et κι. R$^2$Iunt (:, —, : R$^1$; —, om., —manus scholiorum) **895** διατιθεῖσ' Iunt διατίθης Maire **896** {σοι} τῆς διαφορουμένης (διαφ. Suda Zon. 535) κ.? Bl ‖ φθερουμένης? Richards **898** τὰ ⟨δὲ⟩ Voss ‖ τῆς ⟨δ'⟩ Herm 10.278 ‖ *Ἀφρ.* ⟨δ'⟩ Cob 1.110 **900–902** *Μυρ.* Tyr 72 ‖ διαλλαγῆτέ γε vL **901, 902** ἦν Dind$^2$ **904** -κλίνηθι Elms 1 v.1033 **906** οὖν, ὦ *Μυρρίνιον* Mein 2.132 ‖ *Μυρίδιον* (-ρρ- Voss) D'Orville 239 *Μύρριον* Brun *Μυρίνιον* Reis 3 {ὦ} *Μυρρινίδιον* Dobr 1 *Μυρτίον* (-ία? Bl) Eng *Μυρρίνη* Dind$^3$ **911** τοῦτο; *Κιν.* τοῦθ' ὅπου *Πανὸς* FlCh ‖ ὅπου; Reis 3 ‖ τουτὶ *Πανὸς*? FlCh τὸ *Πανὸς* αὐλίον? Bis **912** ἔτ' ἂν ἀγνὴ δὴ 'πανέλθοιμ' Mein 2.132 ‖ ἂν ἀνέλθοιμ' Bo **913** ⟨'ν⟩ τῇ? Mein **915** τρέποιτο Dind$^2$ **917** ⟨οὐ⟩ μή Brun ‖ ⟨οὐ⟩ μὰ . . . {μή}? Bl **919** ἡμὴ γυνὴ? Bl **920** καὶ δὴ 'κδ. Ham 2.20 **923** ἐπ' ἐπιτόνου Zan ἐπὶ τόνους Ruth ‖ νύν μοι? Bl **924** πάλιν? Mein 2.132 οὐδὲ δέομαι 'γωγε Bent οὐδὲ δέομ' ἔγωγε Dind$^2$ οὐ δέομ', οὔκ, ἔγωγε Weise **928** ἦ Amst **929** {*Μυρ.*} ἤδη Tyr 72 ‖ ἔχεις Ham 2.21 **930** κι. R$^2$Iunt (—R$^1$) ‖ δῆτα. Ham 2.21 ‖ paragraphum ante δεῦρο a manu scholiorum superscriptum delevit R$^2$ {*Κιν.*} (*Γ*) δεῦρο Kust **931** 'κδύομαι Cob 1.110 **932** ἐξαπατῆσαι? Bl

**933** *Μυρ.* ἀλλὰ Mein ‖ ἆρα (τἄρα? Bl) Brun ‖ σίσυραν Bgk² **934** μὰ ⟨τὸν⟩ *Δί'* οὐ δέομ' vel μὰ *Δί'* οὐ δέομαι 'γωγ' (γὰρ TKidd ap. Dawes 196) Bent οὐδὲ δέομαί γ' Dobr 1 ‖ δέομαί τ' Rsk **936** ἥνθρωπος Toup 17 **937** τουτογί Herw 1.53 **940** ἐξεχύθη ⟨γε⟩ (⟨σοι vel πᾶν⟩ 7.268) Herw 3.68 ‖ βδεῦ? Bent **942** Myrrhinae continuat ad μύρον; *Κιν.* μὰ? Mein ‖ Ἀπόλλω ⟨οὐ⟩ Mein **943** ἀλλ' ἢ Elms* εἰ μὲν Bo **944** ἐγὼ ⟨οὐ⟩ Herm 10.278 ‖ ῥόδιον (-εον)? Bo ῥόδινον? Bgk² **945** ἀγαθόν ⟨γ'⟩ Bl {ἀγαθόν} ἔασον αὖτ', ὦ? Bl ‖ ἔα τ' ὦ Hot ἔα τοι ὦ Pors ἔασον {αὖτ'} Reis 2.344 **950** νῦν? Bl **951** post h.v. unum vel duos vv. excidisse (e.g. ⟨*Κιν.* αὕτη, σὺ ποῖ θεῖς; οὐ μενεῖς μιαρωτάτη;⟩) Stanger 2.48 ‖ βουλήσομαι Hot **952** -τριφέ μ' ἡ FlCh -τριφ' ἡμὴ? Bl **953** μοι ἀποδείρασ'? Bgk² **956** ταυτηνὶ Reis 265 **958** τάχα τὴν? Rog ‖ τὴν κύσθην (τὸν κύσθον Brun) Berg τινα τ. Seager τάχυ τ.? Bl ‖ τιτθήν Dind² **959–966** *ΧΓΥ.* Frob **959** ἦ δεινῷ Cob 4.194 ‖ γ' ὢν Mein **960** post h.v. transponit v.967 verbis ⟨οἴμοι, οἴμοι⟩ additis Herm 8.79 **961** αἰαῖ Dind **962** ποῖος: δ' ἂν νέφρος Dind νέφρος γὰρ vel δὲ νέφρος τάδ' ἂν ἐνέγκοι? Bl ‖ γὰρ: ἂν ᾖ Bo ⟨ἔτ'⟩ ἂν Mein νέφρος ἂν Bgk² ἂν ἀντίσχοι ν.? Bl **963** ψωλή ap. Bis ψοιά? Bgk² πυγή? Bl ‖ {ποῖοι . . . ὀσφύς} Herm 10.279 **966** κύνων FlCh βινοῦντος Herw 6.289 **967** *ΧΓΕ.* (vide v.960) Herm 8.79 ‖ ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τῶν ῥοπαλισμῶν | καὶ τῶν Reis 267 ‖ ὦ Ζεῦ ⟨Ζεῦ⟩ τῶν ἀντισπασμῶν vel ὦ Ζεῦ ⟨δεινῶν⟩ δεινῶν σπασμῶν? Bl **968** τουτὶ Beer 164 **969–970** παμβδελύρα et παμμυσάρα et -γλυκέρα Bl **971–972** χο. γε. R²Iunt (—R¹) *Κιν.* ποία . . . Ζεῦ. | *ΧΓΕ.* ⟨ὦ Ζεῦ,⟩ εἴθ' Bgk² μιαρά. *Κιν.* μιαρὰ Elms 6.73 *Κιν.* ὦ Ζεῦ κτλ.? Tyr 73 *ΧΓΕ.* ποία . . . μιαρά. *Κιν.* ⟨μιαρά, μιαρὰ⟩ δῆτ'· ὦ Ζεῦ {ὦ} Ζεῦ ({ὦ} iam Brun) Beer 165 ‖ ὦ Ζεῦ {ὦ Ζεῦ} Reis 167 ‖ γλυκερά! ⟨μιαρὰ μᾶλλον⟩? vL **973** {τοὺς} Eng **974–975** τύφω Pierson 177 {καὶ πρ. . . . καὶ} συγγογγύλας Cob 1.110 τυφωπρηστῆρι Beer 165 **979** τῇ ψωλῇ? Bl **980–1013** fortasse spurios Stanger 2.50 sqq. **980** ἐντί γ' ἁ γερωΓία Valck 4.387 ‖ γερωία (-ῖ- Giese 318) Dind **981** ἤ (κή? Bl) τοι πρυτάνεες Bent ‖ πρυτάνεις Hemsterhuys II.625 ‖ μουσίξαι Valck 3.105 **982–1007** *Κιν.* Beer 92 post Bentleium (ad v.992) *Πρόβουλος β'.* Stanger 2.48 sqq. *Πρύτανις.*? vL ‖ Cinesiam non esse praeconis interlocutorem primus demonstrare conatus est Eng 2.10 **982** σὺ δὲ τίς; FlCh σὺ δ' εἶ τί (τίς; Bek); (τίς δ' εἶ σύ; Pors) πότερ' Bent σὺ δὲ πότερον εἶ Kust τίς δ' εἶ; Thiersch* σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; (ut Bek) εἶπ', Hanovius 156 **983** κἄρυξ Dind² ‖ ἐγών ⟨γ'⟩? Bl **984** γα περὶ δ. Pors 2 *Hec.* v.1161 δ. πέρι Herw 3.69 ὑπὲρ δ.? Cob 8.56 περί γα δ.? Bach *Opuscula* 25 **985** ἔπειτα? Bl **986** μὰ τὸν *Δί'* Brun ‖ ἔγωγα (-γώγ- Bent) Maittaire 258 **987** τί δαὶ Bent τί ⟨δὲ⟩ δὴ? Bo τί δ' αὖ? Bl ‖ ἦ (C) Bl **988** παλαιόρ (Hsch.) Bent -λεόρ Dind² -λαόρ? Mein ϝαλα(ι)όρ? Bl ϝαλεός vL ἀλεόρ Cantarella **989**

*ὥνθρωπος* Toup 1 I.140 **990** *ἔγωγα* Kust ‖ *μὴ τὺ* (*μηδὲν*)? Bl ‖ *πλαδδίης*? Kust **992** videntur temere duae scaenae in unum conflatae et plures versus intercidisse, ut praeco primum cum Cinesia inde a v.980, postea cum probulo sit collocutus Bgk² **993** *εἰδότ' ἐμὲ* Pors **994** *τίνα πρ. . . . ἐστιν ἐν*? Bl **995** *κὴ*? Bl ‖ *σύμμαχοι.* vL **996** *ἑστήκαντι* (*-τάκ-* Will II.440) Bois ‖ ⟨*τᾶν*⟩ *πελλᾶν* Coul *Παλλάνας* Taillardat **997** *ἐπέπεσεν* Scal **998** {*οὐκ*} Bent ‖ {*ἀλλ'*} Reis 3 ‖ *ἀρχὰ μὲν οἷα* Brun *ἀρχά γ' οἰῶ* Inv *ἆρχε μέν* Herm 2.46 *ἆρχεν οἷο* Elms 1 v.910 *ἆρχεν* (*-ξεν*) *αὐτῶ*? Bl ‖ *ὀῶ* Bo² **999** *ἔπειτα*: *τἄλλαι* (*τἄλλ-* Dind) Elms 1 v.910 *δ' ἄλλαι* (*ἆλ-*) Lent ‖ *ἀμᾶ*? Bgk² **1000** *αἴπερ* (*ᾖπερ* Brun) R Iunt ‖ *τινος ἀφ' ὕσπλαγ(γ)ος μιᾶς*? Bl **1001** *ἀπήλααν* (*-ἀν* Giese 317) Elms 8 (cf. $\Sigma^{R}$) ‖ *νυσσάκων* Valck 3.107 *τᾶν ἐσχαρᾶν*? Bl **1002** *μογιῶμες* Valck 3.107 *-ίωμες* Pors in margine editionis Frobenianae in Bibliotheca Beineckeana repositae ‖ *ἀν*? Bl **1003** *αἴπερ* R Iunt ‖ *-φοριῶντες* Koen 229 ‖ *ἐπικ-* Rsk *ὑποκ-* Ham 2.21 **1004** *τῷ μύρτῳ* R Iunt ‖ *σιγῆν*? Inv **1005** *ἐᾶντι* Elms 1 v.913 ‖ *πρίν γα* (*γ' ἂν*? Brun *κα* Dobr 1) *πάντες* Koen 247 *πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντες* Pors *πρίν χ' ἅπ.* Elms 1 v.176 **1006** *ποιησούμεσθα* Valck 3.107 *ποιηῶμεσθα*? Bl ‖ *καττὰν* vL **1007** *Ἀθηναῖος.* $\Sigma^{R}$ *p* Iunt ‖ *πανταχόθεν ξυνόμνυται* Lent 3.117 **1010** *πρέσβεις ἀποπ. αὐτ.* Bach* ‖ *προπέμπειν* FlCh **1013** *ποτιδέχομαι* Rsk *πωταῖομαι*? Ahr 288 *ποτάόμαι* Herw 7.268 ‖ *κάρτιστα* Wila ‖ *παντᾷ* (*-ᾶ* Bent) Bis *πάντα γὰρ* FlCh **1016** *μέντοι* ⟨*σὺ*⟩ Bent ‖ *ξυνιεὶς* (*-ιεῖσ'* Herm 3.606 *-ίεις* Bgk²) (H) Rsk ‖ *πολεμεῖς ἐμοί* (*ἔτι* Lent) Herm ‖ *εἶτα μέντοι . . . ταῦτα πολ.*? Bl **1017** post h.v. unum v. chori senum excidisse Herm 10.280 ‖ *ὦ πόνηρέ σοι* FlCh ‖ *βεβαίαν* (*βέβαιον* Herm 1.390 *βέβαιά γ'* Herm 3.606) *ἔμ'* Brub *βεβαιὰν* (—*αίαν* Kust) *νῦν μ' ἔχειν* Port *φίλην βεβαίαν νῦν μ' ἔχειν* Bent *μ' ἔχειν βεβαίαν νῦν φίλην* Brun *ὦ πόνηρ' ἐρᾶν βεβαῖον ἔμ' ἔχων* (*ἔχων* iam Brub) *φίλην* Reis 307 **1018** *οὐδεπώποτε* Rsk **1019** *νυνὶ δ' οὔ* Bent *νῦν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ σε περιόψομαι* Kuehne 40 **1020** *ὅρα* Dobr 1 ‖ *ὡς* ⟨*σὺ*⟩ Kust **1024** *ΧΓΕ.* Herm 10.279 ‖ *φανεὶς ἀνήρ, εἶτ' αὖ* Herm ‖ *εἶτα κ.* Scal **1025** *κἄν* (*κεἴ* Dobr 1) *με μὴ λυπεῖς* ('*λύπεις* FlCh) Brub ‖ *τοδὶ* Rsk **1027** *μοι* FlCh **1028** *μου* Bach 130 **1030** {*γ'*} *ἔφυς* FlCh **1031** *τοῦτ'* (*τόδ'*?) *ἐμπίδος*? Bl ‖ ⟨*γ'*⟩ *ἔνεστί* Scal **1033** *μοὐφρεωρύχει* Herm 10.280 **1034** *μοι*? Bl **1035** {*γε*} *πάνυ* FlCh ‖ *πάνυ γε* Elms 1 v.611 **1036** *οὐ* B ⟨*οὐ*⟩ *μὴ* Brun ‖ *φίλησον* Port *φιλήσω* (*-ῆσον*) Bent *φιλήσεις* (B) Brun ‖ *φιλήσεις* ⟨*μ'*⟩? Bl **1037** *μὴ* ⟨*'s*⟩ (⟨*γ'*⟩ Bo²) Bent ‖ *ὥραισιν* (⟨*γ'*⟩ Herm *App.* §90) Bis *ὥρασ'* (iam Bo) *ἴκοιο* ex Iohann. Alex. 35.33 (*ὥρασιν*) Kraus 40 **1040–1042** *'μμελοῦς* Schn 3.300 **1043 sqq.** *Χο.* Eng *Γερ.* (*p*) vL **1044–1045** *παρασκ. φλαῦρον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ ἕν,* | *ὦνδρες, πολιτῶν οὐδένα* (*-ας*?) Bo **1045** *ἀλλὰ πάνυ*? Bl **1047** *ἱκανά γ' ἄττα*

*κακὰ* Schn 1.646 ‖ {*καὶ*} Rsk *καὶ ταῦτα παρακ.* Herm 1.369 *τοι (δὴ) τὰ*? Bl **1050** *ἀργυριδίου* Pökel 261 **1051** {*ἦ*} *δύ'* Burg 289 **1052–1053** {*ὡς . . . 'στιν*}? Dind² ‖ *ὡς*: *ἔσω πόλλ' ἐστὶν* Brun 1 *πλέα* (*πλέω* Bgk 2.28) *'στὶν ἄχομεν* Burg 289 *πολλὰ σᾶ 'στὶν ἄχ.* Pors *πόλλ' ἐσώθη* Kapp *πλέ' ἐστὶν*? Bl *πόλλ' ἔσω γὰρ | κέν' ἔχομεν* Rog ‖ {*ὡς*}: *πόλλ' ἔσω 'στι κἄχ.* Herm 1.369 *πολλὰ σᾶ 'στὶ κἄχ.* Reis 317 **1054** *ἄν*? Brun *κἦν* Bl **1055** *ἂν μνᾶν μοι* Burg 289 **1057** *ἂν* (*ἃ 'ν* Bent) Sophianus ap. Ell *ἦν* (*ὧν τις*? vL) Will II.442 n.1 ‖ *μηκέθ' ἡμῖν ἀποδιδῷ* Bent *ἂν λάβῃ, τότ' ἀποδότω* Herm 10.281 *μὴ κἀποδῷ*? Bgk² *μἀποδιδότω* vel *μήποτ' ἀποδῷ*? Bl *μηδὲν ἀποδότω* (*μὴ ἀποδότω*?) *πάλιν* vL *ἂν λάβῃ γ' οὐ μὴ ἀποδῷ* Mazon 121 **1058** *Γυν.* vL ‖ *δ' ἐμέλλομεν* Will II.400 n.1 **1061** *κἄστι* ⟨*μὲν*⟩ Bent *κἄστιν* ⟨*ἔτ'*⟩ Reis 114 *κἄστιν ἔτνος, ἔστι καὶ δ. ἕν* Elms 7.180 *ἐτνίον*? Mein *κἄστιν* (*κἄστι γ'*⟩ *ἔτνος μοί τι* vel *κἄστι μοι ἔτνος τι* vel *ἔστιν* (*ἔσται*) *ἔτνος γάρ τι*? Bl **1062–1063** *τέθυθ'* Bent ‖ *ὥστε*: *τὰ κρέα ἔξεθ'* Scal *τὰ κρέ' ἔσθ'* Bent *κρέ' ἔδεσθ'* Reis 1.32 *σχῆθ'* Voss *γεύσεσθ'* (*γενέσθ'* $R^{mg}$ *p*) Palmer* e $\Sigma^{R\Gamma}$ (*γενέσθαι*) ‖ *ὡς τὰ κρέα* ⟨*γ'*⟩ *ἔσθ'* Mein 1 **1067** *ἔσω* ⟨*χρὴ*⟩ Bent **1068** *ἔρχεσθαι* (*ἔχεσθαι* Bent) Frob **1070–1071** *γαμικὸς ὡς ἔδει, θύρα κεκλείσετ' οὔ* Burg 289 ‖ *ἴσως δὲ θύρα* Voss ‖ *κεκλῄσεται* Dind² **1072–1075** Choro continuat Eng **1072** *ἀπό γε Σ.* Elms 8 *Σπάρτης* ⟨*γ'*⟩? Bl *ἤδη 'κ Σ.* Bach 43 {*τῆς*} Bach 2.247 **1074** *μέν τοι* (*μέντοι* [*p*] Wehr 31) Kust **1076** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ *δῆ* Berg ‖ *ἁμὲ* Ahr 263 *ὑμὲ* (*ὔμε* P) Eng ‖ *μουσίδδην* (*μυσ-* Ahr 158) Valck 3.105 **1077** *ἴκομες* (*ἵκ-* *p*) Elms 1 v.820 **1078** *Χο.* Eng ‖ *νενευρῶσθαι*? Bl ‖ *μὲν* (*πρὶν* Schn 2.44) *ἦδ' ἡ* Dobr 1 *μάλ'*? Bl **1079** *τόδ' Ἑρμοῦ στῦμά* Herm 10.282 *τεθριῶσθαι*? Bgk *τεθερμῶσθαι δὲ* Mein *τὸ δ'* (*θ'* Meinekio attribuens Kraus 40) *ἡρμῶσθαί* (*ἑρμ.*) *γε* Mein 2.136 *τόδ' Ἑρμοῦ μοί γε* Velsen 360 *γ'· ἔθ' Ἑρμοῦ 'σθ' ἥγε* (*σοί γε* Schenk 5) *χείρων. ΛΑΚ. φ.* Schn 2.44 *τεθερμάνθαι*? Bl *ὀρθῶν δ' ἔθ' Ἑρμῶν τόδε γε* vel *χεῖρον δὲ τῶν Ἑρμῶν τετάσθαι* vel *δεινῶς δὲ τετάσθ' Ἑρμῶν τε* (*γε*) vel *δεινότατα τῶν Ἑρμῶν τε*? Bl *τε, θἠρμῶσθαί τε* vL **1080** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ *ἄφατον*? Bl ‖ *τί κα* Ahr 382 ‖ *ᾇ κα σέλει*? Bl **1081** *ἐνθὼν*? Herw 6.290 ‖ *ἀμὶν* (*ἀ-* Brun) Iunt *ἆμιν* (*ἆ-*? Herw) Herm 2.81 ‖ *εἰρήναν*? Herw **1082** *Χο.* Eng **1084** *ἀναστ.*? Bl **1085** *τι* Amst (ut Suda s.v. *ἀσκητικόν*) **1086 sqq.** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος α'.*? Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* Dind *Πρύτανις.* Wila **1086** *αθῇ* $R^1$ *αἷος* addidit $R^2$ ‖ *φράσει' ὅπου* Hir 1.276 **1087** *ἄνδρες* Cob 1.110 **1088** *Χο.* Eng ‖ *αὕτη* Dind² *ταύτῃ*? Bl ‖ *θἀτέρᾳ*? Dobr 1 *χἠτέρᾳ*? Eng *χἀτέρᾳ*? Bl ‖ *τ' αὐτῇ* Bent *ταυτὰ* Seager *πάντη*? Dobr 1 ‖ *νόσω* Seager *νόσος* Reis 180 **1090–1092** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen² **1093** *Χο.* Eng ‖ *θαἱμάτια* Dawes 423 *θαἱμάτι' ἀνάψεσθ'* Herw 3.14 **1095** *Πολυχαρίδης* (*Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen²). *νὴ . . . Πρέσβυς. ναὶ* Brun **1096** *παντᾷ* (*-ᾶ* Amst) Bis ‖ *γα* Reis 253 ‖ *τόδ'* Bent

τό ⟨γ'⟩ Reis ‖ ϝέσθος Bgk 2.434 ‖ ἀμβ- Ell **1097** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen² ‖ χαίρετέ μοι? Bl ‖ οἱ *Λ.* Bo² ‖ αἴσχρ' ἂν Bgk² **1098** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ *Πουλυχαρίδα* (*Πωλ-* Eng *Πολλ-*? Herm 10.282) Bent *Πολυχαρείδα* Mein 2.136 ‖ τ' αὖ Linde 35 ‖ γ' ἂν (κ' αὖ Eng κα Bgk²) πεπόνθεμες ('π-? Mein) Rsk τἂν (τοί κ' Kapp) ἐπεπόνθεμες (ἐπεπόσχεμες? Bl) Elms 1 v.323 κα ἐπεπόνσεμες vL **1099** αἴκ': εἶδον Brun ἄμ' ἐσεῖδον Reis 1.14 ἔυιδον Bgk 4.31 ἐσέϝιδον vL ‖ καἴκουδαν Ahr 332 αἰ (καὶ Linde 35 αἴκ Wila) εἶδον Bl 1 praef. αἴκιδδον? H-G ‖ ἀμὲς Iunt ἀμὲ Brun ἀμὲ Elms 1 v.755 ἄμμες Bo ἄμμε Bo² ‖ γ' ὥνδρες Brun τὤνδρες Elms ‖ αἰ τὤνδρες ἁμέ γ' ἔυιδον ἀμπεφλ. Mein 2.136 **1100** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen² **1101** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ διαλλαγὼν Pors 2 *Hec.* v.1161 **1102** *Πρέσβυς* (-βης Bl). Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen² ‖ ταυταγὶ Bent γ' οὑτοί Cob 1.110 **1105** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ καὶ λῆτε Ahr 382 (cf. $\Sigma^{R}$) καλῆτε Hir ‖ τὰν *Λυσιστράταν* Hir τὸν *Λυΐστρατον* Meister* μοι *Λυσιστράταν* Bl 2.52 **1106** ἀθ. adscripsit delevit et in *Xo.* γε. correxit R² *Xo.* Iunt *Ἀθ.* Beer 165 *Πρυ.* Wila ‖ ὑμᾶς Zan **1108** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Xo.* Beer 165 ‖ νυνὶ δὴ? Bl **1109** ⟨ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις κομψήν,⟩ δεινήν, σεμνήν vL ‖ δειλὴν (post Bentleium) ἀγαθήν? Bl ‖ δεινὴν: ⟨δειλήν⟩? Bent ⟨χρηστήν⟩ Will II.443 ⟨μαλακήν⟩ Wila ‖ ἀγαθὴν: ⟨σαύλην⟩ {φαύλην} Reis 3 ⟨καὶ μὴ⟩ Voss ‖ φαύλην ⟨ἀφελῆ⟩ Mein ‖ σεμνὴν: ⟨ἀπαλήν⟩? Reis ⟨σφεδανήν⟩ Schn 3.305 ⟨σκληράν⟩ vel ⟨στρυφνήν⟩? Bl ⟨χαλεπήν⟩ Rog ‖ ἀγανὴν ⟨ἀγνήν⟩? Reis ‖ addendum ἀγαυὴν e typothetae errore in Crat? Pors **1111** συγχωρήσαντές σοι κοινῇ? Bl ‖ καί σοι vel νῦν σοὶ vel σοὶ δὴ? Bl ‖ ἐπιτρέψαι? Bl **1113** ἠπειρ- Iunt πειρ- Zan **1115–1121** *Xo.* Frob **1117** μηδ' Brun 1 ‖ ἄνδρες Brun ὤνδρες Brun 1 **1118** ἐπιεικῶς? Rsk **1119** κἢν Bgk² κἂν? Mein ‖ διδῶσιν χ.? FlCh ‖ τις χ.? FlCh **1120** ἔπειτα καὐτοὺς τοὺς *Ἀθ.*, ἴθι Herw 6.291 **1121** γ' ἄν Herw 6.291 ‖ διδῶσι Ell ‖ τούτου Dobr 1 **1123** θ' (Mu2) Port δ'? Bgk **1124** μοῦσα δ' ἔστι (ἔνεστι Suda) Pors 2 *Med.* v.1079 **1125** αὐτὴ: δ' ἀφ' αὑτῆς vel δ' (τ' Mein) ἀπ' ἐμαυτῆς Rsk τ' (δ' Schn 2.45) ἐπ' ἐμ. Madvig 281 δι' ἐμαυτὴν Bach 22 'π' ἐμ. Bach 2.248 ‖ αὐτή (καὐτή Ham 1.22) τ' Bo² καὐτὴ δ' ἐφ' αὑτῆς Weck 1.166 **1126** τ' ἐκ Ham 2.22 **1129** μιᾶς: ἐκ Bent τ' (γ'? Bl) ἐκ Rsk γε Hot ‖ χέρνιβος Iunt **1132** ἄθλους (ἀγόρους 2.137)? Mein ‖ δέον e $\Sigma^{R}$? Ruth **1133** ἐχθροῖς Herm 10.283 ‖ βαρβάροις Herm βαρβάρῳ? Bl ‖ στρατεύμασιν (-σι Herm) Rsk στρατευμάτων? Bl **1136** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen² **1140** τοῖσι (Mu2) Bent ‖ ὠχρὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖσιν Rsk **1142** σείων μέγα e $\Sigma^{R}$ Kraus 41 **1144** ἔσωσε Mu2 (-εν R) **1145** πάρος *Ἀθηναίων* ὕπο Bach 45 **1147** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen² **1148** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun *ΠΡΥ.* ἀλλ' Wila ‖ ἀδικοῦμες (-εῦμες Mein) Iunt

ἀδικίομες Elms 1 v.729 κινίομες? Bl ἀδικιῶμες Bechtel ap. Wila ‖ {ἀλλ'} ὅδε Mein 2.138 ‖ ἄφατον (-ος Berg ad *Av.* v.427) ὡς Bent ἁπαλὸς καὶ? Mein **1149** ⟨μ'⟩ οἴει Dobr 1 **1150–1156** ordinem mutare mavult vL sic: 1150–1151, 1155–1156, 1154, 1152–1153 **1150** post h.v. addidit vL ⟨ἰπουμένους ἰδόντες ἐν τυρρανίδι⟩ **1151** post h.v. addidit Herw 6.291 ⟨ἔσωσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἱππίου τυρρανίδος⟩ **1152** parenthesesin intercludit Herw 5.625 ‖ ἀπολέσαντες ἄνδρας Herw **1153** Ἱππίου Ell Ἱππίᾳ Maire (cf. Sudam s.v. κατωνάκη ubi codices -ία vel -ίαν vel -είαν habent; Ἱππίᾳ scripsit TGaisford in ed. Sudae [Oxford 1834]) **1154** ξυνεκμαχῶντες FlCh ξυνεκμοχλοῦντες? Mein ξυνεκβαλόντες Herw 1.164 καὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες vL ξυνεκπονοῦντες (-δραμοῦντες)? Richards **1155** delet Herw 6.291 ‖ κἠλευθέρωσαν (ἠλ- Dind[3]) Elms 5 v.1128 ἠλευθέρωσιν, Herw 5.625 **1156** ἠμπέσχον (ἤμπ. vL) Bl **1157** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun **1158** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] **1159** γε Bo **1162** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ ἁμὲς Koen 252 ἄμμες Bo ‖ γα Koen ‖ λῶμες Bent ‖ αἴ τις Iunt ‖ ἁμὶν (-ῖν Eng) Brun ἄμμιν Bo ‖ τῶγκυκλον? Mein **1163** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ τῶτ'? Bl ‖ ἀποδόμεν Brun **1164** ἅσπερ Berg τᾶσπερ Elms 1 v.441 ὥπερ (τῶπερ)? Dobr 1 ‖ διόμεθα? Elms ‖ βλιμάδδομες Brun **1165** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] ‖ ποσειδῶ Mu2 (-σι- R) ‖ δράσομεν Cob* **1166** καὶ τί πλεονεκτήσομεν Kock 261 ‖ βιν- Herw 3.15 **1167** τι αἰτεῖτ'? Bl ‖ τούτου {του} FlCh ‖ χωρίον Bent **1168–1170** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] **1169** Ἐχῖνόν τε? Bl **1170** καὶ σκέλη τὼ *Μεγαρικώ* vel τώ τε *Μεγαρικὼ* σκέλη? Bl **1171** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ οὔτι? Mein οὐκὶ Pökel* ‖ πάντα γε Brun ‖ λισσάνιε (Phot.) IVoss ad Hesychium s.v. **1172** ἔα τὸ vel ἔα αὐτὰ? Bl ‖ ⟨τοῖν⟩ σκ. Bent **1173** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] **1174** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ ἐγὼν Bl ‖ κοπραγωγεῖν H-G ‖ γῇ Clebsch ‖ πρῷ Bis πρᾶτα Brun 1 λῶ Reis 1.17 ποτὶ Elms 8 πρόκα Bgk[2] προτὶ? Mein ναὶ μὰ? Bl ‖ ναὶ {τὼ} Ell Θεῇ Clebsch **1178** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] ‖ τὰν Bgk[2] ‖ ἐστύκαμεν (ἐσ-) Zan **1179** συμμάχοις ἆ? Bl **1180** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun ‖ ἅπασι (Mu2) Brun ‖ γῶν Ahr 167 **1181** ἀμ- Mu2 Maire ‖ {γὰρ}? Bl ‖ ⟨τοῖς⟩ κ.? Bl **1182** *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] **1183** ἕως Ham 2.22 **1184** οἷς ἐν? Bl ‖ ξενίσωμεν ἐξ ὧν ἔχομεν ἐν ταῖς κιστίσιν? Bl **1186** αὐτοῦ Mu2 (αὖ- R) **1187** ὅπα R[2]Iunt (ὅπαι R[1]) ‖ *Πολυχαρίδης.* Brun *Ἀθηναῖος.* JDroysen[2] *Λυσ.* ἀλλ' Beer 166 **1188** *Πρέσβυς.* ἄγ' . . . *Πολυχαρίδης.* (*Ἀθηναῖος.* Beer 166) νὴ Brun ‖ ὅποι? Mein ὅπει? Bl ‖ τάχιστ' ἄγε Beer 166 **1189** *ΧΓΥ.* Bent *Χο.* Eng ‖ τε Voss **1190** χρυσίδων Bent ‖ ὅσ' (ὅς Elms 7.180) ἐστί μοι Hot ἐστ' ἐμοί Bent ἔστ' ἔτι Reis 3 ἔστι μοι Bl **1191** ἔτ' ἐστὶ μὴ οὐ? Bl **1192** πᾶσι Bent ‖ {τοῖς} Hot **1194** ὁπότε Wila ‖ -φορῇ Berg **1196** -μάνθω Ham 2.23 **1198** τύπους Zan **1199**

κᾇθ' ἄτ' Bent χ' ἄ τ' Brun χ' ἄττ' (χἄττ' corr. Reis 213) ⟨ἂν⟩ Hot **1203** *Γυναῖκες*. vL **1206** *λεπτὰ μάλ'* (*-ά τιν'*) vel *λεπτόταθ'*? Bl ‖ *τὸν δ'* Herm 10.284 *δ'* ⟨*οὖν*⟩ vL **1207** *ἄρτον . . . νεανίαν* Herm 10.284 ‖ *νεανικός*? Bl **1211** *σάκκους* Bent **1212** {*ὁ*} *M. αὐτὸς* Voss ‖ *οὑμὸς αὐτοῖς* Bent *αὐτὸς οὑμὸς* Hot **1214** *προαγ-* Port **1216–1246** De personarum distributione alii alia tentaverunt; praecipua hic scribo, alia ad singulos versus notabo. ‖ Brun: *Ἀγοραῖος*. 1216a, 1219a, 1221 (*Χο*. JDroysen), 1241 *Θεράπων* (cf. Bergleri notam). 1216b (iam Bent)–1218, 1219b–1220, 1222–1224, 1239–1240 *Ἀθηναῖός τις*. 1225–1227 *ΧΓΕ*. 1228–1238 *Πρέσβυς*. 1242–1244 *Πολυχαρίδης*. 1245–1246 ‖ Brunckii Censor 156: *Θερ*. 1216a, 1217–1218, 1219b–1220 *ΧΓΥ*. 1216a, 1219a ‖ Seager: *Ἀγοραῖος α'*. 1216a, 1219b–1220 *Θερ*. 1216b–1219a *Ἀγ. β'*. 1221 ‖ Dind²: *Ἀγ. α'*. 1216a, 1217–1220 *Θυρ*. 1216b *Ἀγ. β'*. 1221 ‖ Lent: *Ἀγ*. 1216a, 1219a *Θυρ*. 1216b–1218, 1219b–1220, 1222–1224 *ΧΓΕ*. 1221 *Ἀθ*. 1228–1240 ‖ Eng: *Ἀγ. α'*. 1216a, 1219–1220, 1241 *Θερ*. 1216b–1218, 1222–1224, 1239–40 *Ἀγ. β'*. 1221 *Ἀθ*. 1225–1227, 1245 *Χορ*. 1228–1238 ‖ Eng 2. 14: *Θερ*. 1216–1218, 1222–1224, 1239–1240 ?(non *Χορ*.) 1219–1221, 1240b *Ἀθ*. 1225–1227 *Κορυφαῖος*. 1228–1238 ‖ Herm 8.72: *Ξυμπότης*. 1216–1218, 1222–1224, 1228–1241, 1245 *ΧΓΕ*. 1219–1220 *ΧΓΥ*. 1221 ‖ Ham 2.23 sqq.: *Ἀθ. α'*. (*Θεράπων*. EDroysen 62) 1216–1220, 1222–1224, 1228–1240, 1245 *Ἀθ. β'*. (*Ἀθ*. EDroysen 62 v. 1221 Choro tribuens) 1221, 1225–1227, 1241 ‖ Bgk²: *Ἀθ. α'*. 1216–1218, 1222–1224, 1226–1227, 1239–1240 *ΧΓΕ*. 1219–1220 *Γυνή*. 1221 *Ἀθ. β'*. 1225, 1228–1238, 1241, 1245 ‖ JDroysen²: *Θερ*. 1216–1218, 1222–1224, 1228–1240 *ΧΓΕ*. 1219–1220, 1241 *ΧΓΥ*. 1221 *Ἀθ*. 1225–1227, 1245–1246 ‖ Wila: *Πρύτανις*. 1216–1220, 1222–1224, 1228–1240, 1245 *Ἀθ*. 1221, 1226–1227, 1241 *Λάκων*. 1225 ‖ Händel 164 n.9: *θεράπων*. 1216–1220 (inter Athenos qui v.1086 intrant (R) distribuendi sunt vv. 1221–1224, 1225–1227, 1228–1240, 1241) **1216** *θύραν σύ*. Bent ‖ {*οὐ*} *παραχωρεῖν οὐ θέλεις* ('*θέλεις* Russo 282) Scal *παραχωρεῖθ' ἕδρας* Herm 8.72 *π. ἔδει* | *ὑμᾶς* (*παραχωρήσατε* | *ὑμεῖς*?) Dind³ *π. σ' ἔδει* Kähler* *παραχωρῆσαι 'θέλεις* Bach 76 **1217** ⟨*ἵν'*⟩ *ἐγὼ* Elms 8 **1218** *φορτικὸν*: *μὲν τουτογί* Ham 2.25 *τὸ θηρίον* Hoffmann 237 *τὸ χοιρίον* Schn 2.46 *τὸ χρῆμ'* (*πρᾶγμ'* vL) *ἄγαν* Bl *γάρ* (*τόδ'*) *ἐστ' ἄγαν* vel *τοῦτ'* (*τόδ'*) *ἐστὶ δρᾶν*? Bl ‖ *φορτικοὶ τοιχωρύχοι* Bl *φρυκτικὸν* Will II.409 n.1 **1219** ante h.v. lacunam statuit JDroysen ‖ *κοὐκ* Dind² ‖ *πονήσαιμ'* Beer 94 ‖ *ΧΓΕ*. *εἰ* Dobr 1 ‖ *δὴ τοῦτο δρῶν* Wila **1220** *χαρίζεσθαι*: *ταλαιπωρήσομεν* (*-μαι* Kr 16) FlCh *προταλαιπωρήσομαι* Bis *παραχωρήσαιμεν ἄν*? Bgk ‖ *χαρίσασθαι προσταλαιπωρήσομεν* (*-μαι* Eng *-τέον*? Bl) Bent ‖ *χαρισαίμην προσταλαιπωρούμενος* Voss *χαριζόμενος προσταλαιπωρήσομεν* Dind³ *χαριοῦμαι, προσταλαιπωρήσομεν*? Wila **1221** *ΧΓΥ*. Dobr 1 ‖ *δὲ* Wila **1222**

*Θερ.* Iunt **1223** *Χο.* Dobr 1 **1224** *ηὐωχ.* Mein **1226** *ἦ τοι (που)?* Bl *εἰ* Wila ‖ *ἐντὶ τοὶ?* vL **1227** *ἡμεῖς: δέ γ' οἶμαι* Herw* *γ' ἐν* Wila ‖ *ὑμὲς δ'?* vL ‖ *ξυμποτῶν* vel *ξυννοεῖν?* Herw 6.291 **1228–1240** *Θερ.* (ad. v.1238 Beer 94) JDroysen **1228** *ὁτιὴ* Bent *ἐπεὶ?* vL **1229** *κἦν (κἂν)?* Bl ‖ *ἀλλ' ἦν (ἦν οὖν* 2.248) *Ἀθηναίους ἐγὼ* Bach 45 **1230** *ἀεὶ μ.?* Bl ‖ *πανταχοῖ* Brun **1234** *λέγουσι* Brun ‖ *ταῦθ'* Mu2 (*-τ'* R) ‖ *ὑπονοούμεσθ'* (*-τοπούμεσθ'*) *ἀεί?* Bl **1236** *εἴ τις μέλος* vel *εἴ που γέ τις?* Bl **1238** *πρὸς ἐπι-* Bo *προσεπεκροτήσαμεν (πρὸς ἐπ.* Herw 7.270) Hal 2.63 *πρὸς ἀνεκροτήσαμεν* vL **1239** *Θερ.* Farr **1241** *θε.* $R^2$Iunt (—$R^1$) *Χο.* Beer 94 ‖ *οἰδί γε?* Bl **1242** *Πωλυχαρίδα* Eng *Πολυχαρείδα* Mein ‖ *φουσατήρια (-ουάτ-* Herw 7.270) Bl *φυάτ-* vL **1243** *ἐγὼν* Bl ‖ *γα* Brun 1 *τε* Bgk$^2$ ‖ *κἀείσω (-εἰῶ* vL) Meurs s.v. *διποδία καΐξω?* Brun *κἠείσω?* Bl ‖ *κ. μέλος?* Bl **1244** *τὼς Ἀσαναίως* Port ‖ *κἀς (κἠς* Brun) *ἡμᾶς* Bent *κἠς (χἀμ'?* Eng) *αὔτως* Ahr 261 *κἠς ἄμμες γ'* Bo$^2$ *χἄμ' (κἄμ'* Wila 1) *ἄεισμ'* Mein *κἠς ἅμ' ᾄσμ'?* Bgk$^2$ ‖ *ἀμᾶ* Bgk *μέλος?* Bl **1246** *ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν* Bent *ὁρῶν ἔγωγ'* (*ἔγωγ' ὁρῶν?* Bl) *ὀρχ.?* Lent 1 v.886 **1247–1272** *Πρέσβυς.* Brun *Χορ. Λακώνων* Dind **1247** *ὅρμα οὖν* FlCh *ὅρμαον* bis Burg 289 **1248** *τῷ κυρσανίῳ?* Berg e $\Sigma^R$ *τοῖς κυρσανίαις (-ίοις* Mein) Burg *τῷς κυρσανίῳς?* Bl ‖ *Μνᾶμον* Voss *Μναμοῦνα* Eng {*ὦ*} *Μναμόνα (-ονά?)* Wila **1249** *τὰν Μῶαν ἄτ'* (*ἄτ'* iam Reis 1.35) Voss *τὰν ἐμάν τε μῶαν* Eng ⟨*πὸτ*⟩ *τὰν?* Bgk *τάν τε ἂν (= ϝὰν) μῶαν* Schn 3.292 ⟨*'ς*⟩ *τὰν?* Rog **1250** *ᾄδεν (ἄειδεν?* Bl) FlCh *οἶδ'* Burg 289 *ἴδεν* Voss *εἶδεν?* Mein ‖ *ἄμμ'* Burg *ἄμμες* Bo$^2$ {*ἀμὲ*} Voss *ἀμὲ* Ahr 264 ‖ *τώς τ' Ἀσαναίως* Port *Ἀσαναίως* ⟨*τ'*⟩ Burg {*τούς*} *τ' Ἀσαναίως* ⟨*θ'*⟩ Voss **1251** *ὅκα* Inv ‖ *τοίγ' ἐπ'* Voss ‖ *Ἄρταμι τίῳ* Burg 289 **1252** *πρόκρουον* (H) Burg 289 *πρώκροον* Ahr 204 *πρόκρω* Voss *πρώκρωον (προέκροον)?* Bl ‖ *σέσκελοι* Valck 4.388 *θέσκελοι?* Dind$^2$ *θευείκελοι* Eng *σιοείκελοι* Mein *συείκελοι* Wila **1253** *πότνα?* FlCh {*ποττὰ*} Voss ‖ *κᾶλα* B*p* *κάλα* R *καλὰ* Kust ⟨*πολλὰ*⟩ *κᾶλα* Reis 1.43 ‖ *τὼς Μήδως* Port ‖ *τ' ⟨ἄρ'⟩* Voss ‖ *ἐνικήσαμεν* Burg 290 *ἐνίκαν* Bl **1254** *ἀμὲ* Ahr 264 **1255** *ἆγεν* Berg ‖ *αἴπερ* (R) Kust ‖ {*τὼς*}? Bl **1256–1257** *θάγοντας. πολὺς δ' ἀφρός, οἷω, τὰς γ. ἄμφησεν* Voss **1256** *σαγόντας (σάγ.* Bl) Valck 4.388 ‖ {*οἰῶ*} Brun *ὅσδῳ* Burg 290 *ὀῶ* Bo$^2$ *ἰῷ?* Bgk$^2$ **1257** *πωλὺς?* Bl ‖ *ἦς?* Ahr 67 *ἦνσε(ν)?* Bgk *ἦν* vel *ἔρρει* vel *ἄνσει* vel *ἦλσε (-εν?* Linde 36)? Bl *ἄνσεεν* Wila 1.89 *ἤνσεεν* Wila (ut videtur per typothetae errorem: vide comm. ad loc.) **1258** *πολὺς (πω-?) δ' αὖ?* Bl ‖ *ἀμᾷ (-ᾶ* Bgk$^2$) Mein ‖ *καὶ ({καὶ}* Reis 1.43) *καττῶν* Brun *καὶ κατὰ σκελοῖν* Burg 290 ‖ {*ἀφρὸς*} Brun *ἰδρὼς (ἴδος)?* Lent *λύθρος?* Mein ‖ *ἀφίετο* Voss *ἴετ'· ἦν* Herk 152 **1260** *ἦν δὲ* Burg 290 ‖ *ἐλάσσονες* Wila **1261** *ψάμμω* Elms 8 *τᾶν ψάμμων?* Bl **1262** *ἀγροτέρα* Dind$^3$ *ἀγρότειρ'?* Mein 2.141 ‖ {*Ἄρτεμι*} Dind$^2$ *Ἄρταμι* Koen 305 *Ἄτρεμι* Eng ‖ *σηροκτόν' Ἄρτεμι* vel ⟨*σιὰ*⟩ *σηρ.* {*Ἄρτ.*}? Bl

**1263** δεῦρο μόλ', ὦ Burg 290 ὦ δεῦρο μόλε Eng δεῦρ' ὦ παρσένε Herk 152 ‖ σιὰ παρσένε FRichter 7 παρθένος Wila 1 -σένος Wila ‖ σεία Cob. 1.110 **1265** συνέχεις (*p*) Bo$^2$ ‖ πωλὺν? Bl ‖ ἁμὲ (R) Ahr 264 ‖ πολὺν χρ. ἁμέ· Voss **1266–1267** νῦν κἀν φιλίᾳ γ' ἀὲς Burg 290 νῦν φιλία δ' αὖ αἰὲς Voss ‖ φιλία: τ' Schaefer ad Bion. XI,1 {δ'} Thiersch 347 δὴ Reis 3 τ' ⟨ἐς⟩? Dind$^2$ ‖ αἰές ⟨τ'⟩ Reis 3 ‖ ἔμπεδος Bl ‖ εἴης (B*p*) Burg 290 **1268** {τ. συνθ.} Ham 2.26 ταῖσι συνθήκαισι Herm 10.284 ‖ τᾶν αἱ μυλιᾶν Voss ‖ ἀλωπεκιᾶν (iam Voss) vel -πεκᾶν? Lent {ἀλωπέκων}? Mein **1270–1272** παυσαίμεθα. | ὦ (-αῖ- vL, ὤ Dind$^2$) Thiersch 347 ‖ δεῦρ' ἴθ', ὦ σιὰ Burg 290 δεῦτ', ἴθι δεῦρ' Thiersch δεῦρ' ἴθι, δεῦρ' ἴθ', | ὦ (ἰὼ)? Bl ‖ δεῦρο, | ὦ? Bgk$^2$ δεῦρο {ὦ} Wila 1 {ὦ} . . . {ὦ} Schroeder **1273** *Πρυ.* Wila ‖ πάντα π.? Bl **1274** τάσδε τε (δὲ Weise) Brun τασδεδὶ Dind$^2$ **1277** -ούμεθα Iunt **1279** *Λυσ.* Händel 165 ‖ πρόσαγε ⟨δὴ⟩ Rog ἄναγε (ἄγετε)? Bl ‖ χορούς? Dind$^2$ ‖ ἔπαγε ⟨δὲ⟩ Eng ἐπάγαγε Mein ἔπαγέ ⟨τε⟩ Bgk$^2$ ἄγετε (ἄναγε) δὲ? Bl **1280** δὲ ⟨καὶ⟩ Thiersch 349 ‖ καλέσατ'? Bl **1281** ἀγέχορον (ἀγ- Herm 10.285 ἀρχέ-? Bl ἡγ- Wila) FlCh ἀγέροχον VRost ap. Eng {ἄγ. χ.} Eng ἀγεσίχορον Bgk$^2$ ‖ εὔφρον' ἰήιον vL ‖ οἰκεῖον Farr ἴδιον ap. Bis ἤιον Eng ‖ εὔφρονα Herk 153 **1284** μαινάσιν {*B.*} Thiersch ‖ μαινάσι: βάκχιος (iam Burg 290) εὐάρμασιν Herm 10.285 βακχιοῖ εὐάσιν {δ'} Bgk 3.96 βακχίσιν οἰνάσι (οἶδμα Hoffmann 235) Mein βακχεῖ, ὃς Schn 2.47 λαμπάδι (*Δελφίσι*) δ.? Bl βακχίσ' ἐν (-ίσιν?) οὔρεσι Herw 6.292 ‖ *Δελφίσιν* μαινάσι δ.? Bl ‖ ᾄδεται ⟨εὐνέτας Ἀριάδνας⟩? Herm διάττει Hoffmann 235 μαίνεται Herw **1285** *Δία* δὲ Thiersch 349 *Δίας* π. φλεγόμενος Hoffmann 235 ‖ ἐπὶ δὲ (ἔπι δε *p*) Thiersch **1287** ἐπιμαρτύροις? Bl **1289** *Ἡσ.* Dind$^2$ ‖ τᾶς? Bgk$^2$ ‖ ἀγανόφρονος Reis 165 μεγαλήτορος Thiersch 350 μεγαλάνορος? Bgk$^2$ **1290** ἂν Bgk$^2$ ‖ ποίησε Bo **1291** παιὼν ἰή? Dind$^3$ **1292–1293** ἰαίως Thiersch 350 ἰαὶ ἰαί, | ἰαί, ὡς (vel εὐαὶ pro ἰαί)? Dind$^2$ ἰαὶ ἰαί, | ὡς ἐπὶ *v.* εὐοῖ Bgk$^2$ εὐαὶ vel εὐοῖ pro ἰαί? Bl **1294** delet Wila ‖ εὐοῖ, εὐοῖ, εὐαῖ εὐαῖ Dind$^2$ ἰαῖ, εὐοῖ εὐαῖ, εὐαῖ Bo$^2$ ὦ εὐοῖ εὐαῖ εὐᾶν Bgk$^2$ **1295–1320** post v.1272 transposuit vL **1295** *Λυσ.* Bgk$^2$ *Ἀθ. α'.* vL *Πρυ.* Wila ‖ ⟨ἄγ' ὦ⟩ *Λ.* | Herm 3a.121 {*Λ.*} Herm 10.285 νέαν, *Λ.*, πρ. vL ‖ καὶ σὺ? Bl ‖ μοῦσαν: ὀπὶ νέᾳ νέαν Burg 291 ἐπὶ νέοις νέαν? Bl ἐπὶ νέᾳ τύχῃ vL ἔτι νέαν Will II,454 ––– | ––– ἐπὶ νέα νέαν Wila ἐπὶ νέᾳ | τύχῃ νέαν ⟨*Σπάρτην* τε κλῄσον τὴν καλήν⟩ Srebrny 43 **1296 sqq.** *Λακ.* Arnold* **1297** ⟨ὦ⟩ *Μῶα μόλε Λ.* vel *Μῶα μόλε* ⟨μόλε⟩ *Λ.* Herm 3a ‖ μόλ' ⟨ἰὼ⟩ *Λ.* Burg 291 μόλ' ⟨ἐμὰ⟩ Reis 1.13 πρᾶτον Maittaire 383 σεπτὸν? Bl ‖ ἁμὶν Brun ἄμιν Herm **1299** κλέωά (-εί-? Bl) (κλέωα *p*) Ahr 156 ‖ Ἀμύκλαισι (-ιν Reis 1.13) Burg 291 ‖ {Ἀπόλλω} Valck 3.275 ‖ Ἀμύκλαισι σιὸν Ἀπόλλω Herm 3a.121 **1300** {καὶ} Burg 291 κὴ? Bl ‖ ἁγνάν Herm 10.286 ἄνασσαν Eng e $\Sigma^{R}$ **1301** ἀγανώς JSchmidt cccx **1302** {δὴ} Burg 291 ‖ πὰρ ⟨τὸν⟩ Reis 1.13 ‖ σιάδδ.

Burg *ψιάδδοντ'* Wila **1303** ⟨*ὦ*⟩ (⟨*ὦ*⟩ Bgk) *εἶα* (*εἶα* iam Scal) Dind² ⟨*ὦ*⟩ *εἶα*, ⟨*εἶα*⟩? Lent ‖ *μάλ'* Brun ‖ *μόλ'*, *ἔμβας*, *ὦ* Burg 921 **1304** *ὤῖα* Brun *ὦ 'ῖα* Reis 1.13 *ὦ* (*ὦ*? Bgk²) *εἶα* Bis ‖ *κῶφα* (*κῶλα*?) Bl ‖ *πάλλω'* Burg 291 *πᾶλον*? Bgk² *παδῶν*? Bl **1305** *ὦ* Iunt ‖ *ὑμνίωμες* (*-ῶ-* Brun) (C) Elms 1 v.729 **1306** *ᾗ*? Bl ‖ {*σιῶν*}? Herm 10.286 **1307** *τᾗ τε π.* Reis 1.13 *κὴ*? Bl ‖ *ποδῶν* ⟨*υ-*⟩? Herm 10.286 **1308** ⟨*ὅχ'*⟩ *ἅτε* (*ἅτε* iam Brun) Wila ‖ *τοί τε π.* Scal *ὅτε π.* Burg 291 *ᾗ π.* Reis 1.13 *ᾗ δὲ* (*τε*? Eng) *π.*? Ahr 370 *χἅτε π.* Eng *ἃ τε π.* Holden ‖ *πῶλοι*: *δὲ* Herm 10.286 *αἱ* Thiersch 352 ‖ *ταὶ* ⟨*δὲ*⟩ *κώραι* (*κ.* iam Iunt) Reis ‖ *κόραι* ⟨*ταὶ*⟩ Herk 153 **1309** *παρὰ* Burg 291 **1310** *πάλλοντι* vel *ἀμπαδῶντι* (*-δέοντι* Wila *-δίοντι* Coul)? Bl ‖ *πυκνὰν* Burg 291 *ποδοῖν πυκνὰ* (*πύκν'* R-W 400)? Bl **1311** *ἐγκωνιῶσαι* (*-ίωαι* Thiersch 352) Brun *ἀνκόνισιν* Burg 291 *ἀγκωνιῶαι* (*-ίωαι* p. 34) Reis 1.13 *ἀγκονίωσαι* (*-ιῶαι* vel *-ίωαι* Dind²) Elms 1 v.729 **1312** *τὰν δὲ* (*τε* Burg 291) *κόμαν* Koen 165 *τᾶν κόμαι* Herm 10.286 *τὰς δὲ κόμας*? Bl lacunam post *κ.* statuit Wila 1 ‖ *σείονται* FRichter 17 *σίοντι*? Bgk² *σείοντ'* ⟨*αὐτᾶν*⟩? Bl ‖ *αἴπερ* Berg *ᾗπερ* (*ᾗ-* Wila) Koen *ὥστε* Burg 291 *τᾗπερ* FRichter ‖ ⟨*τᾶν*⟩ (B) Reis 1.13 ‖ *βάκχαι* Koen **1313** *-αδδοᾶν* et *-αδδοᾶν* R *-αδδωᾶν* et *-αιδδωᾶν* B*p* ‖ *-αδδωᾶν* et *-αδδωᾶν* Bis *-αδδῶαι* et *-αδῶαι* (*-αδδωᾶν* et *-αδωᾶν*?) Koen 185 *-αδδωᾶν κ' εὐαδδωᾶν* Heringa ap. Valck 3.101 *-αδδοᾶν* et *-αιδδοᾶν* Reis 1.13 *-αδδοᾶν* et *-αδοᾶν* Dind² *συρσαδδωᾶν* Bl ‖ *παλλωᾶν* Valck 4.390 **1314** *ἄγηται* Herw 7.270 *ἀγεῖται* H-G ‖ *Λατοῦς* (*-τῶς* Bl) Bis ‖ {*παῖς*} Burg 291 **1316** *ἄγετε* Burg 291 ‖ *κόμας* Bl 2.53 ‖ *-κίδδεται* FlCh *-κιδδέ τε* Brun ‖ ⟨*τᾗ*⟩ *χειρὶ* (*χερὶ* Mein) Reis 1.13 *χειρί* ⟨*τε*⟩ Voss *χηρὶ* Ahr 159 ‖ *πόδικρα* (*πεδοῖ*?) Burg 292 ⟨*τοῖν*⟩ *πεδοῖν* Reis ‖ *παδῇ* FlCh *πάδδη* semel Scal *πάδη* bis Brun **1318** *αί τις* R *ἄ τις* B*p* *ᾗ* (*αἳ* Pors) *τις* Burg 291 *ᾗτ'* Reis 1.13 ‖ *ἁμᾶ* (*-ᾗ* Mein) Herm 3a.121 ‖ *ποῇ* (*πόη* Burg) Iunt *ποίει* Pors *ποίητε* e $\Sigma^{R}$? Lange ‖ *χοροφελέταν* Scal *'ν χορείᾳ φυλέτᾳ* Burg *χορωφελήταν* Herm *χορωφέλητον* Bl **1320** post h.v. excidisse aliquid, certe interiectiones nonnullas Bgk² ‖ *κὴ*? Bl ‖ *τᾶν σιᾶν* Brun *τῶν σιῶν τὰν κρ.* Burg 291 {*σιὰν δ' αὐτὰν*} vL ‖ {*δ'*} Bl ‖ *αὖ τὰν* (BH) Koen 237 *κρατίσταν* (*σιὰν τὰν* Srebrny 41) *πάμμαχον*, (Bgk, reponendum *-μάχ-* R) *τὰν χαλκίοικον ὕμνη* (*ὕμνη* iam Burg) vL ‖ *ὕμνη* {*τὰν*} Burg ‖ {*τὰν π.*} Herm 3a.121.

YALE UNIVERSITY

# GREEK MAENADISM FROM OLYMPIAS TO MESSALINA

ALBERT HENRICHS

IN 1872 A. Rapp proposed to distinguish between the maenads of myth and those of history.[1] According to Rapp, the mythical maenads existed only in the imagination of artists and poets and should therefore be dismissed as artificial creations. Rapp found the maenads of history and cult in the pages of Diodorus, Plutarch, and Pausanias. There we find them indeed, not in large numbers, but assigned to clear chronological and geographical contexts. Equally historical and real are the few maenads from Magnesia, Miletus, and Physkos whose ritual activities were commemorated on stone. Between 1890 and 1968, five Greek inscriptions of major importance were published which illustrate the practice of maenadism in Greece, Asia Minor, and Italy from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D.[2] Their discovery invalidated Rapp's rigid classification and showed that the epigraphical documentation of maenadism has as much in common with the *Bacchae* of Euripides as with the three prose authors preferred by Rapp. Several

[1] "Die Mänade im griechischen Cultus, in der Kunst und Poesie," *Rhein. Mus.* 27 (1872) 1–22, 562–611. Rapp aimed at a "Scheidung in historisches und mythologisches Mänadentum" (562) but conceded that the Greeks themselves were not fully aware of the difference (20).

[2] The five Greek inscriptions are, in their order of publication: (1) Magnesia ad Maeandrum, c. 200 B.C.; A. E. Kontoleon, *Ath. Mitt.* 15 (1890) 330–332 = *IMagn.* 215 (section I below). (2) Miletus, late third, or second, century B.C.; Th. Wiegand, *Sitzb. Berl. Akad.* 1905, 547 (see section III below). (3) Miletus, 276/75 B.C.; Th. Wiegand, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1908, 22–25 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1955) no. 48 (section III below). (4) Torre Nova near Tusculum/Latium, second century A.D.; A. Vogliano and F. Cumont, *AJA* 37 (1933) 215–263 (section V below). (5) Physkos/Western Lokris, second century A.D.; G. Klaffenbach, *IG* $I^2$.3.670 (1968) = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris 1969) no. 181. The format of these texts varies considerably: (1) is a Delphic oracle quoted in a local chronicle, and (2) an epitaph in elegiac meter; (3) records the sale of the office of priestess of Dionysus; (4) is a membership list of a Dionysiac thiasus, and (5) a cult regulation. To complete the list of maenadic inscriptions, one must add *CIL* I (1863) 196 = $I^2$ 581, a local redaction of the so-called *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* or, in Mommsen's description, of the *Epistula consulum ad Teuranos* of 186 B.C., which was found in Tirioli in 1640 and first published by J. Gronovius in 1692 (below, pp. 134f).

additional passages in the *Bacchae* have thus been vindicated as descriptions of authentic maenadic ritual.[3]

But where the inscriptions fail us, the *Bacchae* remains an unreliable standard for maenadic cult, for the following reason. If maenadic cult is a reenactment of maenadic myth (as the Greeks doubtless held), the *Bacchae* is its dramatization and transposition into a fictitious cultic setting. If at the same time Euripides was inspired by actual Dionysiac cult (as most scholars assume, with reason), the historian of Greek religion who turns to the *Bacchae* as a model of maenadic ritual faces the dilemma of a vicious circle of multiple contamination. Not only do we lack objective criteria which would enable us to differentiate plausibly between poetic and cultic mimesis in the *Bacchae*, but the *Bacchae* itself, with its ritualistic interpretation of Dionysiac myth, must be considered a potential source of inspiration for later maenadic cult. We shall never disentangle the intricate web of maenadic myth and cult which the Greeks wove. But we want to know, as far as the evidence permits, who the real maenads were and what they did. In a strictly historical study of maenadic cult, therefore, the epigraphical records are the ultimate test of authenticity for maenadic ritual as practiced in any given period or place.

The maenads of Greek art and literature display startling symptoms of Dionysiac seizure: they toss back their heads and expose their throats in forceful convulsion; they roll their eyes; they shout like animals, their mouths open and foaming; they trample the ground and stampede through the woods as if engaged in a wild chase; and in the final climax of their fit, they turn into savage beasts, killing goats, fawns, and cattle and devouring their raw flesh.

Ever since Erwin Rohde's classic *Psyche* (1894; $^{2}$1898) prepared the way for the scholarly study of maenadism, the graphic portrayal of maenads by Greek vase painters and poets has attracted widespread attention. Various aspects of maenadic behavior have invited comparison with medieval examples of religious mass hysteria, with clinical cases of possession, and with various tribal rituals. The maenads' alleged escape from house and home and their temporary liberation from a woman's restricted role in Greek society have served as an occasional highlight in social studies. Cultural anthropology, comparative religion,

[3] Cf. E. R. Dodds on *Bacch.* 85, 469–470, 695–698, and introd. pp xvi ff; J. Roux on *Bacch.* 32–33. Other details of maenadic ritual and behavior are known both from the *Bacchae* and from one or more of Rapp's nonpoetic sources: for example, dancing, ὀρειβασία, θυρσοφορεῖν, and even the physical exhaustion which made the maenads collapse (below, p. 136).

psychoanalysis and theories of sacrifice, sacrament and human aggression have all contributed to modern explanations of Greek maenadism. This comparative method of research has thrown valuable light on the ritual structure of maenadism and on its presumed purpose, be it cathartic, sacramental, or both. At the same time it has generated an unfortunate and misleading trend. The more uncivilized, bestial, and revolting the behavior of the maenads in the ancient sources, the more real and authentic they tend to appear to modern students steeped in the theories of J. J. Bachofen, Jane Harrison, Freud, Eliade, or Konrad Lorenz. In the prevailing conception, maenadism is seen as a periodic return to crude ritualistic primitivism by countless ancient women over many centuries of Greek and Roman civilization.

But the inscriptions as well as the prose writers tell a slightly different story which suggests that the cultic reality of maenadism was more subdued and less exotic. It is high time to take a fresh look at the prose accounts of maenadism and to contrast them with the more imaginative and colorful portrayals of maenads which we find in the *Bacchae* and in Greek and Roman art. This comparison of different ancient presentations of maenadism will put us in a better position to determine how wild the maenads really were.

## I. Theban Maenads in Magnesia ad Maeandrum

In the *Bacchae*, the women of Thebes on whom Dionysus inflicted maenadic madness swarm over Mt. Cithaeron in three troops, or thiasi, each of which is led by one of Kadmos' three ill-fated daughters, Ino, Autonoe, and Agaue. A Roman copy of a Hellenistic inscription from Magnesia in Ionia quotes a Delphic oracle in twelve hexameters which enjoins the Magnesians to build a temple for Dionysus and to import three maenads from Thebes.

(9) ἐλθέτε δὲ ἐς Θήβης ἱερὸν πέδον, ὄφρα λάβητε
μαινάδας, αἳ γενεῆς Εἰνοῦς ἄπο Καδμηείης·
αἳ δ' ὑμεῖν δώσουσι καὶ ὄργια καὶ νόμιμα ἐσθλὰ
(12) καὶ θιάσους Βάκχοιο καθειδρύσουσιν ἐν ἄστει.

Go to the holy plain of Thebes to fetch maenads from the race of Cadmean Ino. They will bring you maenadic rites and noble customs and will establish troops of Bacchus in your city.[4]

[4] *IMagn.* 215(a).24–30. The text of the entire inscription, complete with preface, oracle, and postscript, can be found at O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1900) 139f; W. Quandt, *De Baccho ab Alexandri*

A prose postscript confirms that maenadic rites were successfully transferred: *κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν διὰ τῶν θεοπρόπων ἐδόθησαν ἐκ Θηβῶν μαινάδες τρεῖς, Κοσκώ, Βαυβώ, Θετταλή· καὶ ἡ μὲν Κοσκὼ συνήγαγεν θίασον τὸν Πλατανιστηνῶν, ἡ δὲ Βαυβὼ τὸν πρὸ πόλεως, ἡ δὲ Θετταλὴ τὸν τῶν Καταιβατῶν. θανοῦσαι δὲ αὗται ἐτάφησαν ὑπὸ Μαγνήτων, καὶ ἡ μὲν Κοσκὼ κεῖται ἐν Κοσκωβούνῳ, ἡ δὲ Βαυβὼ ἐν Ταβάρνει, ἡ δὲ Θετταλὴ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ.* "In accordance with the oracle, and through the agency of the envoys,[5] three maenads were brought from Thebes: Kosko, Baubo, and Thettale. And Kosko organized the thiasus named after the plane tree, Baubo the thiasus outside the city, and Thettale the thiasus named after Kataibates. After their death they were buried by the Magnesians, and Kosko lies buried in the area called Hillock of Kosko, Baubo in the area called Tabarnis, and Thettale near the theater."[6]

Few maenadic texts contain a comparable wealth of information about local maenads, their provenance, personal names, tombs, and titles of their thiasi. With few exceptions, therefore, historians of Greek religion have duly treated the Magnesia inscription as a principal record of cultic maenadism in the Hellenistic period.[7] But its interpretation

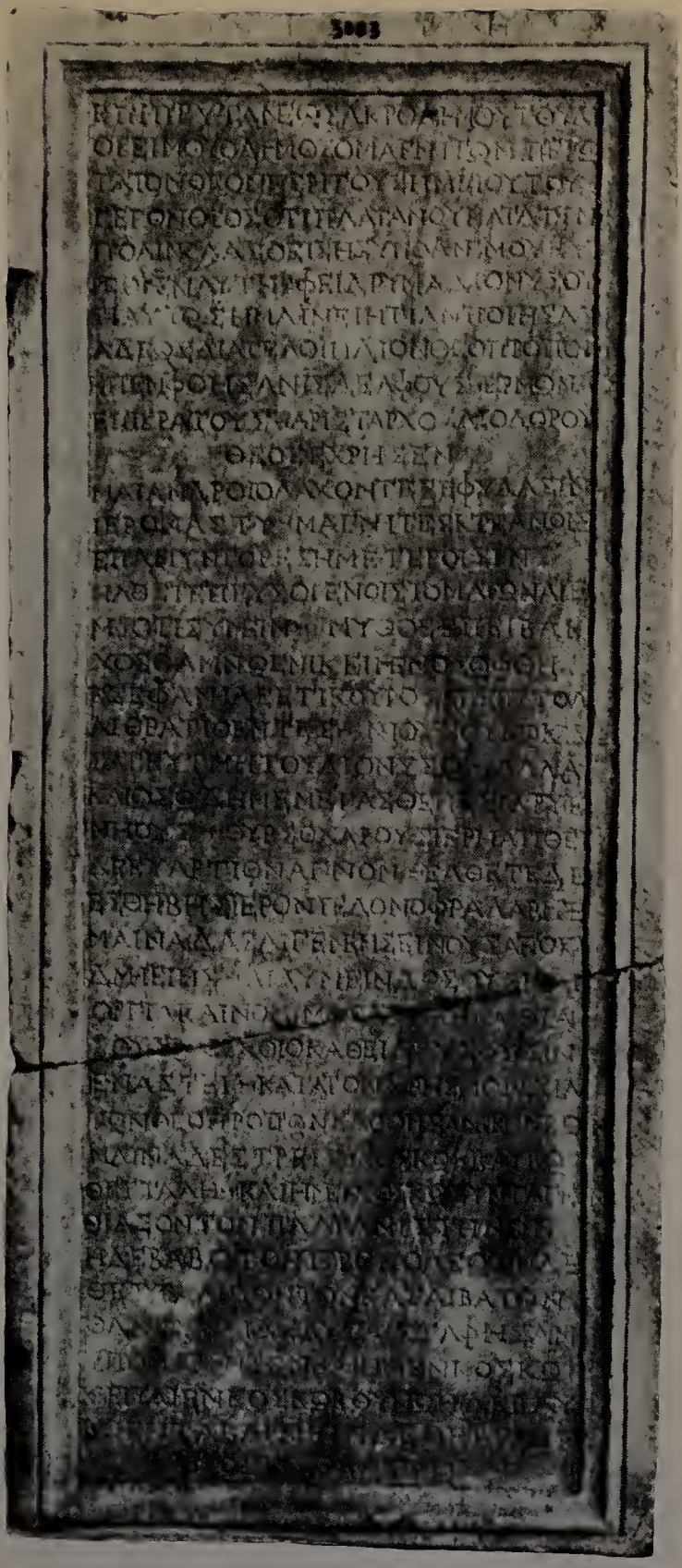
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*aetate in Asia Minore culto*, Diss. Philol. Hal. 21.2 (Halle 1913) 162f; and at *FGrHist* 482 F 5. H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1956) II 137 print the preface and the oracle as no. 338. The two inscriptions now known as *IMagn.* 215 were discovered and first published in 1890 (see Kern's edition for the early bibliography).

[5] The preface records their names as Hermonax, son of Epikrates, and Aristarchos, son of Diodoros (*IMagn.* 215[a].10f).

[6] *IMagn.* 215(a).30–41.

[7] E. Rohde, *Psyche* (2nd ed. 1898) II 54f, n.3; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903; 3rd ed. 1922) 396f; M. P. Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique* (1904) 31f; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (1906) 309f; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* V (1909) 152f; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen* (1926) I 85; W. F. Otto, *Dionysus, Myth and Cult* (trans. 1965) 174; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (1950) 62, 166; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos, Histoire du Culte de Bacchus* (1951) 197f, 443; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (2nd ed. 1955; 3rd ed. 1967) 576, II (2nd ed. 1961) 87; M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (1957, rpt. 1975) 5f. Scholars have been extremely careless about the date of the inscription, partly because of Kern's own inconsistency (below, n.10). Rohde, Nilsson in *Griech. Feste*, and Otto gave no date at all. Miss Harrison apparently failed to differentiate between the date of the inscription and that of the oracle: "The inscription is of course late . . . but the main issue is clear: in the time of Hadrian at least three actual women of a particular family [see below, n.51] were called 'Maenads.'" Foucart dated the inscription in the first century B.C. [*sic*] but acknowledged that the oracle could be much older. Guthrie gave no date for the inscription but two mutually exclusive dates for the arrival of Theban maenads in Magnesia: "in the third or second century B.C." (p. 62); "For the placing of the incident in the fifth century, see Farnell, *Cults*, V, 152" (p. 166



*IMagn.* 215 (a) (courtesy, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul).



Epigram commemorating the Milesian maenad Alkmeonis (photograph by Professor John G. Pedley).

is beset by a host of historical problems which have received no attention during the past eighty years. Before the inscription as a whole can be assigned to its appropriate place in the history of Greco-Roman maenadism, it is necessary to deal critically with the date and authenticity of the oracle proper.

The inscription is written on a rectangular marble plaque (*στήλη*) which was originally attached to a supporting base (*βωμός*) inscribed with the following dedication to Dionysus by one of his worshippers:

*Θεῷ Διονύσῳ*
*Ἀπολλώνιος Μοκόλλης*
*ἀρχαῖος μύστης ἀρχαῖον*
*χρησμὸν ἐπ̣[ὶ] στήλης ἀνα-*
*γράψας σὺν τῷ βωμῷ ἀ̣ν̣έθ[η]-*
*κεν.*[8]

The *archimystes* Apollonios Mokolles, who claims credit for having the "old oracle" copied on stone, was a senior member of a Dionysiac fraternity in imperial Magnesia.[9] A date around the middle of the

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n.2). In Farnell's own words, "the inscription may belong to the second century B.C.; but the oracle must have been delivered at a far earlier date." Jeanmaire dated the inscription variously in the Hellenistic period (p. 197) or the first century A.D. (p. 443) but ascribed the oracle "à l'époque où Thèbes, comme métropole du culte de Dionysos et sa patrie, conservait son importance." (Thebes was destroyed by Alexander the Great in 335 B.C., but the oracle cannot have been written before 279/78 B.C.; see n.13 below.) Nilsson took five decades to determine the correct date for the inscription (no date in *Griech. Feste;* "middle of the 1st century B.C." [*sic*] in *Gesch.* II; "engraved in the reign of Hadrian, copied from an old inscription," *Dion. Myst.*). Kern and Nilsson remained uncommitted on the question of the oracle's authenticity. In 1957 Nilsson decided to cut the Gordian knot: (the oracle is important even if a forgery) "for a forgery must be adapted to the circumstances of the time in which it is fabricated" (*Dion. Myst.* 5 n.6). Contrast Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (1932) 373: "In Magnesia ist die vielfach überschätzte Inschrift 215 eine späte Kopie, die Vorlage aber war, wie Pomtow richtig erkannt hat, ein Stück der Fälschungen zur Begründung der Asylie. Zu entnehmen ist ihr nur der Dionysoskult an den drei namhaft gemachten Plätzen."

[8] *IMagn.* 215(b). Hiller von Gaertringen copied this inscription in the spring of 1891 (*Athen. Mitt.* 16 [1891] 248; *BCH* 17 [1893] 31) when he and O. Kern saw it at Magnesia (P. Wendland and O. Kern, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie und Religion* [Berlin 1895] 82f). The base which carries the inscription has not surfaced since Kern and Hiller von Gaertringen saw it, and no photo or squeeze seems to be known (see n.10 below).

[9] *IMagn.* 117, also of the second century A.D., attests *μύσται Διονύσου* for Magnesia, whose president is called *ἀρχιμύστης*. The striking phrase *ἀρχαῖος μύστης* is more than a "rhetorical antithesis to *ἀρχαῖος χρησμός*" (Kern). I take

second century A.D. for the extant copy is suggested by the letter forms of the inscription.[10] In a passing reference, A. D. Nock described this text as "a document of historical antiquarianism"[11] designed to promote the local cult of Dionysus. The second century A.D. was an age which consciously imitated earlier Greek antiquity and worshiped its cultural relics. It was also a time in which the Greek cities of Asia Minor believed strongly in the authority of Apollo's oracles. Both interests are reflected in Apollonios, who searched the past history of his city for confirmation of his religious beliefs and resurrected the Delphic foundation charter of the cult of which he was a member.

H. Pomtow saw that the Delphic response to the Magnesians and its conventional preface follow Hellenistic oracular usage.[12] Their language and content effectively allay any suspicion that Apollonios forged the oracle himself, or was deceived by a contemporary forgery. In fact I

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it to be the rhetorical equivalent of *ἀρχιμύστης*, a common title for high-ranking members of Dionysiac clubs in the imperial period (cf. *πρωτομύστης* and *πατρομύστης* and, on the opposite end of the hierarchy, *νεομύστης* and *νεόβακχος*). In pagan inscriptions, *ἀρχαῖος* is occasionally used of organizations, but not individuals, to express rank: cf. *τὸ σεμνότατον καὶ ἀρχαιότατον συνέδριον τῶν χρυσοφόρων νεοποιῶν*, or *παλαιὸν Βακχεῖον* versus *τὸ ἱερώτατον νέον Βακχῖον* (references in F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* [1909; rpt. 1967] 172 and 542). On the Christian side, however, the *ἀρχαῖος μαθητής* of Acts 21.16 and the *νεόφυτος* of I Tim. 3.6 seem to imply comparable categories of seniority if not rank (compared by G. Thiele, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia a. M. und das Neue Testament* [theol. diss. Heidelberg 1905] 26).

[10] Hiller von Gaertringen suggested a date in the first half of the second century A.D. (*BCH* 17 [1893] 33). O. Kern changed his date from "Hadrianische Zeit" (*Beiträge* [above, n.8] 83) to "Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr." (in his edition of *IMagn.* 215, and in *Rel. d. Griech.* [above, n.7] 85). Professor John G. Pedley, who kindly obtained for me the photo reproduced here, wrote to me in June 1969: "This inscription [*IMagn.* 215(a)] is no longer in the Tschinili-Kiosk which has reverted to what its name indicates it ought to be, a museum of Ottoman tile-work. It is now in The Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (Inv. No. 3083; Foto No. 10430; Room I, central block, wall 3). Since it is recorded in the records book in the handwriting of Osman Hamdi (Hamdi Bey), Director of the Museum from 1881–1910, as being in a specific location in the Archaeological Museum, it must have been moved from the Tschinili-Kiosk at the time of the great reorganization of the Museum by Hamdi Bey, presumably between 1900 (the date of Kern's publication) and 1910 (the date of Hamdi Bey's retirement). The photo here is by courtesy of the Director of the Museum, Müdür Necati Dolunay, and with the help of Bayan Tülay Ergil." Professor Pedley, whose help has been invaluable, found no trace of *IMagn.* 215(b) in the museum records.

[11] *Conversion* (1933) 277.

[12] *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* (= *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*) 153 (1896) 767f.

know of no scholar who has rejected the oracle as a fabrication of *imperial* date. The hexameters of the oracle contain two veiled references to earlier historical events: the second foundation of Magnesia by the Spartan Thibron in 400/399 B.C.[13] and the attempted Celtic raid on Delphi of 279/78 B.C.[14] In addition, the preface dates the Magnesian embassy to Delphi in the prytany of Akrodemos, that is, before the middle of the third century B.C., when the Magnesians began to date their inscriptions after the local *stephanephoroi*.[15] Therefore this particular consultation of the Delphic oracle will have occurred between 278 and c. 250 B.C.

Apollonios clearly acted in good faith when he rescued the "old oracle" from oblivion. Compared to the prevailing nonmaenadic orientation of Dionysiac religion in the second century A.D., especially in Asia Minor, and to the meticulously ritualistic or highly theosophic oracles emanating from the shrines of Apollo at Claros and Didyma, the Delphic oracle which Apollonios copied must have impressed him and his contemporaries as being truly ancient. But is it also authentic, that is, did it actually originate from Delphi, or is it the surreptitious

[13] *IMagn.* 215(a). 19–21 (verses six and seven of the oracle), *ἐπεὶ πτολίεθρα τιθέντες / νηοὺς οὐκ ὤκίσσατ' ἐϋ⟨δ⟩μήτους Διονύσῳ.* There is substantial evidence for the cult of Dionysus in Magnesia during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Therefore the oracle cannot possibly refer to the original foundation of Magnesia in the early Iron Age (the subject of the *Κτίσις Μαγνησίας*). Thibron abandoned the old city, which lacked walls, and refounded it on a new site (Diod. 14.36). The extant inscriptions come from the new city, and the phrase *πτολίεθρα τιθέντες* must refer to *its* foundation. By contrast, the original Magnesians under Leukippos did not build a new city at all but conquered an existing one (according to the spurious Delphic oracle embedded in the "Foundation of Magnesia" [*IMagn.* 17.50 = *FGrHist* 482 F 3], and Hermesianax fr. 5 Powell = Parthenius, *Erot. Path.* 5.6).

[14] *IMagn.* 215(a). 14f. (verse two of the oracle) *Μάγνητες κτεάνοις ἐπαμύντορες ἡμετέροισιν*, a cryptic line which finds its explanation in the more detailed reference of *IMagn.* 46.8–10 (= *SIG*[3] 560 = *FGrHist* 482 F 1). Kern (*Beiträge* [above, n.8] 87) made the important connection of the two passages. Pomtow (above, n.12) 765f and other scholars followed suit, but the historicity of the alleged Magnesian succor has been questioned (R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* [1937] 100 n.2). If historical, the Magnesian contingent is unlikely to have been included in the five hundred mercenaries *ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας* whom Antiochus I dispatched in 279 to protect central Greece against the Celtic invasion (Paus. 10.20.5; cf. M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, I [1949] 429 n.4, G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Mémoires 63.1 [1977] 151 n. 111). But this problem does not affect the *terminus post quem* for the oracle.

[15] O. Kern, *IMagn.* (above, n.4) p. xxix; F. Jacoby on *FGrHist* 480 F 1; F. Gschnitzer, "Prytanis," *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973) 734, cf. 743ff.

production of a Magnesian forger? This latter was the view of Pomtow and Wilamowitz who declared it a Hellenistic fake similar to, and contemporary with, the quotations from fictitious Delphic oracles embedded in the so-called *Κτίσις Μαγνησίας* (*IMagn.* 17 = *FGrHist* 482 F 3).[16] This dubious account of the mythical foundation of Magnesia by the hero Leukippos was among the evidence culled from Delphic oracles, from poets and from local histories of Magnesia, and put into circulation by the Magnesians in 207/06 (or 208/07?) B.C. to document their good offices to other Greek cities including Delphi and to support their request for *asylia*.[17]

Pomtow postulated a "Fabrik fingierter Dokumente" as the common source for both the "Foundation of Magnesia" and the "Old Oracle."[18] Wilamowitz and Jacoby identified this putative source more concretely with one of those writers of *Μαγνήτων πράξεις* whose works were used to compile the dossier of 207/06 B.C.[19] It is indeed more than likely that the composite text which Apollonios copied derives ultimately from the work of a local historiographer. The narrative postscript to the oracle mentions the death of the imported maenads, an event which will have occurred many years after the Magnesians received their oracular response. This detail suggests an annalistic source which either invented the oracle or copied an authentic oracle, consisting of question and response, from the official epigraphical record in Magnesia; in either case, the local historiographer appended a brief chronicle of the events resulting from the oracle.

Historical documents appear as occasional inserts in the speeches of Attic orators and the narrative accounts of Greek historiographers. Such documents are notoriously untrustworthy, and their bad reputation casts doubt on the extant oracle. But experience has shown that one fake document does not neeessarily invalidate others quoted in the same source.[20] More often than not, the authentic and the counterfeit

[16] Pomtow (above, n.12) 755f, 765ff; Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 30 (1895) 180 = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1 (1937) 81, and *GGA* 1900, 569f = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.356 (cf. end of n.7 above).

[17] *IMagn.* 46.13f = *FGrHist* 482 F 1, *διά τε τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμῶν καὶ διὰ τῶ[ν π]οιητῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱ[σ]τορ[ι]αγράφων τῶν συγγεγραφότ[ων] τὰς Μαγνήτων πρ[άξ]ει[ς]*. This same inscription refers to the alleged support which Delphi received from the Magnesians during the Celtic invasion of central Greece (above, n.14). Cf. *IMagn.* 35.7ff, 36.7ff, 44.13ff.

[18] Pomtow (above, n.12) 755; *Philologus* 54 (1895) 250.

[19] F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griech. Historiker*, III b (Noten) (Leiden 1955) 226 nn.9 and 14.

[20] Contrast Dem. *Or.* 18 with Maccabees II. Recent papyrus finds confirmed that the various decrees and letters found in *On the Crown* originated as scholastic

coexist side by side, much to the chagrin of modern historians. I assume that a similar mixture of fact and fiction characterized the lost work of the Magnesian historiographer from which the oracle derives. Its unqualified condemnation by Pomtow and Wilamowitz is much too rigid. It would seem perverse to insist that all the oracles quoted in this source had to be Magnesian forgeries simply because the Delphic utterances inserted in the "Foundation of Magnesia" are demonstrably mythical and consequently unhistorical by modern standards of historical truth. On the contrary, the oracle of *IMagn.* 215 is by all indications authentic: it contains three chronological references which are verifiable and mutually supportive; its directives are cultic and apolitical, which would make it an atypical and rather pointless forgery; and finally, it conforms well to an established religious mechanism in which a miracle or portent leads to the consultation of Apollo, who in turn prescribes an official *Kultübertragung* or some other sort of ritual remedy.[21] Parke and Wormell deserve credit for their refusal to treat this oracle as a *pia fraus*, but they were wrong to conclude that the original date of the inquiry cannot be determined.[22] As we have seen, the Magnesians consulted the oracle between 278 and c. 250 B.C., although the exact year cannot be recovered because we lack the means of dating its eponymous magistrate.

It has been generally assumed that Apollonios copied an earlier inscription.[23] Pomtow, as we recall, went so far as to suggest that this

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exercises (H. Wankel, *ZPE* 16 [1975] 151–162). But of the five historical letters quoted in chs. 9 and 11 of Maccabees II, the first is demonstrably forged whereas the other four are genuine (Ch. Habicht, *HSCP* 80 [1976] 1–18).

[21] Numerous regional cults of Dionysus owed their existence to the Delphic oracle (Parke/Wormell [above, n.4] I 330–339, II nos. 283 and 337). E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen* (*RGVV* 8.2 [1909]) records the oracle responsible for the worship of Dionysus Phallen in Methymna (Paus. 10.19.3 = Parke/Wormell II no. 337) but omits *IMagn.* 215.

[22] Parke/Wormell (above, n.4) I 335. It is difficult to see why the Magnesians should have had to resort to *pia fraus* in this particular case: they considered themselves *apoikoi* of Delphi; at the time of the alleged forgery (c. 207 B.C.), they were represented by their own *hieromnemon* in the Delphic Amphictiony; and they enjoyed the special favor of Delphi because of their help in 279/78 B.C. Under such circumstances, they would have hardly been denied a religious oracle whenever they asked for one. But an official Delphic response, even if given as a favor or *post eventum* or through some other machination of the Delphic priesthood, is no forgery.

[23] Most explicitly by E. Maass, *Hermes* 26 (1891) 183: (of Apollonios Mokolles) ". . . der Stifter des Altars und Erneuerer der unleserlich gewordenen Orakelinschrift."

lost inscription belonged to the same epigraphical dossier as the extant *Κτίσις Μαγνησίας*. But if the ultimate source of the oracle was annalistic, it is equally possible that Apollonios had direct access to the unknown historiographer who reported it. One is reminded of Athenaeus, who read the *Magnetika* of Possis, a native of Magnesia of unknown date and the only local historian of that city whose name has survived.[24]

We may now proceed on the assumption that the city of Magnesia, at the urging of the Delphic oracle, actually imported three maenads from Thebes sometime between 278 and c. 250 B.C. and that these maenads died in Magnesia and were buried there at public expense, probably before 207/06 B.C.[25]

Much of the information contained in this inscription serves only to underscore our vast ignorance of maenadic lore. Even the names of the three maenads are so unfamiliar that scholars have invested them with a religious significance to which they are hardly entitled. The names of Kosko and Baubo are especially intriguing. Although their formation can be paralleled in the nomenclature of the maenadic regions of central Greece,[26] Kosko seems entirely unattested as a personal name and

[24] Athen. 12, 533 DE = *FGrHist* 480 F 1. It is impossible to establish a reliable date for the postscript because next to nothing is known about the three locations mentioned in it. A Hellenistic theater has been found. The "Hill of Kosko" derives its name from the maenad buried in or near it. The third location *ἐν Ταβάρνει* suggests a post-Sullan or imperial date. The same location occurs in *IMagn.* 251 (for which Kern gives no date), a dedication of a public well built *διὰ τοῦ ἐργεπιστάτου Αἰλίου Δημονείκου*; the official's *nomen* would seem to date *IMagn.* 251 in the first half of the third century A.D. when *grammateis* of that name signed Magnesian coins. The etymology of *Ταβάρνις* (?) is unknown: the traditional derivation from *τάβαι* ("rocks" according to Steph. Byz.; see W. Ruge, *RE* 2.Reihe 4.2 [1932] 1843) fails to convince; if *Ταβάρνις* echoes the Latin *taberna*, as seems very likely (for the change e>α cf. *calendae*/*καλάνδαι*, or *veteranus*/*οὐατρανός*), the place name probably postdates the Sullan era when Magnesia came into lasting contact with Rome. It is not inconceivable, therefore, that Apollonios Mokolles discovered the "ancient oracle" in a not so ancient local history whose author identified the location of the three maenadic tombs in terms of the topography of his own time.

[25] They were remembered presumably because they were identified as maenads on the stelai which marked their graves (compare the tombstone of the Milesian maenad Alkmeonis, below, section III). Farnell, *Cults* V 152, suggests that they received heroic honors, like other religious *κτίσται*. A group of mythical maenads, the Aegean "Haliai," who had died in battle for Dionysus, lay in a common grave in Argos; one of them, called Choreia, was buried separately (Paus. 2.20.4, 22.1).

[26] E.g., *Δορκώ* at Thespiai, Boeotia; early third century B.C.: *Athen. Mitt.* 56 (1931) 127f = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (1955) no. 1501 = Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte* (1960) no. 225. *Δεξώ* at Elateia, Phokis; early third

Ba(u)bo is not found in Greece proper except as an important personification of ritual obscenity in various Demeter cults. The name Baubo is apparently related to *βαυβώ* and *βαυβᾶν*, two words for the female parts and their sexual function.[27] But in Roman Anatolia, Babo was used as a personal name; in Byzantine Greek, a female bogey of the night was called Babo; and in modern Greek, Babo survives as a dialect word for an old woman.[28] Kosko hypocoristically echoes the Greek word for "sieve" (*κόσκινον*), which was used not only as a household utensil but also in magic.[29] The geographical name Thettale could suggest origin, as from Thessaly, the homeland of the Ionian Magnesians. On the other hand, Thessaly was famous for its witches, known as *Θεσσαλαί*, throughout antiquity.[30] All three names seem to oscillate mysteriously between the profane and the cultic. But their Dionysiac reference remains obscure — if in fact they are cultic.

It would perhaps be wrong to press this point. Individual names of historical maenads need not be religiously significant or otherwise meaningful: on a tombstone from Miletus, a local maenad is called

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century B.C.: *IG* 9.1.163 = Peek, *GV* 1502 = *GG* 226. *Ἐρατώ* at Daulis, Phokis; third century B.C.: *REA* 8 (1906) 284 = *GV* 1655 = *GG* 214. There is no evidence for the use of Dionysiac *signa* in the Hellenistic period.

[27] F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (*RGVV* 33 [Berlin 1974]) 168ff.

[28] For *Βαβω* as a personal name see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, I (1963) 368f. *Βαυβώ* and *Βαβώ* appear as variants in the late Hellenistic period and later (cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I [1976] 226ff on *αυ>α*, with many examples). *BABΩ* was corrected to *BA'Y'BΩ* by the masons who cut *IG* 12.5.227 (Paros; first century B.C.) and *IMagn.* 215(a).35 (contrast *BAYBΩ* in lines 39f). In MSS, *Βαυβώ/Βαβώ* occur as variant spellings in the following places: Harpocr. s.v. *Βαιβοῦς* (= Suid. *β* 8 *Βαβοῦς*), where alphabetization guarantees *Βαυβοῦς* for Harpocration; Harpocr. s.v. *Δυσαύλης* (= Suid. *δ* 1598) = Asklepiades of Trogilos *FGrHist* 12 F 5; Suid. *β* 195 *Βανώ/Βαυβώ/Βαβώ* = *δ* 473 *Βανώ/Βαβώ*. Cf. W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen* (3rd ed., 1867–1870) s.v. *Βαβώ*; O. Kern on *Orph. fr.* 53; W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (2nd ed. 1952) 135f (note esp. 136 on *IMagn.* 215: "Since there can be no doubt that the Maenad was called after the goddess or daemon of that name, this shows us Baubo on Anatolian ground at an earlier date than that of the inscription on Paros." But the imported maenad was given her name in Thebes rather than Magnesia.).

[29] A. Dieterich, *Abraxas* (1891) 149, and Gunning, "Kosko," *RE* 22 (1922) 1484ff, explain *Κοσκώ* as *κοσκινόμαντις* (Theocr. *Id.* 3.31) and suggest a connection with magical coscinomancy (cf. Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* II [1924] 146 §309). Nilsson, *Feste* (above, n.7) 310, equates *κόσκινον* and *λίκνον* and relates both to Dionysiac cult.

[30] D. E. Hill, "The Thessalian trick," *Rhein. Mus.* 116 (1973) 221ff.

Alkmeonis, a unique but thoroughly profane name. But the three women from Magnesia and the one from Miletus are the only historical maenads before the imperial period whose names are known, too few for valid conclusions. Far from being a reliable guide for earlier periods, Dionysiac nomenclature in imperial texts is itself inconclusive: of some four hundred *cognomina* of Bacchic initiates in an inscription from Torre Nova now in the Metropolitan Museum, only one or two bear a clear Dionysiac stamp.[31] But names of maenads in poetry tend to be suggestive and colorful, like Eurynome, Helikonias, Glauke, and Xanthippe; occasionally they are downright Dionysiac, like Euanthe, Choreia, and Porphyris.[32] The Hellenistic and Roman poets who named their maenads in this fashion continued the similar practice of earlier vase painters. The satyrs, nymphs, or maenads of the Bacchic thiasus on Greek vases of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. are often identified by highly suggestive names which evoke various associations with vegetation, animals, dances, sex, or other aspects of the Dionysiac experience.[33] On a vase fragment in Boston with the earliest representation of the death of Pentheus, one of the maenads shown dismembering the king is euphemistically called Galene, "Calmness."[34] The contrast between the maenad's innocent name and her cruel act may be seen as an illustration of the emotional instability of the maenads, which Euripides captures so well in the two messenger speeches of the *Bacchae*. But in real life, the maenads bore less provocative names.

So much for maenadic names. The three thiasi led by Kosko, Baubo, and Thettale were presumably named after the places where they met. The phrase *πρὸ πόλεως* suggests a rural shrine of Dionysus outside the city limits of Magnesia and perhaps in a natural scenery of woods and hills as befits the god of the maenads.[35] The grove of plane trees from which the second thiasus of *Πλατανιστηνοί* or *Πλατανιστηναί* derived its name had been the scene of a miraculous epiphany of Dionysus Dendrites.[36] According to the preface of the inscription, the Magnesians

[31] A. Vogliano and F. Cumont (above, n.2) 227ff.

[32] *AP* 6.74; 6.134; 6.165; Paus. 2.20.4 (above, n.25); *AP* 6.172.

[33] Ch. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (1912).

[34] Boston, MFA 10.221 (attributed to Euphronios). See Beazley, *ARV*² p. 16 no. 14; L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase-paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* II (1954) no. 66 pl. 31; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (1975) fig. 28.

[35] *ZPE* 4 (1969) 233 and 241.

[36] O. Kern, *Beiträge* (above, n.8) 92. The name is formed from *πλατάνιστος* ("plane tree"), or *πλατανιστής* ("grove of plane trees"), and a Hellenistic suffix common in Asia Minor (cf. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*

consulted the Delphic oracle because they had found an image of Dionysus in a plane tree which a storm had left cloven.[37] The location of the tree is given as κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, which would seem to place it in the area of the city proper and at a distance from the rural Dionysus πρὸ πόλεως. But who are the *Καταιβάται* of the third thiasus? Our best guess is that their name reflects that of Zeus Kataibates, or Zeus who descends in lightning.[38] They will have met at a location where the lightning of Zeus had struck, and which was therefore taboo except for religious use. It may be relevant here that it was the lightning of Zeus which killed Semele and delivered Dionysus.

But the real crux which obscures *Καταιβάται* is its form, which is clearly masculine: the thiasus of the *Καταιβάται* must have included male members.[39] If so, it cannot have been genuinely maenadic. In Greece proper, ritual maenadism was restricted to women, at least down to the end of the Hellenistic period.[40] But throughout that period, the term θίασος was widely used for any private group of worshipers; their

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[1917] 162 §321). Wilamowitz must have nodded when he derived this name from a suburban village "Platanistos (oder wie die Endung lautete)" which he invented (*GGA* 1900, 569f = *Kl. Schr.* 5.1 [1937] 356).

[37] *IMagn.* 215(a).5–7.

[38] E. Maass (above, n.23) 186f.

[39] This thiasus has often been described as a "troop of maenads" (e.g., by Farnell, *Cults* V 193); I am guilty of the same error (*ZPE* 4 [1969] 240). The correct interpretation can be found in LSJ s.v. *Καταιβάται, οἱ*: "members of a thiasos of worshippers of Dionysus" (with reference to *IMagn.* 215). The feminine καταιβάτις is attested in Hellenistic poetry.

[40] I know of no exception. The two Milesian inscriptions (above, n.2) differentiate women's *orgia* from other Dionysiac rites which were open to both men and women. The Bacchic initiation (τελετή) of Skyles was not maenadic (Herod. 4.79). In the *Bacchae*, Kadmos, Teiresias, and Pentheus, though dressed up as maenads for dramatic purposes, never join the maenads of Thebes. (Cf. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* [Stuttgart 1977] 435, on *Bacch.* 460–76: "Hier überlagert sich also der Mythos vom Frauenaufstand mit der Praxis geheimer, geschlechtsindifferenter, auf Initiation beruhender Feiern.") *Bacch.* 115 (as emended by Elmsley) and 135 (in J. Roux's interpretation) must be discounted as evidence for male participation in maenadic thiasi. Naturally women identified as maenads are found in the company of men who participate in nonmaenadic rites for Dionysus (e.g., Eur. *Ion* 550ff; possibly *AP* 7.485 [below, n.122]; maenads in the Bacchic parade of Ptolemy II [below, n.46]; and, apparently, Ennius, *Athamas* 123ff Vahlen = fr. 261 Diehl = fr. 52 Jocelyn). The rare cases in which men donned women's clothes during a Dionysiac *komos* illustrate sympotic practice at "stag parties" but have nothing to do with ritual maenadism (cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [1972] II 345 n.112, 715 n.140 on Lucian *Calumn.* 16, and M. P. Nilsson, *Opusc. Sel.* III 81ff on the Anacreon vases).

worship need not have been maenadic, or even Dionysiac. Thettale, herself a professional maenad from Thebes, will have been the officially appointed "chairwoman"[41] of a Bacchic thiasus of men and, presumably, women who celebrated nonmaenadic revels. The other two thiasi over which Kosko and Baubo presided might have been maenadic, but there is no guarantee that they were. Because of its remote location, the thiasus *πρὸ πόλεως* will have provided the most suitable ambience for maenadic activities.

Being a maenad was a periodic and temporary occupation which did not exclude taking an active part in other forms of Dionysiac cult. As we shall see, the Milesian maenad Alkmeonis in the late third century B.C. was not only the official leader of local maenads but also a public priestess of Dionysus, who had nonmaenadic functions. Bacchic revels of both men and women under female leadership are attested for the Roman Bacchanalia which caused the scandal of 186 B.C. Of Greek origin, this Roman cult was initially restricted to women; very likely it also observed the trieteric periodicity typical of ritual maenadism.[42] Shortly after its introduction from Etruria or Campania, perhaps

[41] The cognates *συνάγειν συναγωγή*, and *συναγωγεύς* were used technically in inscriptions in connection with either the foundation or the regular meetings of professional or religious clubs (cf. Poland, *Vereinswesen* 653 s.vv.; the phrase *συναγαγεῖν τὸν θίασον* recurs in the Milesian inscription of 276/75 B.C. [above, n.2]).

[42] Livy 39.13.8 primo sacrarium id feminarum fuisse, nec quemquam eo virum admitti solitum. tres in anno statos dies habuisse quibus interdiu Bacchis initiarentur; sacerdotes in vicem matronas creari solitas. B. Feyerabend suggests that *biennio* at 39.10.6 and *biennio proximo* at 39.13.14 are vestiges of a trieteric pattern of initiation. (If so, Livy's *tres in anno statos dies* is the result of malicious exaggeration on part of his sources.) One may compare the similar phrase *εἰς διετίαν* in the Iobakchoi inscription: L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* II (1906) no. 46 = *Syll.*[3] 1109 = Sokolowski, *LSCG* (above, n.2) no. 51, line 147; Poland, *Vereinswesen* (above, n.9) 419: "Die Dauer der Amtszeit beträgt . . . in der Regel ein Jahr. . . . Eine merkwürdige Einzelheit ist die ausdrückliche Bestimmung der Iobakchen, dass der Tamias stets auf zwei Jahre zu wählen ist." Apart from the *SC de Bacchanalibus* (above, n.2), the maenads of Magna Graecia survived only in the artistic portrayals found on South Italian vases. A neglected fragment of Aristoxenus of Tarentum reports that around 350 B.C. women of Rhegium and Locri Epizephyrii (both in Bruttium, the provenance of the extant copy of the *SC*) suffered from a temporary mental disturbance which was accompanied by maenadic symptoms and presumably related to Dionysus in general or ritual maenadism in particular (Aristox. fr. 36 Müller = fr. 117 Wehrli[2] ap. Apollon. *Hist. Mirab.* 40): *ἐκστάσεις γὰρ γίγνεσθαι τοιαύτας ὥστε ἐνίοτε καθημένας καὶ δειπνούσας ὡς καλοῦντός τινος* (a divine voice?) *ὑπακούειν, εἶτα ἐκπηδᾶν ἀκαταοχέτους γιγνομένας καὶ τρέχειν ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως*. The cure prescribed by the Delphic oracle consisted in the singing of paeans during spring-time. The mysterious voice which unbalanced the women, and their sudden and

around 187 B.C., the maenadic pattern was converted to a wild Bacchic ritual of wine and sex orgies in which young men mingled with Roman matrons in maenadic gear.[43] The Roman senate intervened promptly and placed Bacchic cults throughout Italy under Roman supervision: worshipers of both sexes were allowed to meet jointly in very small groups provided that only women were admitted to the priesthood and that they outnumbered men in each congregation.[44] In the eyes of the Roman authorities, Bacchic rites were clearly women's business. But at the same time Rome recognized other nonmaenadic forms of Dionysiac cult which had many followers in the Greek-speaking regions of Southern Italy.

No such perversion is likely to have occurred in the Magnesian cult. But the Roman Bacchanalia remind us that Dionysus could occasionally release his faithful from the strictures of conventional morality. Perhaps something more should be said about maenads and the opposite sex, or maenadism and sex. The satyrs of myth and folklore are in a permanent state of sexual arousal: the satyr plays and vase painters leave us in no doubt about their animalistic desires. The maenads use their thyrsi and snakes to ward off the sexual attacks of the satyrs, or become the unwilling victims of satyric lust when caught with their defenses down. Were the maenads of Dionysiac cult similarly, or even more actively, involved with male companions? Pentheus in the *Bacchae* is convinced that they were, but the first messenger is at pains to defend their honor. We do not know enough about the real maenads of Euripides' own time to decide if their behavior gave cause for complaint. Doubt about the morality of the maenads was presumably not so much a real issue in fifth century Athens or Macedonia as an invention of Euripides or Aeschylus as playwrights who exploited it as a dramatic foil for Pentheus' own prurient curiosity, which precipitated his downfall. The sources are unanimous that maenadic thiasi were led by women, never by men. Occasionally Dionysus himself is hailed as the "leader of the

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agitated escape from their normal way of life, highlighted by the "Bacchic verb" πηδᾶν (J. Roux [below, n.53] II 355), have close parallels in *Bacch.* 1078–1094. The Delphic cure is similar to the homeopathic treatment which the Proetids received from the prophet Melampus (E. Rohde, *Psyche* [above, n.7] II 51f; *ZPE* 14 [1974] 300f).

[43] Livy 39.13.12 matronas Baccharum habitu crinibus sparsis cum ardentibus facibus decurrere ad Tiberim.

[44] *CIL* I² 581 (above, n.2) line 7, Bacas vir nequis adiese velet (certain exceptions were made); 10, sacerdos nequis vir eset; 19f, homines plous V oinvorsei virei atque mulieres sacra ne quisquam fecise velet, neve inter ibei virei plous duobus, mulieribus plous tribus arfuise velent.

swift maenads."[45] a role which was both real and ideal, depending on how strongly a maenad felt about the cultic epiphanies of the god. The satyrs of myth did not intrude into Dionysiac cult except when the mythical entourage of Dionysus was artificially revived, for instance in the Bacchic pageant staged by Ptolemy II in Alexandria, or during the Bacchic reception which the Ephesians gave Mark Antony when he made his entry as the New Dionysus, or in the masked dances in honor of Dionysus which became fashionable in Asia Minor in the imperial period.[46] But on occasions like these, the fake satyrs lacked the active wantonness of their mythical models, and their female companions in maenadic costume had nothing to fear.

The true maenads of cult also seem to have enjoyed some measure of public protection. Plutarch makes this point in the most charming of his stories about maenads.[47] He tells us how one night in the winter of 354/353 B.C. the Thyiads of Delphi, astray and exhausted, fell asleep in the marketplace of Amphissa, a town then in a state of war and full of soldiery. The women of Amphissa formed a protective wall around the sleeping maenads. When they woke up, they gave them food and obtained the leave of their husbands to see them safely across the border. This story, whether true or not, throws an interesting light on the social status of Hellenistic maenads and on the public attitude toward maenadism: the rites of official colleges of maenads such as the Delphic Thyiads were not offensive or suspicious in the public eye; their madness, whatever its nature, was not infectious; the freedom of movement which they enjoyed during their ritual formed a marked contrast to the seclusion of ordinary women. It would be hazardous to vouch for the virtue of every maenad in the Hellenistic period. But unlike other forms of Dionysiac religion which encouraged occasional license, the rites of the maenads were *orgia* in the ritual sense but not orgies in the modern pejorative sense of that term.

The inscription from Magnesia is an important document for the history of maenadism not only in Ionia but also in Thebes. Without it, we could not be so sure that maenadism was ever practiced in the home town of Dionysus. Nothing illustrates more drastically how little we know about Greek maenads. In myth, Thebes is *the* stronghold of

[45] *Brit. Mus. Inscr.* 902 (Halicarnassus, third century B.C.) *θοᾶν ληναγέτας Βακχᾶν.*

[46] Athen. 5.27ff (197e ff) = Callixenus of Rhodes *FGrHist* 627; Plut. *Ant.* 24; Lucian *Salt.* 79. In the *Bacchae*, satyrs are mentioned only once (130), in the course of an aetiological digression.

[47] Plut. *Mul. virt.* 13 (249EF); cf. P. A. Stadter, *Plutarch's Historical Methods: An Analysis of the Mulierum Virtutes* (1965) 79f.

maenadism; the three daughters of Kadmos are the most prominent mythical maenads, who seem to belong to an older stratum of Dionysiac myth than the three Proetids or the three Minyads. But evidence for actual maenadism in Thebes is scarce. According to three Hellenistic inscriptions, a trieteric sacrifice in honor of Dionysos Kadmeios was held in Thebes at the festival of the Agrionia.[48] The "wild" name of the festival, in combination with the trieteric periodicity of the sacrifice, strongly suggests a maenadic ambience. Surprisingly, Pausanias, otherwise an expert on local cults, has nothing to say about Theban maenads, although he visited the sacred precinct of Semele in Thebes. Pausanias' silence on the subject of Theban maenadism could be interpreted to signal its decline, or disappearance, at some time between 150 B.C. and A.D. 150. The same Pausanias, however, is the only ancient author who claims that he actually saw real maenads, and perhaps even talked to them. For he tells us elsewhere, in his book on Phocian cults (10.4.2f), that he learned from the Thyiads in Athens why the village of Panopeus was called *καλλίχορος*, "with fair dancing grounds," in Greek epic. The Thyiads, Pausanias explains, were Attic women who joined their fellow maenads in Delphi every other year to celebrate maenadic rites on Mt. Parnassus, and who held maenadic dances along their slow way from Athens to Delphi.[49]

## II. Ino, the Archetypal Maenad

It is no accident that the maenads whom the Magnesians imported from Thebes were three in number. The three Theban maenads are the ritual counterpart of Kadmos' three daughters, an indication of a close

[48] L. Robert, *BCH* 59 (1935) 193–198 = *Opera Minora Selecta* I (1969) 261–266; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed. 1968) 309f no. 4 and 314f no. 10a; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972) 194 nn.21 and 23. B. Feyerabend reminds me that the Theban *θυσία τῶν τριετηρίδων* (mentioned in the Amphictionic decrees *Fouilles de Delphes* III 1 no. 351, last quarter of third century B.C.) confirms Diod. 4.3.2, *τοὺς μὲν Βοιωτοὺς . . . καταδεῖξαι τὰς τριετηρίδας θυσίας Διονύσῳ* (below, section III). All three inscriptions, and Hesych. *α* 788, connect the Agrionia in Hellenistic Thebes with an *agon* performed by the Artists of the Nemean and Isthmian Games, which were trieteric: if maenads took part in the Agrionia, ritual maenadism was already interfused with popular entertainment for *pasa polis*.

[49] Documentation for maenadism at Delphi ceases in the last quarter of the third century B.C. when Aristoneus wrote his Paean to Apollo (J. U. Powell, *Collect. Alex.* p. 163, v. 37, *τριετέσιν φαναῖς Βρόμιος*) and resumes more than three centuries later when Plutarch's learned friend Klea served as *archeis* ("head maenad") of the Delphic Thyiads. The ubiquity of the cult of Dionysus in the

correspondence between local Dionysiac myth and ritual in Hellenistic Thebes. The triple organization of the maenads in actual cult is not attested for any other place and may have been a Theban specialty.[50] Theban provenance was apparently recognized as a mark of good maenadic breeding: the Magnesian maenads were "of the race of Kadmeian Ino," that is, native women of Thebes. On Tenos, too, Thebes was regarded as the home of ritual maenadism: in a fragmentary tomb inscription found on the island, a "maenad of wild Bromios" (*θυσσάδος ἀγροτέρου Βρομίου*) participates "in the rites of the girl from the race of Agenor," Ino's paternal grandfather (*ἐν τελεταῖσιν Ἀγηνορίδ*[ος]).[51] Nothing in the *Bacchae* explains why Ino should have been more prominent than her two sisters.[52] In the *Odyssey* (5.333ff), however, she is equated with the marine goddess Leukothea, and in actual cult she was widely worshiped under the double name of Ino-Leukothea.

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Hellenistic period suggests that Delphic maenadism did not become defunct during that interval but continued without serious interruption, though demonstrably not without some changes, from preclassical into Roman times.

[50] Contrast E. R. Dodds on *Bacch.* 680: "This triple organization is also attested for Rhodes (*IG* xii.1.937), and was probably universal." Dodds was wrong. *IG* 12.1.937 (Lindos; first century B.C.) mentions a *κοινόν* of worshipers of Dionysus, Athena and Zeus Atabyrios — a triple division, but one which is neither maenadic nor exclusively Dionysiac.

[51] *IG* 12.5.972 (second century A.D.) = Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 871 as restored by Wilamowitz, *Glaube* (above n.7) II 374. Ino is *Ἀγηνορίς* at Opp. *Cyn.* 4.237; in Euripides' *Ino* (Hyg. *Fab.* 4.2) and in Nonnos *D.* 9.285ff she introduces maenadic rites to the Delphic Thyiads. According to Wilamowitz, the three maenads from Thebes, and Isia, the maenad from Tenos, claimed direct descent from Ino (did he construe *θυσσάδος* with *Ἀγηνορίδος*?). But Ino's two sons did not survive their mother; their premature death signaled the end of that lineage. In the Magnesian inscription (v. 10 *αἳ γενεῆς Εἰνοῦς ἄπο Καδμηείης*), connect *Ἰνοῦς . . . Καδμηείης*, as in Nonnos *D.* 21.181f *Καδμείην . . . Ἰνώ* and *D.* 44.58 *Καδμηὶς Ἀγαύη*, but contrast *D.* 46.296 *Καδμείην . . . γενέθλην* ("the Thebans").

[52] Modern scholars have found a plausible explanation; cf. W. F. Otto, *Dionysus* (above, n.7) 72f and 174; H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (above, n.7) 340ff. Otto thought that Ino, "a goddess of the element of moisture," was drawn into the circle of Dionysus "because she was related to him in the essence of her nature" (an explanation which would also fit the nonmaritime but nymph-like Ino-Leukothea from Thessaly); Jeanmaire, too, suggests that Ino's pre-Dionysiac characteristics, including her association with the wet element, predestined her to become "la nourrice par excellence de Dionysos" and "le modèle des Bacchantes dionysiaques." The curious dedication of imperial date to *deae Semelae et sororibus eius deabus* (*CIL* XIII 2.8244) is the result of religious syncretism with the Celtic *Deae Matres* and does not detract from Ino's special status.

A Hellenistic dedication from Melitaia in Thessaly is addressed to Ino as a general protectress of domestic wealth. Sophron, son of Lysander, commissioned two sculptors to make a statue of the goddess, which he dedicated to her with the following epigram:[53]

δημότις, ὦ Βάχχοιο τιθηνήτειρα, καλιὴ
Σώφρονος· ἀλλ' ἔμπης ὥς τις ἀπὸ κτεάνων
πολλῶν, λευκόζωνε, τόδε βρέτας ὤπασεν, Ἰνοῖ,
υἱὸς ὁ Λυσάνδρου κεκ‹ρ›ιμένον χάρισιν.
οὕνεκεν, ὦ δέσποινα, τεὰς ἀνὰ χεῖρας ὕπερθε
οἴκου καὶ κτεάνων Σώφρονος ἀὲν ἔχοις.

Sophron's hut is that of a commoner, dear nurse of Bacchus. But like a rich man, Lysander's son nonetheless gave this graceful[54] image [to you], Ino of the white girdle. Therefore, Lady, may you always hold your hands over the house and possessions of Sophron.

Three skillful distichs address the divine recipient, describe the gift, and end with a personal prayer for domestic bliss. They are preceded and followed by prosaic data which furnish the names of the dedicant, of the holder of the shrine's priesthood, and of the two craftsmen who sculptured the image of the goddess.[55] Like many other dedications in verse, the poem throughout reflects the reciprocal piety of *do ut des:*

[53] T. G. Spyropoulos, *Arch. Deltion* 25 (1970) chron. 240 and pl. 211a (ed. pr.); J. Pouilloux in J. Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes* II. Bibl. Fac. Lettr. Lyon 21 (Paris 1972) 634; J. and L. Robert, "Bull. épigr." 1973, 236; W. Peek, *Philol.* 117 (1973) 66–69 (whose text I follow, except for *Ἰν*[ώ] in verse 3).

[54] I adopt Peek's emendation of *ΚΕΚΛΙΜΕΝΟΝ*. He translates "durch Anmut ausgezeichnet."

[55] Most dictionaries, ancient and modern, insist that *βρέτας* is a *wooden* image of a deity; it has even been suggested that *βρέτας* and "Brett" are etymological cognates (K. Meuli as reported by R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 9 [1972] 84, and in K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* [1975] II 1051). In actual usage, however, *βρέτας* was a rare and mostly poetic term for any divine image; like *ξόανον*, it was usually used regardless of material. Some *βρέτη* are known to have been made of wood, most notably that of Samian Hera (the *ἄξοος σανίς* of Callimachus fr. 100.2), and the old statue of Athena Polias carved out of olive-wood (the *ἄγιον . . . βρέτας* of Aristophanes *Lys.* 262). But at least one famous *βρέτας* was chryselephantine: the statue of Olympian Zeus by Phidias which is called *ἄγαλμα* in Pausanias 5.10.2 and *ξόανον* in Strabo 8.3.30 (353) but *θῶγιον βρέτας* in Callim. fr. 196.29. Cf. Peek (above, n.53) 67 n.1: "*βρέτας* könnte gesuchter Ersatz für *ἄγαλμα* (*εἰκών*) sein, wenn das Wort sonst auch erst in späterer Zeit so gebraucht wird." (He quotes examples from the imperial period, but the usage is clearly Hellenistic.)

a man of modest means (at least so he claims) makes an expensive gift of a custom-made statue, doubtless of Ino-Leukothea, in expectation of her favors.[56]

The talented but anonymous author of the epigram has been plausibly identified as Theodoridas of Syracuse, who is known to have written for Thessalian clients in the second half of the third century B.C.[57] To mark the traditional contrast between the lavish gift and the dedicant's humble status, the poet has chosen words which are singularly appropriate. Two earlier Hellenistic poets, Perses and Callimachus, used the antithesis of μεγάλα and δημότερα to express the difference between rich and poor;[58] and καλιή, which tends to occupy the final position in hexameters, connotes both poverty and generous hospitality, as in Callimachus' *Hekale* and perhaps also in his aition about the reception which poor Molorchos gave to gluttonous Heracles before the hero's victory over the Nemean lion.[59]

Although the dedicant and also the priest of her cult in Melitaia were both men, Ino retained much of her feminine status. She is still the "Nurse of Bacchus," and the additional titles λευκόζωνος and δέσποινα confirm her role as foster mother, which is unknown to the authors of

[56] The prayer to return the favor is conventional (e.g., *AP* 6.42.6 καὶ ἀντιδιδοὺς δὸς πλέον ὧν ἔλαβες, *AP* 6.152, 209, 238), and the beginning of verse 6 is echoed in *AP* 6.155.6 (Theodoridas; dedication to Apollo) οἴκου καὶ κτεάνων χεῖρας ὕπερθεν ἔχων. The plea for divine protection is phrased in words which are formulaic: in addition to the texts listed by Peek (above, n.53) 68, cp. *Iliad* 5.433 χεῖρά θ' ὕπερθεν ἔχεις and Konon, *Dieg.* 49.2 (*FGrHist* 26 F 1), Ἀπόλλων τόξον αὐτῶν ὑπερανασχών (contrast Ap. Rhod. 4.1709; see Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 7.19–21).

[57] Peek (above, n.53) 68f. His ascription is based on the verbal echo in *AP* 6.155 (preceding note), and on various similarities of style (add Theodoridas' tendency to repeat the name of the dedicant — his client — within the short space of three or even two distichs; cf. *AP* 6.155 and 157).

[58] Callim. fr. 228.71f (with Pfeiffer's reference to Perses *AP* 9.334.2ff μὴ μεγάλων δὲ γλίχου· / ὡς ὅ τι δημοτέρων δύναται θεὸς ἀνδρὶ πενέστῃ / δωρεῖσθαι, τούτων κύριός εἰμι Τύχων [cf. Men. *Aspis* 147f Sandb.]).

[59] Callim. fr. 263.3 φιλοξένοιο καλιῆς, of Hekale's house which was poor but hospitable (Pfeiffer on fr. 231.2, 252, 292, 525). Nonnos, a keen imitator of Callimachus, narrates how Dionysus was entertained by the poor mountain dweller Brongos: Βάκχον ἀνὴρ ἄγραυλος ἐρημάδι δέκτο καλιῇ / Βρόγγος (*D.* 17.39f), and goes on to describe the rustic meal which Brongos served, with explicit reference to Molorchos' reception of Heracles (17.51ff, cf. Callim. frs. 54–59; F. Solmsen, *Kl. Schr.* 1 [1968] 235–238, and P. J. Parsons, *ZPE* 25 [1977] 43f). In Plato and Xenophon, and in Hellenistic prose, δημοτικός is used occasionally in combination with πρᾶος and φιλάνθρωπος (cf. LSJ); its poetic synonym δημότις in itself thus serves to reinforce the notion of generous hospitality in καλιά.

the *Odyssey*, the *Theogony*, and the *Ehoiai*,[60] as well as to Euripides in his *Bacchae* and, presumably, his *Ino*. But according to Pherekydes of Athens, Ino received the divine child from the Dodonean nymphs who were the original *Διονύσου τροφοί*.[61] In extant literature, however, it is not before Ovid that Ino has become fully established as nurse of Dionysus.[62] Since the epigram from Melitaia antedates Ovid by more than two centuries, its mythological reference helps to reduce the gap between Ovid and his Hellenistic sources.

Ino's epithets *δέσποινα* and *λευκόζωνος* suit her remarkably well. *Δέσποινα* was a common title of goddesses who presided over animal life, vegetation, and the productive forces in nature, for instance of Artemis, Demeter, Kybele, and various nymphs.[63] The girdle, *ζώνη*, was a symbol of virginity and motherhood; *βαθύζωνος* is an epic epithet of Leto and of nymphs, and Hera is called *πορφυρόζωνος* in Bacchylides.[64] But the white girdle has of course been tailored for Ino-Leukothea, the "White Goddess."[65]

[60] Unless one adopts R. Merkelbach's restoration of Hes. fr. 70.2–6 M.–W.

[61] *FGrHist* 3 F 90cd. The respective roles of Ino and the nymphs are reversed in [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3 (28f) 4.3. In Dionysiac myth, the *Διωνύσοιο τιθῆναι* tend to be interchangeable with nymphs (who are by nature *κουροτρόφοι*, see M. L. West on Hes. *Theog.* 347) and maenads (one of whom was Ino).

[62] Ovid *M.* 3.313, 4.421, 524, *F.* 6.485; *AP* 7.384.1 (early first century A.D.) *τροφὸς Ἰνώ*; Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 17 (267E), *τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐτιθηνήσατο*; Paus. 3.24.4f (Prasiai, southern Argolid), *ἀποφαίνουσι μὲν τὸ ἄντρον ἔνθα τὸν Διόνυσον ἔθρεψεν Ἰνώ*; [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3 (28) 4.3; Opp. *Cyn.* 4.237ff; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.4; Nonnos *D.* 9.53 ff., 39.104 f. According to Paus. 3.19.3, the relief on the late-archaic altar at the Amyklaion near Sparta showed among various other gods, and heroes, of fertility, a Dionysiac group composed of Zeus, Hera, Dionysus, Semele, and Ino (cf. M. J. Mellink, *Hyakinthos* [1943] 48ff); but the female figure whom Pausanias identifies as Ino was presumably, in the concept of the artist Bathykles (c. 500 B.C.), a nameless nymph. It remains unknown when Ino inherited her function as nurse of Dionysus. W. F. Otto's assertion (*Dionysus* [above, n.7] 73: "The association of Ino with Dionysus . . . is, without question, age-old"), though difficult to substantiate, is doubtless closer to the truth than the unwarranted skepticism of Wilamowitz (*Glaube* [above, n.7] I 408: "Ob auch sie [Ino] mit Dionysos verbunden war, muss unklar bleiben, weil die Bezeugung zu schwach ist").

[63] *HSCP* 80 (1976) 253–286, esp. 259f and 274.

[64] LSJ s.v. *βαθύζωνος*; Bacch. 11.49; cf. Pind. *O.* 6.39f (of Euadne who is ready to give birth to Iamos), *ἁ δὲ φοινικόκροκον ζώναν καταθηκαμένα*; Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 110.54. According to its editor, the Hellenistic relief from Larisa (below, n.66) shows both Leukothea and the woman before her dressed in a chiton which is *ἐζωσμένος* (but the photograph is too poor to verify his description).

[65] Leukothea's *ζώνη* is not related to the magical *κρήδεμνον* of *Od.* 5.346ff,

Ino-Leukothea, commonly known as a sea goddess, held a prominent place among the deities worshiped in Hellenistic Thessaly and Boeotia. Three other dedications from Thessaly, two by women and one by a man, attest to her popularity.[66] Farnell suggested that her religious function in these inland regions of Greece must have been different from elsewhere and was apparently connected with the fostering of growth in man and in nature.[67] Ino will therefore have been a nymph, and a divine power in her own right, before she became associated with the sea through her fusion with Leukothea. Her prominent role in Theban myth as sister of Semele, foster mother of Dionysus, and archetypal maenad reflects this original identity, which is confirmed by her equation with Mater Matuta, an Italian goddess of birth and growth worshiped exclusively by women.[68]

As usual, the provenance of the stone merits attention within the

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459ff (which Eust. 1544.1 called a *περίαπτον* [see schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.916b] but which F. Ritschl, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 37 [1864] 73ff, esp. 88ff, declined to interpret as a girdle worn around the chest), or to the ritual girdle, whatever its nature, worn by Bacchic initiates (F. Cumont, *AJA* 37 [1933] 256ff; P. Boyancé, *REA* 68 [1966] 45ff), with which it has been compared by J. Roux (above, n.53) II 284 on Eur. *Bacch.* 111–112. The most common ancient derivation connected *Λευκοθέα* with the *λευκὸν πεδίον* in the Megarid (see Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 774); another explanation derived her name from the white foam of the sea (Philostephanus ap. Schol. D(A) *Iliad* 7.86 = *FHG* 3.34 fr. 37; Ovid *M.* 4.530).

[66] *IG* 9.2.422 = E. Schwyzer, *Dial. graec. exempla epigr. pot.* (1923) no. 574.6 (Pherai, third century B.C.), *Ἀγλαΐς Ἱππολυτεία / [Λ]ευκαθέαι.* A. S. Arbanitopoullos, *Eph. Arch.* 1910, 379f and pl. 9 (relief showing woman kneeling and praying before seated goddess) = Schwyzer no. 591.1 (Larisa, early third century B.C.), *Λευκαθέαι / Δανάα Ἀθονειτεία.* Sosipolis, son of Simmias, made a dedication to Leukothea in Thebes of Phthiotis in the fourth or third century B.C. (*Prakt. Arch. Het.* 1908, 175). Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 16 (267 D) mentions participation of both sexes in the cult of Leukothea at Chaironeia.

[67] L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (1921) 36f.

[68] Peculiar practices shared by both cults favored the equation, which was common by the time of Cicero (A. S. Pease on *De nat. deor.* 3.19. 48; Plut. *Cam.* 5.1–2 [131BC]). Roman women prayed to Mater Matuta for the well-being not of their own offspring but of other children (one's sister's children, according to Plut. *Aet. Rom.* 17 [267E], *De frat. am.* 21 [492D], *Cam.* 5.2; *alterius prolem* Ovid F. 6.561). Both Ovid and Plutarch saw the mythical aition for this practice in Ino's role as nurse of Semele's son (above, n. 62) on the one hand and in her own ill-fated motherhood on the other (cf. H. J. Rose, *Class. Quart.* 28 [1934] 156f). Ino is called *φιλόπαις* by Philippus of Thessalonike (*AP* 9.253.6) apparently because she saved Melikertes. An Etrurian sanctuary in Pyrgi variously assigned to either Eleithyia (Strabo 5.2.8 [226C]) or Leukothea ([Aristotle] *Oecon.* 1349b33) may in fact have belonged to Mater Matuta (G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* [2nd ed. 1912] 110).

larger context of the topography of regional cults. Melitaia was not far from the other Thessalian cult places of Leukothea, or from Ino's Theban home and the maenadic mountains of Phokis and Boeotia.[69] Her prominence as an archetypal maenad can thus be understood as the corollary of her worship by Greek women in general.

## III. Maenadism in Hellenistic Cities

Ino, the prominent maenad of myth, was clearly a model for the real maenads of history who claimed descent from her. In other words, the historical maenads made a point of imitating the maenads whom they knew from Greek myth. The ancient concept of maenadism, with its conscious fusion of myth and cult, should warn us against taking Rapp's separation of the historical maenads from their mythical archetypes too seriously. If strictly applied, Rapp's distinction would force us to admit total ignorance about the maenads of actual cult, their existence and their activities, before the time of Alexander the Great; for Alexander's mother Olympias is the earliest historical maenad of known identity.[70] But Rapp went much too far and neglected many important features of Dionysiac myth in archaic poetry and Attic drama which are clear reflections of maenadism as practiced, that is, they are in various ways aetiological. In the Lycurgus episode of the *Iliad* (6.130ff), which recalls the ritual flight and pursuit occasionally found in Dionysiac cult, "mad" (*μαινόμενος*) Dionysus leads an entourage of "nurses" (*τιθῆναι*) whose implements are called *θύσθλα* or, presumably, "things brandished";[71]

[69] In Thessaly, dedications to Ino-Leukothea have been found in Larisa, Pherai, Thebai Phthiotides, and now Melitaia (see above, n.66). In Boeotia, Leukothea received sacrifices and was mourned in Thebes (Plut. *Apophthegm. Lac.* 228E; Ovid *F.* 6.476 Ino as *Thebana dea;* M. P. Nilsson, *Griech. Feste,* [1906] 432 n.4), and had a shrine in Chaironeia (above, n.66). Her official cult name in Thessaly was *Λευκαθέα*, according to the inscriptions. In poetic texts, *Ἰνώ* was preferred, clearly because of its mythical connotations (e.g., *AP* 6.164.1). In a playful mood, Philodemus used both names in the same couplet (*AP* 6.349.1f), thus alluding to her transformation and change of name.

[70] Her snake handling is mentioned by Plut. *Alex.* 2.7–9 (= Orph. testim. 206 Kern). It is doubtful whether *Syll.*[3] 1035 (Lindos, fifth [?] century B.C.). *τὸ Κόχλιος θιάσο* commemorates a maenadic thiasus. If Kochlis was a maenad (as has been suggested), she would be the only pre-Hellenistic maenad of documented historicity.

[71] K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (1975) II 1006f, 1018ff; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (1972) 196–198; G. Aurelio Privitera, *Dioniso in Omero e nella poesia greca arcaica* (1970) 53–74. What exactly the *θύσθλα* were is as obscure today as it was in antiquity (see Schol. D(A) ad loc.).

in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess rushes to greet her daughter "as a madwoman (μαινάς) would dart over a mountain thickly shaded with trees";[72] the mountaintop as the maenadic locus par excellence figures prominently in Dionysiac poems by Alcman and Anacreon;[73] Dionysus as "Raw-Eater" ('Ωμήστας) in Alcaeus suggests some connection with cultic ὠμοφαγία;[74] and the nymphs with torches in the tragedians and in Aristophanes who dance with Dionysus on the Phaedriades high above Delphi, or near the Corycian Cave, are a mythical reminder of the joint mountain dancing of Attic and Delphic maenads.[75] In the *Bacchae* both the "black" maenadism of the Theban women and the "white" maenadism of the maenadic chorus from Asia contain elements that are derived from real cult. Finally, the gradual shift from spooky nymphs to hieratic maenads in Dionysiac scenes in sixth century Attic vase painting, and the gradual appearance of the most typical maenadic implement, the thyrsus, on Attic vases from 530 B.C. onward, would seem to attest the existence of cultic maenadism which influenced the painters.[76]

Unlike modern scholars whose explanations of Greek maenadism focus on the inner drives of the human worshipers or on man's collective religious experience, the Greeks themselves had a much simpler answer, which repays attention. Although this answer was perhaps never clearly enunciated before the Hellenistic period, it is in essence as old as the earliest survivals of maenadism, as our brief review of the early literary evidence has shown. The Greeks understood maenadism as a reenactment of myth and thus as basically mimetic, or commemorative. If the madness of the Proetids was inflicted by Hera, so was that of Dionysus himself; if the maenads were wild and savage hunters, so was Dionysus; if the maenads tore fawns, they did so because Dionysus himself had been torn apart by the Titans.[77] Diodorus (4.3.2–3) claims

[72] N. J. Richardson on *Hymn. Dem.* 386, who echoes Wilamowitz, *Glaube* (above, n.7) II 60. Heraclitus *VS* 22 B 15 (Dionysus) ὅτεωι μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν aims at ritual maenadism as practiced in Ionia c. 500 B.C.

[73] Alcman fr. 56 Page (as interpreted by D. A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry* [1967] 219); Anacreon fr. 357 Page.

[74] Alcaeus fr. 129.9 LP; cf. M. Santoro, *Epitheta deorum in Asia graeca cultorum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collecta* (1974) 143, 304f, and below, n.96.

[75] Aesch. *Eum.* 22ff; R. C. Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 1126ff; J. Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 306ff; K. J. Dover on Aristoph. *Clouds* 603ff; Philodamus, *Dion. Paean* 21ff Powell, and Aristonous, *Apoll. Paean* 37 Powell (above, n.49).

[76] M. W. Edwards, *JHS* 80 (1960) 78ff; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1975) I 236.

[77] Cp., for instance, Harpocr. s.v. νεβρίζων (= Sud. ν 123) with Photius s.v. νεβρίζειν.

to be quoting the universal Greek view when he gives a general account of maenadic rites which reads like the Magna Carta of Hellenistic maenadism: διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν βακχεῖά τε γυναικῶν ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις νόμιμον εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθουσιάζειν εὐαζούσαις καὶ τιμώσαις τὸν θεόν. τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θυσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμνεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμουμένας τὰς ἱστορουμένας τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρεύειν τῷ θεῷ μαινάδας. This fundamental text serves as another reminder of our great ignorance of things maenadic; at the same time it sharpens our understanding of the apparent contradictions between the various types of maenadic evidence available to us.

The passage from Diodorus is part of a Hellenistic biography of Dionysus, which enumerates the main episodes of his life and portrays the god as a cultural hero who traversed the globe and brought civilization to mankind through his invention of wine and viticulture. In the course of his travels, Dionysus returned to Greece after a two-year expedition to India. In commemoration of his return, "biennial sacrifices" (τριετηρίδες θυσίαι) and biennial maenadic rites were established in Greece and Thrace; Dionysus himself was believed to make his epiphanies among men every other year at these occasions. This is the earliest ancient attempt to explain the trieteric periodicity of Greek maenadism as we know it from the *Bacchae* and from many later authors and inscriptions. But like all other ancient and modern explanations,[78] this one too fails to convince: the origin of the trieteric pattern remains obscure. The explanation in Diodorus, though instructive, is worthless, not so much because it perceives cult as a mimesis of divine action but because it confuses myth and history. Diodorus followed earlier mythographers like Dionysius Skytobrachion, who treated Dionysus as if he had been one of those Hellenistic rulers whose military exploits, beneficial achievements, or official visits were commemorated in local cults established in their honor.[79] The terms ἐπιφάνεια and παρουσία in Diodorus belong to the Hellenistic vocabulary of religious as well as political propaganda.[80] Stripped of its pseudo-

[78] See most recently H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (above, n.7) 218f; K. Kerényi, *Dionysos, Urbild des unzerstörbaren Lebens* (1976) 158ff.

[79] A. D. Nock, "Notes on Ruler-Cult I–IV," *Essays* (1972) I 134ff; C. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (2nd ed. 1970) 160ff, 230ff; L. Edmunds, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 363ff esp. 376ff; my own summary in *HSCP* 79 (1975) 110f nn.64–65.

[80] Nock, *Essays* I 80, 154f. The Athenians praised the joint presence of Demeter and Demetrius Poliorcetes in these words: ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν . . . τῇ πόλει πάρεισιν (Anonymus ap. Duris *FGrHist* 76 F 13; cf. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*

historical varnish, Diodorus' emphasis on the god's epiphanies reveals its true significance: for the worshipers of Dionysus, his epiphanies were a seasonal event rather than a timeless experience. The best ancient interpreters of Dionysiac sentiment, Euripides and Horace, understood and expressed how it felt to experience the presence of Dionysus. "Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus vidi docentem, credite posteri,"[81] sings Horace. Much of Dionysiac literature has to do with physical manifestations of the god's presence and power. This is true not only for the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* and for the prologue and action of the *Bacchae* but also for the rare remains of cultic texts. The Elian cult-hymn for Dionysus begins: "Come, ye hero Dionysus . . ." (*PMG* 871), and a curious lyric fragment on papyrus commemorates the annual spring return of the god in these words:[82]

*Διόνυσον ἀ[ύ]σομεν*
*ἱεραῖς ἐν ἀμέραις*
*δώδεκα μῆνας ἀπόντα·*
*πάρα δῶρα, πάντα δ' ἄνθη.*

In the days of holy worship,
let us sing of Dionysus,
after his twelve months long absence:
present are his gifts, all is abloom.

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232f). On *παρεῖναι* in the context of divine epiphanies, see J. Roux on Eur. *Bacch.* 1ff; Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée*, EPRO 49 (1975) 34f.

[81] *Carm.* 2.19; on Horace as *aretalogus* of Dionysus see below pp. 203ff.

[82] *P. Vindob.* inv. 19996aII2 (first century A.D.) = Pack² 1948 = *PMG* 929(b) as explained by W. J. Slater, *HSCP* 80 (1976) 165 n.12 (some scholars prefer the articulation *πάρα δ' ὥρα* [cf. Theocr. 15.103], or the supplement *ἀ[εί]σομεν*). "Evidently from an annual cult-song for Dionysus" (D. L. Page, *Select Papyri* III [1942] p. 393), presumably written for the Ionian-Attic Katagogia/Anthesteria (Nilsson, Slater). The glyconic of the first line is common in cultic poetry (E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* [1964] I 357f, 363 n.4), as are the impure ionics of the last line (Wilamowitz, *Griech. Verskunst* 340f, 343) and the hieratic language of the opening lines: cf. the Attic skolion *PMG* 885.1f *Πλούτου μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν ἀείδω / Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὥραις*; Philodamus *Dion. Paean* 2f Powell *ἠρινα[ῖς ἵκου / ταῖσδ'] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις*; Aristonous 2.1f Powell (p. 164) *ἱερὰν ἱερῶν ἄνασσαν / Ἑστίαν ὑμνήσομεν*; Hipp. *Ref.* 5.9.9 = Heitsch, *Die griech. Dichterfragmente der röm. Kaiserzeit* (1963) 44.3.1, *Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης* (for *ἀείδω*, either immediately preceded or followed by the name of a deity in the opening lines of cult songs, see, e.g., *PMG* 934.1; 935.3; 936.2; Isyllus 37 Powell). The four lines reproduced from the papyrus are introduced by the words *ἀναβόασον αὐτῶι* (cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 639f). In the penultimate line, H. Oellacher's ed. pr. offers a choice of *ἀπόντα* or *ἄγοντα*.

Unlike Rapp, Diodorus did not separate the maenads of cult from those of myth: cultic maenadism, says Diodorus, is an imitation of mythical maenadism. The inscription from Magnesia proved Diodorus right, at least in a general way. But we want to know more exactly how much imitation there was, especially in the area of ritual. The maenads of Diodorus form Dionysiac congregations (βακχεῖα)[83] which are restricted to women, both married and unmarried. The unmarried girls are only allowed to carry the thyrsus and to express their enthusiasm with the ritual cry of *euoi*. Close parallels for all of this can be found in the *Bacchae*.[84] In fact one must constantly bear in mind that Diodorus borrowed his description of maenadism not from a historian of religion but from a bookish mythographer who may have been as much influenced by Dionysiac literature as by observation of real cult practices. Real cult becomes a pressing issue when we turn to the married women among Diodorus' maenads. They seem to enjoy a greater degree of maenadic freedom than the girls: they form troops (συστήματα)[85] which are comparable to maenadic thiasi; they perform Bacchic rites (βακχεύειν), presumably not more than a reference to maenadic dances; they sing hymns about the epiphany of their god much like the chorus of the *Bacchae* and the women of Elis; and, most surprisingly, they are said to sacrifice to Dionysus.

Sacrifices to Dionysus were of course common in antiquity. But the maenads of myth, whether in the *Bacchae* or on the vases, never slaughter and burn a goat or other animal on the altar. The climax of the ritual is more savage, and perhaps a survival from the early times of neolithic or even palaeolithic hunters: they tear a live victim apart and sometimes eat its raw flesh. It is conceivable that Dionysiac myth, whether maenadic or not, preserved the memory of ancient tribal savagery: Pentheus was the victim of maenadic *sparagmos* and his scattered limbs were collected; the hunter Actaeon, wrapped in a deerskin, was torn to death by his dogs, and an image of him was made to

[83] On this term, common in Dionysiac inscriptions, see Poland, *Vereinswesen* (above, n.9) 644 s.v.

[84] Eur. *Bacch.* 694 (with J. Roux's note) and *Phoen.* 655f (Theban maenads) also distinguish between γυναῖκες and παρθένοι, doubtless in imitation of social and religious custom (see Poland, *Vereinswesen* 97 and 404; Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* [above, n.7] 172f). In the hierarchy of ritual, the θυρσοφορεῖν of the girls was clearly preliminary to the βακχεύειν of the women. Cf. Plato *Phd.* 69c εἰσὶν γὰρ δή, ὥς φασιν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετάς, ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί, βάκχοι δέ τε παῦροι, and W. Burkert, *Griech. Religion* (above, n.40) 436 on Diod. 4.3.3: "Alte Formen der Pubertätsweihe dürften gerade in den sexuellen Ritualen weiterwirken; nicht die Jungfrauen, nur Frauen konnten *Bakchai* sein."

[85] Poland, *Vereinswesen* 654 s.v.

soothe their grief;[86] Dionysus Zagreus was dismembered and eaten by the Titans and then brought to life again through recomposition of his body.[87] What seems to underlie these various myths is a tripartite ritual of killing a victim, eating his flesh, and putting together his remains. But Greek ritual tends to mitigate where myth is cruel. The Greeks were no savages, and it is a priori unlikely that the Greek maenads of history should have lived up to the ritual cruelty of their mythical models. Nothing in the available evidence suggests that historical maenads indulged in *sparagmos* or *omophagia*. On the contrary, the sacrifice performed by the maenads in Diodorus appears to be the civilized substitute for the savage sacrifice of maenadic myth: "blood of the goat slain," but not "joy of the raw flesh devoured" (*Bacch.* 138). Compare the elaborate preparation for sacrifice in the strange maenadic poem which found its way into the Theocritean corpus (26.1–9): Ino, Autonoe, and Agaue build several improvised altars on which they place sacred things — but do not sacrifice — before they hunt down Pentheus.

Two maenadic inscriptions from Miletus supplement and correct the unsatisfactory account of Hellenistic maenadism in Diodorus. One of them is an epigram in elegiac couplets of the third or second century B.C. which marked the tombstone of a local maenad and priestess of Dionysus (see plate).[88]

> "τὴν ὁσίην χαίρειμ" πολιήτιδες εἴπατε Βάκχαι
> "ἱρείην·" χρηστῇ τοῦτο γυναικὶ θέμις.
> ὑμᾶς κεἰς ὄρος ἦγε καὶ ὄργια πάντα καὶ ἱρὰ
> ἤνεικεμ πάσης ἐρχομένη πρὸ πόλεως.
> τοὔνομα δ' εἴ τις ξεῖνος ἀνείρεται, Ἀλκμειωνὶς
> ἡ Ῥοδίου, καλῶμ μοῖραν ἐπισταμένη.
>
> Bakchai of the City, say "Farewell you holy priestess." This is what a good woman deserves. She led you to the mountain and carried all the sacred objects and implements, marching in procession before the whole city. Should some stranger ask for her name: Alkmeonis, daughter of Rhodios, who knew her share of the blessings.

[86] W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* 127ff. Add the new *PMich.* inv. 1447 (edited by T. Renner in this volume), an alphabetical list of *metamorphoseis*, which summarizes the Actaeon story as told in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*.

[87] A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos* (PTA 14, 1972) 67–73; M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (1977) 170–190.

[88] Above, n.2 no. 2. Cf. *ZPE* 4 (1969) 223–241; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 9 (1972)

Alkmeonis officiated at two different ceremonies: she led the local maenads to the mountain and took the lead in a public procession in which she carried the sacred cult-objects (ὄργια or ἱερά). Her two functions presumably mark two different events in the Dionysiac calendar. The ὀρειβασία, or mountain dancing of the maenads, was a biennial event which will have taken place on one of the hills or mountains surrounding Miletus. The words "to the mountain' (εἰς ὄρος) must have been used in real cult as a maenadic signal which opened the ὀρειβασία. This same signal occurs several times in the *Bacchae* and also in a pseudomaenadic inscription of imperial date from Physkos.[89] Ritual maenadism in Miletus was restricted to women who formed a public thiasus of which Alkmeonis was in charge. Her role is thus identical with that of the three mythical maenads in the *Bacchae* and of the three imported maenads in Magnesia. Whether she was the only chief maenad or whether she had two other colleagues we do not know. The Dionysiac procession led by Alkmeonis was very likely an annual event which commemorated the return of Dionysus each spring.

Like the maenads of Magnesia, Alkemonis was involved in religious rites which were both maenadic and nonmaenadic. She was an official priestess in the public cult of Dionysus throughout the year, and organized a troop of maenads every other year. An earlier Milesian inscription of 276/75 B.C. confirms these conclusions and provides further valuable detail.[90] The text is a contract for the sale of the priesthood of Dionysos Bakchios designed to guarantee the privileges of the purchaser, who was a woman. Her duties were similar to those of Alkmeonis. She presided over a public thiasus of women which is carefully distinguished from other private thiasi. The detailed regulations of the contract suggest that private thiasi of maenads must have been numerous in and around Miletus, and that they existed long before the public thiasus was established. Every woman could form her own thiasus and enroll other women in it, provided she paid the official priestess a prescribed fee every other year (κατ' ἑκάστην τριετηρίδα). The biennial periodicity of admission shows that the thiasi were maenadic. Women who wished to be admitted into such a thiasus had to undergo certain initiation rites which are not described; the technical

77ff. The stone, which stands *sub Iove* in the Museum Garden, west of Tschinili-Kiosk, in Istanbul, has suffered substantial damage from the weather; eventually the writing will become completely illegible. I owe the exact location, and the photo, to Professor John G. Pedley.

[89] Below p. 155.

[90] Above, n.2 no. 3; *ZPE* 4 (1969) 235ff.

terms τελεῖν and τέλεστρα indicate that some sort of initiation was required.

Another reference to maenadism occurs in the first extant entry of the contract: "Whenever the priestess performs the rites of sacrifice (τὰ ἱερά) on behalf of the whole city, nobody must ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν before the priestess has done so on behalf of the city." This sentence is of capital importance for our knowledge of Greek maenadism in the Hellenistic period. But its meaning is obscured by the puzzling phrase ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν which has eluded explanation. The word ὠμοφάγιον, which is not attested elsewhere, recalls the ὠμοφαγία (Plutarch's term), or Dionysiac diet of raw flesh, first mentioned in the parodos of the *Bacchae* (138f): ἀγρεύων αἷμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφάγον χάριν, sings the chorus in lines which describe Dionysus as a wild hunter. Scholars tend to forget, or deny, that it is Dionysus, and not the maenads, who takes pleasure in this bloody diet. The Dionysus who hunts, kills, and devours his victims raw is the same Dionysus whom Alcaeus knew as Raw-Eater and who seems to underlie a divine figure of Greek myth known as Zagreus, "the great hunter."[91] Despite its obscurity, the Milesian inscription hardly allows the interpretation that the ὠμοφάγιον was eaten by the priestess or other participants in the public sacrifice. In fact the verb ἐμβάλλειν itself proves that the ὠμοφάγιον was a deposit of some sort and either placed before someone or thrown into something. Th. Wiegand, the first editor, suggested that sacrificial animals were thrown into a pit, or βόθρος. R. Eisler and E. R. Dodds compared an exotic and utterly un-Greek case of ritual omophagy in modern North Africa and concluded that the ὠμοφάγιον was thrown from a raised platform into the crowd of worshipers and torn.[92] I find neither suggestion convincing. It seems to me that one has to start from the assumption, already made by Wiegand and others, that the recipient of

[91] Raw-Eater: above, n.74. Zagreus: Dodds and J. Roux on *Bacch.* 1192; below, n.96.

[92] Eissler, *ARW* 27 (1929) 173ff; Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) 276. In other descriptions of actual cult practices, ἐμβάλλειν refers to the depositing of offerings in lakes (Paus. 3.23.8, for Ino; Plut. *Is.* 364F = Socrates Argivus *FGrHist* 308 F 2, for Cerberus); to money deposited in offertory boxes (A. J. Festugière, "Omophagion Emballein," *Class. et Mediaev.* 17 [1956] 31ff = *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* [1972] 110ff); to things placed in sacrificial baskets (Festugière wants to recognize this rare usage in the Milesian inscription); and, perhaps, to sacrifices deposited in βόθροι (both Clement of Alexandria and the scholia on Lucian explain the μεγαρίζειν at the Thesmophoria as ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὰ μέγαρα, cf. *ZPE* 4 [1969] 34). These usages do not seem to explain the practice at Miletus.

the ὠμοφάγιον was Dionysus or, more specifically, Dionysus as Raw-Eater, an epithet under which the god was worshiped in the eastern Mediterranean and which is expressly attested for Lesbos, Tenedos and Chios. He, not the maenads, received the animal or its raw meat as food. Ὠμοφάγος is applied elsewhere in Greek to carnivorous animals, and to monsters, savages, and wild tribes; the verb ἐμβάλλειν followed by the type of food in the accusative is occasionally used to describe the feeding of animals.[93] The alleged omophagy at Miletus was nothing but a peculiar type of Dionysiac sacrifice, whose circumstances and ritual details escape us. The historicity of the sacrificing maenads in Diodorus is thus confirmed.[94] The Milesian maenads will have left the scene of their sacrifice, at the worst, with bloodstained hands[95] and clothes but hardly with raw meat in their teeth and blood dripping from their mouths.[96] Even the ritual drinking of blood was unknown in official Greek cult and restricted to arcane oath-taking ceremonies. The Attic vase painters had no scruples about showing mythical maenads engaged in bloody *sparagmos* but did not paint maenads who ate the flesh of their victims. Neither did the Milesian maenads eat a victim raw; they merely sacrificed raw meat to Dionysus.[97] Contrary to the prevailing view,[98] therefore, the inscription from Miletus does not suggest that

[93] Of horses: Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.27, *Cyrop.* 8.1.38, Plut. *Eum.* 9 (678A); of beasts of burden: Theophr. *Char.* 4.8; of sacred fish: Ael. *Nat. anim.* 12.2.

[94] Above, p. 145.

[95] *Bacch.* 767f, 1135f.

[96] Euripides mentions a diet of raw flesh (ὠμοφάγοι δαῖτες) as a Cretan initiation rite in connection with "night-wandering Zagreus" (fr. 472 N.$^2$ = fr. 79 Austin, in a passage full of textual difficulties). Zagreus, the "great hunter" (above, nn.74, 91), probably shared his prey with his Cretan initiates after the hunt (cf. *Hipp.* 109f; *Bacch.* 1184, 1242). Euripides may have equated Zagreus and Dionysus, another hunter (*Bacch.* 1192); this would explain the obscure reference to omophagy.

[97] In spite of *Bacch.* 736, χειρὸς ἀσιδήρου μέτα, maenads tearing an animal are often shown with swords or knives in late classical, Hellenistic, and Roman art (H. Philippart, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 9 [1930] 41ff, e.g., nos. 99–112, 132, 137–138, 160–161, 163, 168). A recent addition is the maenad who holds a sword in her right hand and a bisected deer in her left hand on the Dionysiac silver pitcher from Borovo, Bulgaria (first half of fourth century B.C.); A. Fol and I. Marazov, *Thrace and the Thracians* (1977) 116. The substitution of tools for bare hands in Dionysiac art supports the conclusion that the mythical *sparagmos* had been replaced by some form of regular sacrifice in actual cult. Agaue herself is referred to as ἱερέα φόνου at *Bacch.* 1114. In later versions of the Zagreus myth, the cultic *machaira* has similarly replaced the *sparagmos* (Henrichs, *Phoinikika* [above, n.87] 67).

[98] For example, Wilamowitz, *Glaube* (above, n.7) II 372 n.2; Nilsson, *Gesch.* (above, n.7) I 156, 572f (who concedes, without comment, "eine gemilderte

ritual omophagy was practiced by historical maenads. This conclusion, based on epigraphical evidence, accords well with what we can glean from other texts: the occasional references to maenadic omophagy in Greek authors are usually mythical,[99] or, where actual cult is at issue, discredited by their own vagueness or antipagan zeal.[100]

## IV. The Maenads of Athens and Delphi

Let us briefly look back on what we have found. The texts which have been discussed so far constitute the bulk of the written evidence for Greek maenadism. It has become obvious that the ritual practice of maenadism was very much subject to regional variation and historical change, and that we know more about Greek maenads in some areas of Greece and in some periods than in others. The existence of ritual maenadism before c. 350 B.C. is not explicitly attested but can be inferred beyond doubt from ritual elements in maenadic myth. But it would be hazardous to venture much beyond this basic inference and to speculate about what exactly the early maenads did, or about their state of mind when they did it. We are much better informed for the Hellenistic period when, according to Diodorus, maenadic rites could be found in many Greek cities and when, according to the inscriptions, maenadic thiasi convened in the Ionian poleis of Miletus, Magnesia, and presumably also Priene. Another maenadic institution of perhaps

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Form der alten Omophagie"); Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (above, n.7) 264f; Dodds, *Bacchae*[2] xvif; most recently F. Cassola, *Inni Omerici* (1975) 11: "L'autenticità di queste notizie [Eur. *Bacch.* 138f (above, p. 150); Plut. *Def. orac.* 417C and Firmicus Maternus *De err.* 6.5 (below, n.100)] è confermata da un'iscrizione milesia del terzo secolo a.C."

[99] For the principal evidence, all of imperial date, see Farnell, *Cults* V 302f, and Harrison, *Prolegomena* (above, n.7) 482ff. References to flesh-eating maenads in earlier authors are very scarce, and merely ornamental (e.g., Ap. Rhod. 1.636, *θυιάσιν ὠμοβόροις ἵκελαι*). In other words, later authors who knew nothing about actual maenadism tended to exaggerate the cruelty of maenadic myth.

[100] Firmicus Maternus (*De err.* 6), in his pseudohistorical interpretation of the Zagreus myth, reconstructs a trieteric Dionysiac ritual on the island of Crete in the distant past, in the course of which the Cretans "vivum laniant *dentibus* taurum" (6.5). This improbable and impracticable detail reveals the author's complete ignorance of omophagy as practiced. The interlocutor at Plut. *Def. orac.* 14 (417C) lists unpleasant *ἑορταὶ καὶ θυσίαι* which take place on certain *dies nefasti* and include *ὠμοφαγίαι καὶ διασπασμοὶ* [practiced by maenads, or by the Raw-Eater?] *νηστεῖαί τε καὶ κοπετοί* [Demeter, and Adonis?], *πολλαχοῦ δὲ πάλιν αἰσχρολογίαι πρὸς ἱεροῖς* [see J. S. Rusten, *HSCP* 81 (1977) 160ff], and concludes with Pindar *Dith.* 2.13f, a mythical description of Dionysiac ecstasy. I cannot accept this passage as an authentic record of actual cult.

even greater antiquity was the joint maenadism of the Attic and Delphic women on Mt. Parnassus. Its existence must be assumed for the mid-fifth century B.C. at the very latest and continued into the second century A.D. when Pausanias saw the Thyiads. [101] From what Plutarch and Pausanias tell us about their ritual, we gather that it was a strange mixture of various old and new components: the old maenadic mountain dancing coexisted side by side with the ritual awakening of Dionysus Liknites, which must have been a Hellenistic addition.[102] But the common concept behind these various rites turns out to be surprisingly coherent and perhaps even quite old when we remember that the earliest mythical maenads were called "nurses of Dionysus," and that the Liknites was a baby in a winnowing fan which served as a cradle. It seems very unlikely that maenadism was ubiquitous in Greek lands, or that in places where it existed admission was invariably open to every woman who wanted to be a maenad: at least in Athens, Delphi, and, perhaps, Thebes maenadism was restricted to selected groups of women; and some of the sacred colleges of women in the worship of Dionysus, like the Sixteen in Elis or the clan of the Oleiai in Orchomenos, were clearly maenadic in origin.[103] My conclusion is simple but significant: there were many local variations of maenadism and their variety is comparable to the many locally different wine festivals in honor of Dionysus.

Even for a place as conspicuous as fifth century Athens we have to admit ignorance: there is no unambiguous evidence for the practice of maenadism within the borders of Attica in the classical period. The long scholarly debate which surrounds the so-called Lenaia vases has been inconclusive mainly because we do not know whether or not maenads participated in Dionysiac festivals in Athens, and if they did, which of these festivals were maenadic and which were not. The Lenaia vases are the only type of Attic pottery on which maenads are engaged in a real ritual. They show women who are dressed like maenads in ritual celebration before an idol of Dionysus which consists of the god's mask suspended from a wooden pole or a tree. On vases dating from the second half of the century, the maenads surrounding the mask idol ladle wine from larger containers (stamnoi) into smaller drinking vessels (skyphoi), but are not shown drinking from them themselves.[104] August

[101] Above, end of section I.
[102] Nilsson, *Dionysiac Mysteries* (above, n.7) 38–45.
[103] Rapp (above, n.1) 5–8; Burkert, *Homo Necans* 195ff.
[104] A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed. 1968) 30–35 (with pls); Burkert, *Homo Necans* 260ff.

Frickenhaus in a classical study[105] assigned these vases to the *Λήναια*, a Dionysiac festival in January named after the *λῆναι*, female worshipers of Dionysus who originally may or may not have been maenads. Apart from dramatic contests, however, nothing is known about the rites of this festival, and Frickenhaus' assignation conveniently filled the gap. But why should the ladling of wine have been so prominent during a mid-winter ritual? The new wine of the previous harvest was formally broached and consecrated about a month later, in March, on the first two days of another festival of Dionysus, the Anthesteria. Therefore it seems a much more attractive suggestion to assign these vases to the Anthesteria, as Nilsson and other scholars have done. But the trouble with this approach to the problem is that maenads are conspicuously absent from the abundant written documentation which we have for the Anthesteria. A college of fourteen women who were called "honorable ones" (*γεραραί*) played a leading role in some of the ceremonies. Although they are not said to have distributed the new wine, they certainly oversaw the collection of leftovers after the drinking match was over. Only the Lenaia vases suggest that the *γεραραί* may have dressed or danced like maenads. If they were maenadic, their maenadism was limited to a single event and even a single day in the Athenian calendar, but the possibility would remain that they could have been connected or even identical with the troop of Attic maenads who were sent to Delphi in alternate years. But to look for authentic portrayal of ritual in vase painters is methodologically as questionable as to read Euripides as if he were a historian of religion. In Greek art and poetry, myth tends to prevail over ritual. I therefore incline to think that the so-called Lenaia vases were in fact inspired by the wine ritual of the Anthesteria, but that in the absence of other evidence the vases cannot be accepted as proof that the *γεραραί* were maenads or acted like maenads. There will have been nothing more desirable for a fifth century vase painter with a preference for Dionysiac themes than to add a colorful though unauthentic touch of maenadism to a Dionysiac wine festival in which a college of women monopolized part of the actual ritual. Greek religion is largely a conglomerate of local cults, and the history of Greek religion is basically a history of the changes of these local cults under the impact of political events, of social reorganization, and of new religious concepts. There is nothing improbable in the view that Attic women who were sent to Delphi to act as maenads were neither expected nor allowed to exhibit their maenadic skills at any of

[105] *Lenäenvasen* (72nd Winckelmannsprogramm, 1912).

the Dionysiac festivals in Athens, even though the name of the Lenaia may have preserved the distant memory of a time when maenads roamed the hills of Attica.

## V. Maenads without Maenadism

The gradual demise of maenadism began in the Hellenistic period and was apparently complete by the third century A.D. Poetic descriptions of maenads and their rites continued to be written by skillful poets like Nemesianus and Nonnos, but no author later than Pausanias shows any knowledge of real maenads.[106] The silence of the stones and the absence of full-fledged maenads from scenes of Dionysiac initiations in Italian art of the late Republic and early Empire confirm this impression. Once the ritual mountain setting and the organization of maenads into local troops under the leadership of a chief maenad were abandoned, maenadism degenerated into Dionysiac carnival and merrymaking. There existed an early trend to separate the maenad from her inherited ritual function and to turn her into a human symbol of the Bacchic mood, comparable to the satyr, Silenus, and Pan, to the vine and ivy, and to the grape cluster or the mask which were similarly used as interchangeable decorations in Dionysiac art and in Bacchic cult.

Nothing illustrates the sorry state of maenadism in the second century A.D. better than two inscriptions set up by private Dionysiac clubs which had both men and women as members. The first inscription comes from Physkos in Lokris and records the cult law of a thiasus whose male members are called "herdsmen" (βουκόλοι)[107] and the female members "maenads."[108] The law is almost exclusively concerned with the financial contributions which the club members are required to make. Apart from the entrance fee, the law lists various fines for rowdiness, for failure to attend meetings, and for other omissions, one of which is the following (lines 16–17): "Someone who does not join the others on the mountain (εἰς ὄρος) shall pay five drachmas to the

[106] Epiphanius *De fide* 12.1 Holl (= T. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae* [1924] 608), in a remarkable account of pagan cult practices in Roman Egypt, condemns the orgiastic rites of Memphite and Heliopolitan χορίτιδές τε καὶ τριετηρί⟨τι⟩δες, women who may have been maenads, or else adherents of indigenous Egyptian cults seen through Greek spectacles (cf. Herod. 2.48f).

[107] Because they worshiped the bull-god (Dionysos Tauros).

[108] Above, n.2 no. 5.

association." The ὀρειβασία of ritual maenadism had become a routine mountain picnic for men *and* women, and participation was apparently so irregular that it had to be made compulsory under pain of penalty.[109] The women of Physkos were maenads in name only. But at about the same time some thirty miles east of Physkos the Thyiads of Delphi had not yet abandoned their old macnadic ritual. The regional pattern of Greek cult tolerated the coexistence of old and new forms of Dionysiac worship in close proximity.

In a different corner of the Roman empire, in a place near Tusculum in Latium, there existed a large Dionysiac congregation around the middle of the second century. An inscription lists the names of its many members and their various ranks in the hierarchy.[110] Among the twenty-six different titles are not only "herdsmen" (βουκόλοι), "archherdsmen" (ἀρχιβουκόλοι), and "holy herdsmen" (βουκόλοι ἱεροί), but also female and male "archbacchanals" (ἀρχιβασσάραι and ἀρχιβάσσαροι) and "bakchai of the girdle" (βάκχαι ἀπὸ καταζώσεως). As in Physkos, the old names for the maenads had become mere titles in an inflated hierarchic bureaucracy, and the separation of the sexes which was *de rigeur* in ritual maenadism had been given up, presumably in the interest of social and sexual emancipation.[111]

Cult laws from the imperial period are, more often than not, disappointingly jejune and reticent, particularly about cult and other non-administrative aspects of religion. If we want to recapture something of the disguise, romanticism, and escapist mood which pervaded Dionysiac clubs of that time and which is reflected in the Dionysiac art of the late Republic and of the Empire, we must turn to more picturesque and, perhaps, less factual accounts of Bacchic festivals. The most memorable of them is Tacitus' description of the Dionysiac "garden party" at which Valeria Messalina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, and her lover C. Silius entertained distinguished guests, presumably

[109] Although it is nowhere stated expressly that the two groups of "maenads" and "herdsmen" performed their ritual together, it is clear from the context that the indeterminate ἐὰν δέ τις in line 11 and the masculine τὸν δὲ κατὰ σύνοδον μὴ συνελθόντα in lines 13–14 refer to both sexes and that the phrase [ὃ δὲ] κεῖς ὅρος μὴ συνελθών includes, *a fortiori*, women too. The *oreibasia* in Roman Physkos was a joint affair.

[110] Above, n.2 no. 4.

[111] The feminist movement in the Classics has so far neglected to study ritual maenadism from its particular viewpoint. Sarah P. Pomeroy's recent survey *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (1975) is generally disappointing on women's cults and all but silent on the maenads, who do not appear in the index (but see pp. 113 and 143).

on the grounds of the imperial palace (*per domum*). The occasion was a mock vintage festival in the fall of 48 A.D. (*Annals* 11.31.2–3):

at Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat. urgeri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsultabant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo thyrsum quatiens iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus gerere cothurnos iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro. ferunt Vettium Valentem, lascivia in praealtam arborem conisum, interrogantibus quid adspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem, sive coeperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit.[112]

Tacitus' account is an inseparable blend of fact and fiction. The concentrated verbal virtuosity of the passage is very Tacitean, but the maenadic highlights are traditional and largely inspired by poetic descriptions of maenadism in Catullus, Virgil, Ovid, and perhaps Republican tragedy.[113] Sacrificing maenads, however, do not belong to the literary stereotype of the maenad but to actual cult.[114] Unparalleled but very likely authentic is the combination of maenadism and vintage festival. Neither mythical maenads nor their cultic counterparts drink wine or harvest grapes. On Attic vases, satyrs gather in the vintage

[112] Cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* (1958) I 348, II 539. Standard commentaries fail to appreciate the historical value of this passage (E. Koestermann [1967] ad loc. copies the antiquarian notes of H. Furneaux [1891] and quotes the memorable prose of R. Syme without much concern for the larger issues raised by Tacitus' Dionysiac *tableau vivant*). But French scholars saw its importance for the religious and cultural history of the period: P. Grimal, *Les jardins Romains*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 155 (1943) 351f; A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater*, same series, fasc. 175 (1953) 184; J. Colin, *Les Études Classiques* 24 (1956) 25–39 (whose conclusions are very speculative); R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages Romains à représentations dionysiaques* (1966) 561f.

[113] *Feminae pellibus accinctae:* Eur. *Bacch.* 24, 111, 136f; Virgil *Aen.* 7.396 incinctae pellibus. *insanientes Bacchae* (μαινάδες): Varro ap. Augustin. *De civ. dei* 6.9 Bacchanalia summa celebrantur insania; Cat. 64.254; Ovid *Metam.* 3.536. *crine fluxo:* Eur. *Bacch.* 150 (with J. Roux's note), 241; Aristoph. *Lys.* 1312; Dioscorides *AP* 7.485.3f; Livy 39.13.12 crinibus sparsis; Ovid *Fasti* 4.457 passis . . . comis, *Rem. am.* 594 fusis . . . comis. *thyrsum quatiens*: Eur. *Bacch.* 80, 240; Cat. 64.256 quatiebant . . . thyrsos. *hedera vinctus:* Eur. *Bacch.* 81; Vell. Pat. 2.82.4 (Mark Antony as Dionysus) redimitus hederis . . . et thyrsum tenens cothurnisque succinctus (cf. Tacitus' *gerere cothurnos*). *iacere caput:* Eur. *Bacch.* 864f, 930; Cat. 63.23 ubi capita Maenades vi iaciunt ederigerae, 64.255 capita inflectentes; Ovid *Metam.* 3.726 collaque iactavit movitque per aera crinem. *strepente . . . choro:* Livy 39.8.8 tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu.

[114] Above, section III.

although maenads are occasionally present; on Roman sarcophagi, satyrs, and Erotes pose as vintagers.[115] Real grape gathering in ancient Greece and Italy was presumably accompanied by Dionysiac songs and antics, and perhaps even by an occasional masquerade;[116] but for all that we know the vintagers did not don the get-up of maenads or satyrs.[117] Messalina's Bacchic festival was an artificial recreation of a rural *vindemia* set against the pseudoreligious background of mythical maenadism. Dionysiac myth was playfully reenacted, which would

[115] Vintaging on Attic black-figure vases: for example, Boston MFA 63.952 and 01.8052 (*CVA* USA fasc. 14 [1973] pl. 12.3 and 24); Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum no. 265 (Beazley, *ABV* 151 no. 22; P. E. Andrias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griech. Vasenkunst* [1960] pl. 55). On the Greco-Roman iconography of the *vindemia*, see F. Matz, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1949, 19–26; F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* I (1968) nos. 8–11A, 13, 16–25, III (1969) no. 178; M. J. Vermaseren, *Liber in Deum*, *EPRO* 53 (1976) 22–27.

[116] The view that the rustic verse, fun, masks, and Bacchic tunes of Virgil *Georg.* 2.385–396 belong to the Vinalia has been challenged by K. Meuli, "Altrömischer Maskenbrauch," *Gesammelte Schriften* (1975) I 251–282 esp. 254 and 259f. J. H. Voss, on *Georg.* 2.385 (*Ländliche Gedichte* III [1800] 404f), painted the *calcatores* of Virgil's time in captivating but untrue colors borrowed from Augustan poets: "Nach der Weinlese im October oder November folgte ein Dankfest, an welchem die Kelterer mit Most geschminkt, andere mit Mennig gerötet, oder in Korklarven, jubelten, auf geölten Stierfellen kopfüber purzelten und sich in Wettspielen übten." (In addition to *Georg.* 2.380ff, compare 2.530f [*certamina*]; Tib. 2.5.85, *oblitus et musto feriet pede rusticus uvas*, not a description of a farmer's face ceremonially painted with wine lees or must [as in Horace *AP* 277] but of his stained body as he works in the wine-press [cf. *Georg.* 2.7f]; and Tib. 2.1.55f, *agricola et minio subfusus, Bacche, rubenti | primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros*, a couplet which does not refer to contemporary practice but to the beginnings of agriculture and to the origins of drama.) Th. Keppel, *Die Weinlese der alten Römer*, Programm Königl. Studienanstalt Schweinfurth 1874, though equally uncritical, is still instructive (esp. pp. 3–10, "Die Weinlese ein Fest").

[117] Longus 2.1–2, a description of vintaging customs on Lesbos in which Chloe is likened to (but does not dress as) a maenad, and the vintagers to satyrs. Similar pagan customs continued in the eastern parts of the Roman empire well into late antiquity according to *can.* 62 of the Constantinopolitan Council of 691/92 (Trullanum II): ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι ψευδῶς ὀνομασθέντων θεῶν ἢ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν γενομένας ὀρχήσεις καὶ τελετὰς κατά τι ἔθος παλαιὸν καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βίου ἀποπεμπόμεθα, ὁρίζοντες μηδένα ἄνδρα γυναικείαν στολὴν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι ἢ γυναῖκα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἁρμόδιον, ἀλλὰ μήτε προσωπεῖα κωμικὰ ἢ σατυρικὰ ἢ τραγικὰ ὑποδύεσθαι μήτε τὸ τοῦ βδελυκτοῦ Διονύσου ὄνομα τὴν σταφυλὴν ἀποθλίβοντας ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ἐπιβοᾶν μηδὲ τὸν οἶνον ἐν τοῖς πίθοις ἐπιχέοντας, ἀγνοίας τρόπῳ ἢ ματαιότητι τὰ τῆς μανιώδους πλάνης ἐνεργοῦντας (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* XI [1765] col. 972).

explain why Vettius Valens climbed a tree, as if he were another Pentheus.[118]

Wine and maenads are an explosive match. In earlier cult, they were kept separate, but their combination in Dionysiac festivities was favored by numerous *bons vivants* of the Hellenistic and Roman aristocracy as a fitting expression of their Dionysiac lifestyle. Valeria Messalina will have inherited her flair for Bacchic ostentation from her great-grandfather Mark Antony. Antonius emulated Dionysus, but rumor had it that Dionysus deserted him when the triumvir's cause seemed lost;[119] Messalina, too, played the maenad, only to come to a bad end. Bacchic impersonation was potentially disruptive and dangerous, especially if it was not controlled by the mitigating mechanism of traditional cult. Agaue and Alkmeonis personify the two opposites of Greek maenadism, the destructive violence of maenadic myth and its cultic realization in innocent ritual. The madness and the happiness demarcate the limits of Dionysus' power, and the choice of his worshipers.

Throughout the Hellenistic period, Greek women in many cities worshiped Dionysus at fixed intervals with orgiastic rites from which men were excluded. The two inscriptions from Miletus which we have studied are the best illustration of this practice. The exclusive nature of ritual maenadism is born out by a Hellenistic inscription from Methymna on Lesbos, where local women worshiped Dionysus in a *pannychis* to which no man had access, not even the *gynaikonomos* officially in charge of their activities.[120] But infinitely more numerous, and more complex, than women's *orgia* was the wide range of Dionysiac festivals, both annual and biennial, which called for joint participation by men and women. Maenads presided over mixed thiasi of men and women as early as the fourth century B.C.[121] In the Hellenistic and Roman period, both sexes met at trieteric public festivals in honor of Dionysus in many

[118] Tacitus' phrase *in praealtam arborem conisum* seems to echo Eur. *Bacch.* 1061, *ἀμβὰς ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαυχένα*. Trees are natural vantage points: a curious visitor to Epidaurus trying to spy on Asclepius climbed a tree and promptly fell down (*Iamata* p. 14.90ff Herzog, *ἐπὶ δένδρεόν τι ἀμβὰς ὑπερέκυπτε εἰς τὸ ἄβατον . . .* ). But would-be prophets, too, climbed trees from which they addressed the crowd below (Antisthenes the Peripatetic ap. Phlegon Trall. *Mirab.* 3 = *FGrHist* 257 F 36 III 11 [= 508 F 2]; *Hist. Aug. Vita Marci* 13).

[119] Plut. *Ant.* 75.4–6; above, n.46.

[120] *IG* 12.2.499 = Ziehen, *LGS* (above, n.42) II no. 121 = Sokolowski, *LSCG* (above, n.2) no. 127 (fourth century B.C.).

[121] At Magnesia ad M.; above, section I.

Greek cities.[122] Because of their greater appeal to a society in which the separation of the sexes was more and more abandoned, the less exclusive rites, both public and private, eventually carried the day and outlived ritual maenadism, which was extinct by the third century A.D.[123]

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[122] Public *trieterides* are attested for Thebes, Scepsis, Pergamum, Priene, and Miletus (all Hellenistic), private ones for Roman Pergamum. Trieteric *Bakcheia* with male participation were held in the city of Rhodes in the second century B.C. (*IG* 12.1.155; Poland, *Vereinswesen* 249 and 260). *AP* 7.473 (Aristidicus of Rhodes; perhaps third century B.C.) commemorates two women who committed suicide when they learned of the death of a male participant in orgiastic rites, presumably Dionysiac (Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams* II 107f). In Hellenistic Amphipolis, or some other town on the Strymon, local maenads danced while a male piper played the flute (*AP* 7.485.5f).

[123] A shorter version of this article was presented as a slide lecture to the Greek Department at Bryn Mawr College on November 12, 1976. I am grateful to several friends and colleagues both at Bryn Mawr and Harvard whose questions and suggestions helped me to clarify my thoughts on this subject.

# HERODAS 5.1

DOUGLAS E. GERBER

HERODAS' Fifth Mime opens with the following angry question by Bitinna to her slave, Gastron:

> λέγε μοι σύ, Γάστρων, ἤδ' ὑπερκορὴς οὕτω
> ὥστ' οὐκέτ' ἀρκεῖ τἀμά σοι σκέλεα κινεῖν
> ἀλλ' Ἀμφυταίῃ τῇ Μένωνος ἔγκεισαι;

This is the text as it is preserved in the papyrus, and except for one word it causes no difficulty. That one word is ἤδ' and the difficulty is its point of reference. Many, seeing no feminine noun in the sentence to which the demonstrative could apply, have emended.[1] Those who retain it have explained it as referring to the κέρκος of v. 45.

This second approach is adopted by Cunningham, the most recent editor of Herodas, who adds that vv. 44–46 indicate that Gastron is standing naked.[2] Cunningham, however, seems to have overlooked the fact that at the beginning of the mime Gastron must be clothed, since in vv. 18 and 20 Bitinna orders Pyrrhies to strip him.[3] One could nevertheless argue that even though Gastron is initially clothed, Bitinna might still be assumed to have pointed to his κέρκος,[4] but I think it most unlikely that Herodas would have used a feminine demonstrative to refer to a noun which does not appear until forty-five verses later. An additional difficulty is presented by ὑπερκορής. In spite of the rich sexual vocabulary of the Greeks, neither this adjective nor any other form of κόρος seems ever to have been used of the penis.

We are left, therefore, with the alternatives of emending the demonstrative or of explaining it in a different way. The emendation which has found the greatest favor is Bücheler's εἶ δ' and there is no doubt that it

[1] A list of emendations can be found in the apparatus to the edition of Headlam-Knox.

[2] I. C. Cunningham, *Herodas, Mimiambi* (Oxford 1971) 148.

[3] Cunningham's statement that Gastron is naked is an incredible blunder, especially since Headlam in his apparatus specifically pointed out that "G. is not yet stripped."

[4] Cf. Cunningham 148: "In recitation the ellipse would be explained by a gesture."

is attractive. It provides an idiomatic δέ, as Headlam-Knox point out, and there are other examples in Herodas where the papyrus shows confusion between ει and η.[5] Emendation, however, may not be necessary, and I shall attempt to demonstrate that the text of the papyrus can be defended.

We have seen that there are serious objections to referring the demonstrative to κέρκος, but if we refer it to γαστήρ, a word which is called to mind by the immediately preceding Γάστρων, these objections are removed.[6] We are no longer faced with the difficulty of the feminine gender, we are now able to see in ὑπερκορής a usage which can be paralleled elsewhere, and we are presented with a thought which is typically Greek, namely, that libido and excessive eating go hand in hand.

To consider ὑπερκορής first, forms of κόρος, as I mentioned earlier, do not seem to have been used of the penis, but κόρος is used of gluttony (e.g., Hippoc. *VM* 14), κορέννυμι occurs frequently in connection with food (see LSJ), and the other instances of ὑπερκορής listed in LSJ all involve eating and drinking.[7]

There are numerous passages[8] which illustrate the view that unless one has a full stomach love is hindered.[9] A few passages go even further and speak of excessive eating or stress the connection between gastronomical and sexual desire. For example, in Men. *Heros* 15–17 Sandbach,

[5] Cf. 2.29, 4.2 (though emendation here is perhaps unnecessary), 5.14, 6.6, and 6.63.

[6] I must admit that I can find no precise parallel for the assumption of one word from another similar word, but even if no parallel in fact exists, I do not think that in this instance at least the assumption presents a serious problem.

[7] Professor Henrichs, however, rightly reminds me that κόρος and its cognates are common in passages which describe the satisfaction derived from sexual intercourse and that therefore ὑπερκορής gives excellent sense with Bücheler's emendation. If, however, emendation can be shown to be unnecessary and if a reference to γαστήρ is legitimate, ὑπερκορής will have the same significance that it has elsewhere. For lists of passages which illustrate the use of κόρος in sexual contexts, see T. Breitenstein, *Recherches sur le poème Mégara* (Copenhagen 1966) 52 n.99, and A. Henrichs, *Die Phoinikika des Lollianos* (PTA 14 [Bonn 1972]) 110 on *P.Colon.* inv. 3328 fr. A 2 recto 14 (Henrichs adds *Iliad* 13.636).

[8] Some of the passages which I quote were adduced by Headlam-Knox or Cunningham, and others can be found in the former. I have elaborated on or added only those which I consider important.

[9] The following passages illustrate the desirability of being well-fed before love can be properly enjoyed, but do not stress excessive eating or a fat stomach: Eur. frr. 322.4 and 895 $N^2$ (for numerous repetitions and adaptations of the latter see Nauck ad loc.), Achaeus fr. 6 Snell, Men. *Misoumenos* fr. 12 Sandbach, Men. *Mon.* 425 Jaekel, Frag. Com. Adesp. 238 K, and Ter. *Eun.* 732.

Getas asks Daos if he is in love and when Daos admits that he is, Getas retorts:

> *πλέον δυοῖν σοι χοινίκων ὁ δεσπότης*
> *παρέχει. πονηρόν, Δᾶ· ὑπερδειπνεῖς ἴσως.*

The verb *ὑπερδειπνεῖς* conveys the same idea as *γαστὴρ ὑπερκορής*.[10] Similar too is Frag. Trag. Adesp. 186 N², *πλήρει γὰρ ὄγκῳ γαστρὸς αὔξεται Κύπρις*, where the addition of *ὄγκῳ* perhaps gives an increased emphasis to *πλήρει*. In Lucian *Timon* 55 a glutton eats and drinks so much that he vomits and finally has to be carried out of the symposium, but he leaves *τῆς αὐλητρίδος ἀμφοτέραις ἐπειλημμένον*. In Athenaeus 8.335b–336a (cf. also 10. 457d–e) the *Γαστρονομία* of Archestratus and *τὸ περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀκόλαστον σύγγραμμα* attributed to Philaenis[11] are said to have been put on the same level by Chrysippus. In 3.116f Archestratus is reported to have sailed round the world *γαστρὸς ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα*. This same combination appears in greater detail in Longus 4.11:

> *ὁ δὲ Γνάθων, οἷα μαθὼν ἐσθίειν ἄνθρωπος καὶ πίνειν*
> *εἰς μέθην καὶ λαγνεύειν μετὰ τὴν μέθην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο*
> *ὢν ἢ γνάθος καὶ γαστὴρ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γαστέρα, οὐ παρέργως*
> *εἶδε τὸν Δάφνιν τὰ δῶρα κομίσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσει*
> *παιδεραστὴς ὤν . . .*

This example is of particular interest since the play on words between *Γνάθων* and *γνάθος* resembles that between *Γάστρων* and the understood *γαστήρ* that I am postulating in Herodas. Finally, the close association between gluttony and sexual desire is clearly revealed in Crates Thebanus fr. 4.4 Diels (= D.L. 6.85), *λίχνος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πυγῇσιν*.

These examples prove the appropriateness of the demonstrative as a reference to Gastron's stomach, but one problem remains, namely, how the reference would be communicated. This brings us to the vexed and probably insoluble question of the kind of performance for which Herodas' mimes were composed. Three views are possible: that they were recited by a group of performers, with one performer for each

[10] Cf. the use of *ὑπερμαζάω* in Alciphron 1.21 and 3.31 Schepers.

[11] On what purports to be the beginning of Philaenis' work see *POxy* 2891 and on Philaenis in general see D. W. T. Vessey, "Philaenis," *RBPh* 54 (1976) 78–83.

character; that they were recited by one person alone; or that they were intended simply for a reading public.[12]

With the first view there would obviously be no difficulty in making clear to what part of the anatomy the demonstrative referred. One performer would simply point to or touch the appropriate part of the other performer's body.

Most students of ancient mime, however, hold the view that only one performer was involved. If this is correct, it might be thought difficult for a single performer to make clear the demonstrative's point of reference, but presumably he could simply make a gesture with one hand and with the other he could indicate on his own body that part of it to which the gesture was intended to refer.[13] Somewhat analogous are vv. 47–49, *τὸ δεύτερόν σοι, Πυρρίη, πάλιν φωνέω, | ὅκως ἐρεῖς Ἕρμωνι χιλίας ὧδε, | καὶ χιλίας ὧδ' ἐμβαλεῖν*. Presumably the performer pointed to his own back with the first *ὧδε* and to his own stomach[14] with the second *ὧδε*, since the speaker is referring to the order given in vv. 32–34, *ἄγ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ ζήτρειον πρὸς Ἕρμωνα | καὶ χιλίας μὲν ἐς τὸ νῶτον ἐγκόψαι | αὐτῷ κέλευσον, χιλίας δὲ τῇ γαστρί*. In view of these verses the audience could doubtless understand the significance of *ὧδε* without the need for any gesture, but it would surely be more effective if gestures were in fact used.

If the mimes were composed solely for a reading public,[15] it might initially be thought difficult or even impossible for the reader to under-

[12] This is not the place for a detailed examination of the evidence concerning the performance of ancient mime. Anyone interested in this will find the evidence discussed together with the appropriate bibliographical references in Cunningham's introduction, especially pp. 15–16. Although I personally am inclined to support the view that the mimes of Herodas were recited in a semi-dramatic fashion by one performer, I am here concerned only with how the use of the demonstrative could be explained according to whichever view is held.

[13] Cf. Ph.-E. Legrand, "A quelle espèce de publicité Hérondas destinait-il ses *Mimes*?" *REA* 4 (1902) 5–35, for the most detailed treatment of the question of performance. On p. 30 he comments as follows on our passage: "Quant à *ἥδε* au vers 1, la présence de ce démonstratif ne suppose pas de toute nécessité un jeu de scène à plusieurs acteurs: au lieu de montrer un partenaire, le récitant, en prononçant ce mot, pouvait représenter ce dont il voulait parler simplement par un geste obscène."

[14] Whipping on the stomach does not seem to have been common in Greece, and the fact that Bitinna orders such punishment for Gastron may offer some slight support for the view that it is to Gastron's stomach that she is referring in v. 1. Dionysus is whipped on the stomach in Arist. *Frogs* 663, but this is the only Greek parallel provided by Headlam-Knox.

[15] The most recent proponent of this view is G. Puccioni, *Herodae Mimiambi* (Florence 1950), who states (p. xi): "Che i mimiambi fossero scritti per essere

stand what the demonstrative represented. But in view of the gender of the demonstrative, its juxtaposition to *Γάστρων*, and the presence of *ὑπερκορής*, I think that a Greek would automatically see a reference to *γαστήρ*. The demonstrative alone is often used in comedy to refer to some part, frequently sexual, of the anatomy, and the influence of comedy on the mimes of Herodas is obvious.[16]

In conclusion, I hope it has been shown that though emendation to *εἰ δ'* is easy and at first glance attractive, it is not necessary. Bitinna is referring to her slave's stomach and she is asking him if it is so over-full that he can no longer be sexually satisfied by her alone, but needs an additional outlet for his passion in Amphytaee.[17]

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rappresentati o recitati io personalmente non credo: ritengo invece che fossero destinati alla lettura."

[16] For this use of the demonstrative cf. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975) 117. He notes that such pronouns "usually indicate comical byplay on stage," but even if Herodas' mimes were not performed, the familiarity of the reader with this use of the demonstrative would aid him in his interpretation of our passage without the presence of any "byplay." For the influence of comedy on Herodas see the introductions to Headlam-Knox and Cunningham.

[17] I am grateful to Michael Haslam, Jeffrey Henderson, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, and William Slater for assistance and advice.

# LUCRETIUS 2.16–2.33

IVARS AVOTINS

LINES 2.16–2.33 of the poem of Lucretius read as follows (Bailey's 1947 edition):[1]

nonne videre
nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi utqui
corpore seiunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
iucundo sensu cura semota metuque?
ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca videmus
esse opus omnino, quae demant cumque dolorem,
delicias quoque uti multas substernere possint;
gratius interdum neque natura ipsa requirit,
si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes
lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
lumina nocturnis epulis et suppeditentur,
nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet
nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa,
cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli
propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae
non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant,
praesertim cum tempestas arridet et anni
tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbas.

In this paper I wish to discuss the following points:[2]

(1) Does line 22 (*delicias . . .*) go with what precedes or what follows, that is, is *pauca quae demant cumque dolorem* the subject of *possint*?

(2) How is the phrase *gratius interdum* (23) connected with its context?

On point one, agreement appears to have been reached. The latest

[1] *Titi Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex*, ed. C. Bailey, 3 vols. (Oxford 1947).

[2] Since the chief interpretations are well-known and easily accessible, I have not repeated them here; the reader will find them in the editions of Lucretius of Bailey (above, n.1), A. Ernout and L. Robin (Paris 1925–1928), W. A. Merrill (New York 1907), C. Giussani (Turin 1896–1898; rpt. with minor additions by E. Stampini and V. D'Agostino, Turin 1923–1959), and H. A. J. Munro (4th ed. Cambridge 1886).

major editions, those of Müller, Büchner, Martin, Bailey, Ernout-Robin, and Diels,[3] all consider line 22 to be connected with 20–21, with the subject of *possint* being the *pauca quae demant cumque dolorem*. This arrangement has much to be said for it, especially since it provides an easy subject for *possint*. However, I wish to argue that both Epicurean doctrine and Lucretian usage are against this punctuation and make it preferable to follow the punctuation, if not the interpretations, of Munro and his predecessors, who placed a full stop after *dolorem* (21) and began a new thought with line 22.

First, the doctrine. If we adopt the prevailing punctuation and take line 22 with 20–21, then the modest needs of nature, the *pauca . . . quae demant cumque dolorem*, will be producing the *delicias multas*. It is difficult to see how simple foods, for example, the traditional Epicurean μᾶζα and ὕδωρ, can do that. They certainly will not be able to supply *delicias multas* if the *deliciae* are understood with Bailey's commentary to be kinetic pleasures in the form of ποικίλματα. Once our hunger and thirst are satisfied, more porridge and water will more likely produce nausea than *delicias multas*.

On the other hand, the adjective *multae* prevents the assumption that *deliciae multae* refers to kinetic pleasure experienced while, for instance, drinking when thirsty. The pleasure felt during the satisfaction of thirst or hunger, although perhaps variable in intensity, seems to be single and homogeneous, rather than many (*multae*). Moreover, Diano,[4] followed by Rist,[5] holds that kinetic pleasure can never precede catastematic pleasure in the same part of the body, that is, all kinetic pleasures are ποικίλματα. Finally, it is obvious that partaking of the plain fare implied in lines 20–21 (or of any food) cannot, in normal usage, be the cause of either the luxuries in lines 24–28 or of the shade and grass in 29–33. It appears then, that the presently accepted punctuation cannot give a satisfactory account of the meaning of *delicias multas*. Moreover, the poet's usage suggests that *deliciae* in line 22 ought to have the precise meaning "luxuries" or "objects of luxury." It has often been observed that in 5.1451 Lucretius specifies the content of *deliciae: carmina picturas, et daedala signa polita*. Now, in our passage, exactly the same luxuries are found after the *deliciae* in line 22: *simulacra* in 24,

[3] K. Müller (Zürich 1975), K. Büchner (Wiesbaden 1966), J. Martin (5th ed. Leipzig 1969), C. Bailey (above, n.1), and H. Diels (Berlin 1923).

[4] C. Diano, "Note Epicuree," *SIFC* n.s. 12 (1935) esp. 253ff, and "Questioni Epicuree," *RAL* 12 (1936) esp. 842ff.

[5] J. M. Rist, *Epicurus: An Introduction* (Cambridge 1972) 109–111 and 170–172.

*picturae* in 35, and *citharae* (*carmina*) in 28. That *citharae* and the specific word *carmina* were conjoined in the mind of Lucretius appears from 4.981: *et citharae liquidum carmen* . . . If the examples given in 5.1451 of the concept *deliciae* appear in close association with the same objects of luxury, it is reasonable to assume that Lucretius is here using *deliciae* in the same meaning as in 5.1451.[6] If so, *pauca quae demant cumque dolorem* obviously cannot be the subject of *possint*. Even the most enthusiastic Epicurean would not have believed that whatever removed pain also provided one with golden statues. Therefore, line 22 cannot go with 20–21; a period must be placed after 21.

The same conclusion is reached if we observe the content of those *ergo* clauses in Lucretius in which *ergo* introduces a logical consequence.[7] There are thirty-one examples of this type of *ergo* clause in the poem.[8] *Ergo* in 2.20 clearly introduces a conclusion derived from lines 17–18, which state that nature clamors only that pain be removed and absent from the body. Lines 20–21 conclude from this that the body's nature needs very little, to wit whatever can take away pain. What is at issue here is, of course, whether line 22, too, is a part of the *ergo* clause. Observation of Lucretius' usage indicates that this is not the case. In the other thirty occurrences of this type of *ergo* clause, the conclusion never brings in information that is not inherent in the preceding context. In the present passage, nothing that precedes line 22 in book 2 so much as intimates that what takes away pain in the body can, or ought to, in addition *substernere multas delicias*.

In lines 17–18 *natura* insists only on the absence of pain from the body. However, if we accept the prevailing punctuation and take 20–22 as a syntactic unit, then the *ergo* clause not only draws a conclusion from the content of 17–18 (in the words *quae demant cumque dolorem* in 21), but also adds a piece of information not found in 17–18. It is quite

[6] Examples of *deliciae* in the meaning of objects of luxury are attested in *Oxford Latin Dictionary* from Lucilius to Martial. On the other hand, there seems to be no example in Cicero or other Latin authors of the use of *deliciae* as an Epicurean *terminus technicus*. In the third and last occurrence of this word in Lucretius, it has the common meaning of being loved or esteemed: *esse in deliciis* (4.1156).

[7] For the various meanings of *ergo* see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford 1971) s.v., J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stylistik* (München 1965) 511ff, and R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* 2.2 (Hannover 1966) 138ff.

[8] Book 1: 364, 445, 526, 538, 619, 964; book 2: 495, 519, 879; book 3: 142, 175, 216, 455, 521, 539, 667, 701, 756; book 4: 84, 159, 540, 560, 607, 806, 949; book 5: 260, 1087, 1186, 1430; book 6: 180, 1246. These examples have been taken from L. Roberts, *A Concordance of Lucretius* (Berkeley 1968).

clear from the Latin of Lucretius, so punctuated, that the *deliciae multae* are not identical with the feeling of ἀπονία which result from the removal of pain. The *quoque* in 22 indicates that we are in the presence, in 20–22, of two pleasures, the banishing of pain as well as the *deliciae multae*. Therefore, the current punctuation produces an *ergo* clause of logical consequence of a type not elsewhere attested in Lucretius. Since a full stop at the end of 21 results in an *ergo* clause normal for Lucretius and yielding very good sense, there seems to be no good reason for adhering to the current punctuation. It must be stressed here that an *ergo* clause including 22 should not be defended by pointing out that the *deliciae multae* in 22 could be derived from, for example, the *iucundo sensu* of the mind in 18–19. Lucretius clearly indicates that lines 20 to 38 are devoted to the body only (*corpoream ad naturam* in line 20 and *nostro in corpore* in 37).

To sum up, a good case has been made for a full stop after *dolorem;* moreover, *pauca* cannot be the subject of *possint*. In consequence, the *uti* in line 22 must be concessive: "although they can also offer many luxuries."

The weakness attaching to a concessive *ut* clause was thought to be the lack of an acceptable subject for *possint*. However, a plausible subject for *possint* is not lacking. Of course, Munro's suggested subject, to wit the golden statues, the house, and so on, is excessively tautological and, therefore, to be rejected. *Deliciae* themselves are the statues, and so on. On Munro's interpretation, they would be the source of themselves.[9] However, no objections attach to the suggestion of Brieger, who takes a generalized *homines* as the subject of *possint*.[10] *Homines* is the subject in lines 9–14. Also, the presence of the notion *homines* in the lines following *possint* cannot be doubted because such a subject is required for the *prostrati* (29) and *curant* (31).[11] The assumption that *pauca* was the unforced and natural subject of *possint* took its origin

[9] This was already pointed out by J. P. Postgate, "Lucretiana," *The Journal of Philology* 16 (1888) 126.

[10] F. Susemihl and A. Brieger, "Kritisch-exegetische Bemerkungen zum zweiten Buche des Lucretius. Erstes Stück," *Philologus* 24 (1867) 422–424. Brieger believed that because of its meaning *deliciae* (1.22), especially since qualified by *multae*, must refer to kinetic pleasure, whereas the pleasure brought about by removal of pain (11.20–21) must be ἐν στάσει. Hence, *pauca* could not be the subject of *possint* (1.22).

[11] G. Müller, *Die Darstellung der Kinetik bei Lukrez* (Berlin 1959) 14, considers that the need for an indefinite subject for *prostrati* and *curant* is one of the reasons why lines 29–33 ought to be considered interpolated. It has been shown above, however, that an independent argument required the same indefinite subject for *possint*. This weakens Müller's case.

from the misinterpretation of *deliciae* and the *ergo* clause. Once Lucretian usage is followed strictly, *possint* naturally looks forward. To sum up this argument, line 22 begins a new thought and a full stop must be placed after *dolorem.*

In the next line (23) the phrase *gratius interdum,* like Delos of old, has floated hither and thither in literature and has yet to be attached firmly to the surrounding context. The number of possible interpretations is reduced if, as has been proposed in the first part of this paper, a full stop is put after *dolorem* (21). Scholars advocating this punctuation have offered two ways of taking *gratius interdum.* Munro assumed that this phrase modified *substernere possint* in 22: "Nay, though more gratefully at times they can minister to us many choice delights" (Munro's translation). Brieger, on the other hand, connected *gratius interdum* with the *si* clause: "gesetzt, dass die Menschen auch viele ausgesuchte Genüsse unterbreiten können, so ist es doch zuweilen angenehmer . . . wenn ausgesuchte Genüsse fehlen" (Brieger's translation).[12]

A third version, not, as far as I know, proposed before, is somewhat similar to Brieger's but has a different emphasis. Brieger interprets Lucretius as saying that for those who are able to live luxuriously it is more pleasant at times to dine more frugally, that is, some variety is desirable. In my version the content of the *si* clause (24–28) is assumed to be essentially equivalent to the statement "if we are not rich." In Brieger's version the *si* clause would refer to temporary and voluntary simplicity in the dining habits of a rich man. In my version the *si* clause expresses the permanent condition of the average citizen — no golden statues, no sheen of gold and silver, no carved ceilings. Nevertheless, nature does not require these luxuries and there are times (*interdum*) when the average man dines even more pleasantly (*gratius*) than the millionaire. One can, then, translate: "Although men may be able to spread[13] for themselves many luxuries, sometimes it is [even] more

[12] Brieger (above, n.10) 423.

[13] David West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius* (Edinburgh 1969) 85, translates *delicias . . . multas substernere* as follows: "Wealth can lay a bed of luxury for a man." I have not followed his English here because it does not, it seems to me, differentiate clearly between the image probably contained in the Latin *substernere* and its rendering in English. In the Latin, rich men can *substernere* for themselves not only a luxurious bed (lines 35–36) but also the dining couch implied in line 26 (*epulis*) as well as *aurea . . . simulacra,* etc. To an English reader unfamiliar with the Lucretian range of meanings of *substernere,* the phrase "to lay a bed" will contain no allusion to dining or sumptuous furnishings.

pleasant — and nature herself does not require [them] — if there are no golden statues of young men throughout the house" (that is, sometimes it is even more pleasant to be poor or average than to be rich). When is it more pleasant (*gratius*)? The answer is supplied by lines 29–33: when we can eat outdoors in good weather, when the grass is green and the flowers are in bloom. The luxuries of nature can surpass those made by man.

The new version agrees better with the thought of Lucretius in 2.1–39. The best guide to the emphasis in lines 22–39 are lines 34–36: a luxurious blanket does not remove the affliction of fever more quickly than a plebeian one or, in more general terms, wealth does not take away the pain of the body more efficaciously than average means.[14] The coordinating conjunction *nec* in 34 indicates that we ought to expect parallelism in thought in what precedes: dining surrounded by luxury ought not to remove the pangs of hunger any better than a simple meal. The new version supplies this parallelism.

Munro's and Brieger's interpretations appear to be less appropriate. Although Munro's version (that luxuries can "more gratefully at times" supply many pleasures) does not contradict the general sense of the passage, in his translation neither the *gratius* nor especially the *interdum* makes any point in the context. Both could be removed without any loss of meaning. Moreover, his version also requires that *neque* in 23 be taken as *non* — not the smoothest and most normal Latin. Brieger's interpretation obviously does not at all agree with what has appeared to be the general intention of Lucretius in this passage: to demonstrate that luxury will not remove pain of the body more effectively. The advice to dine now luxuriously, now frugally, has no relevance in this context, whereas the suggested new interpretation of the Latin of Lucretius expresses the independently postulated meaning of the poet very closely. To recapitulate, the following translation in outline of lines 22–33 is suggested: "Although men may be able to spread for themselves many luxuries, sometimes it is [even] more pleasant — and nature herself does not require [them] — if there are no golden statues of young men throughout the house . . . since they can nevertheless pleasantly refresh . . . their bodies . . . in the right season."

My interpretation has another advantage, perhaps minor, over that of Brieger. The advice to the rich man that dining frugally is at times

[14] The importance of these lines for the interpretation of the thought of the whole passage was pointed out by K. Büchner, "Die Prooemien des Lukrez," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 11 (1950) 179 ( = *Studien zur römischen Literatur* I [Wiesbaden 1964] 73).

more pleasant would then be expressed somewhat awkwardly: it is more pleasant from time to time not to have golden statues and carved ceilings throughout the house. When the master does not want them, are they then removed or covered? This awkwardness of expression is absent if we take *si non sunt . . . per aedes* as meaning that these luxuries are never in that house — its master cannot afford them.[15]

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[15] This paper has been greatly improved through discussion with Miriam Avotins. In particular, I owe to her much of the novel interpretation of *gratius interdum*.

# AN ALTERNATIVE TO CEREMONIAL NEGLIGENCE (CATULLUS 68.73–78)

RICHARD F. THOMAS

coniugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
  Protesilaeam Laodamia domum
inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
  hostia caelestis pacificasset eros.
nil mihi tam valde placeat, Ramnusia virgo,
  quod temere invitis suscipiatur eris.

SO Catullus passes from Lesbia to Laodamia, using the mythological *exemplum* to comment on his own situation. I give the accepted reading: "as once Laodamia, burning with love for her husband, arrived at the house of Protesilaus, begun in vain, since not yet had the victim [connected with their wedding] appeased with sacrificial blood the lords of heaven. May I never be so set on something, Nemesis, as to undertake it when the gods are opposed." Some part of the wedding ceremony had been omitted; hence Protesilaus met his death at Troy.

The reading has caused trouble, and rightly so. First, there is no suggestion elsewhere in the tradition of this myth that Protesilaus' death resulted from any such negligence.[1] Nor is such a variant suggested in the rest of the poem; he was merely fated to die first at Troy:

quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abesse,
  si miles muros isset ad Iliacos.
(85–86)

quo tibi tum casu, pulcerrima Laodamia,
  ereptum est vita dulcius atque anima
coniugium.
(105–107)

[1] Together with the usual lost Hellenistic versions, Euripides' *Protesilaus* has been suggested as a possible source (Alexander Riese, *Die Gedichte des Catullus* [Leipzig 1884]; Robinson Ellis, *A Commentary on Catullus*, 2nd ed. [Oxford 1889]; Wilhelm Kroll, *C. Valerius Catullus*, 3rd ed. [Stuttgart 1959], ad loc.). In Euripides' version the two were married on the same day that Protesilaus left for Troy; the marriage ceremony was, however, completed (γαμήσας, Schol. Aristid. pp. 671ff = p. 563 Nauck). No assumptions can be made about

The logic of such an interpretation, moreover, will not hold up to examination; the two have clearly been married — about that there can be no doubt (*coniugis*, 73, 81; *coniugio*, 84; *domum inceptam*, 74–75;[2] *coniugium*, 107) There was, it is true, a sacrificial ceremony connected with marriage; this was the προτέλεια, which, as its title demands, occurred before the actual wedding — several days before, it would seem.[3] In Catullus 68, however, the situation does not conform to this sequence: here the house has been established (that is, the marriage has taken place), and the question of sacrifice comes up after the union (*nondum*, 75). This problem has caused some commentators to resort to less specific, but equally unsatisfactory, solutions. Merrill, for instance, notes: "*hostia:* probably not with reference to a special pre-nuptial sacrifice, but to the sacrifices thought necessary before entering upon any new undertaking."[4] There is a further objection. If, in lines 77–78, Catullus is made to say "May I never do such a thing [as not to be properly married]," there is an absurd contradiction between this statement and his own admitted actions within the poem (cf. 145–146).[5]

What, then, is the solution? The *hostia* of line 76 is Iphigenia;[6] so we should read: "when not yet had the victim (Iphigenia) appeased with

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hypothetical Hellenistic versions, but we can note that if such a drastic modification of the tradition had been made, we would perhaps expect its appearance in Ovid *Heroides* 13.

[2] Ellis correctly points out that *domum inceptam frustra*, a free translation of Homer's δόμος ἡμιτελής (*Il.* 2.701), means quite simply that the house became incomplete through the death of Protesilaus, not that the wedding was not fully performed.

[3] Cf. Euripides *IA* 716–19; Servius Auctus' comment on *Aen.* 3.136, presented as a parallel to the instance in Catullus' poem (e.g., by Gustav Friedrich, *Catulli Veronensis liber* [Leipzig 1908]; Kroll ad loc.), also implies a sacrifice which occurs before the marriage: *apud veteres neque uxor duci neque ager arari sine sacrificiis peractis poterat.*

[4] E. T. Merrill, *Catullus* (Boston 1893) ad loc.

[5] Lines 77–78, with the accepted reading, are difficult to comprehend; if commentators refer to them, they are enigmatic. So Kenneth Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, 2nd ed. (London 1973), "Though put in general terms, the specific reference is obvious." T. E. Kinsey ("Some Problems on Catullus 68," *Latomus* 26 [1967] 51 n.2) attempts an interpretation: "Lines 77–78 . . . are puzzling. Is Catullus perhaps indicating that he will not act contrary to Lesbia's wishes? She is referred to as *era* in line 136 and is Catullus' *diva* in line 70." Surely not, for *eros* in line 76 leaves no doubt about the meaning of *eris* two lines later.

[6] Without involving ourselves in the connections between Catullus and Lucretius, we can note that the latter also called Iphigenia *hostia* (1.99). Virgil's treatment of Iphigenia's death seems to draw from both of the earlier authors; cf. *sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa* (*Aen.* 2.116).

sacrificial blood the lords of heaven [so that the Greek expedition might leave for Troy]. May I never be so set on something, Nemesis, as to undertake it when the gods are opposed [as the Greek leaders did at Aulis]." Thus lines 75–76 merely provide, in periphrastic style and with neoteric concealment,[7] a temporal setting for the marriage of Protesilaus and Laodamia — "before the Trojan War" is the meaning.[8] At the same time there is a deeper significance to the lines; by allusively suggesting Iphigenia's death and the expedition to Troy, Catullus prepares us for the major point of the *exemplum*, and, indeed, of the entire poem — Protesilaus' death at Troy, the effects of this on Laodamia, and the importance of Troy and the mythical loss for Catullus' personal situation. The avertive statement in the last couplet of the passage, moreover, is now perfectly appropriate, for here Catullus dissociates himself from the type of folly which leads to such ventures as the Trojan War; his feelings on this are quite clear (*Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque*, 89).

For confirmation of this reading, we can turn to *Heroides* 13, the other major treatment in Roman poetry of the story of Protesilaus and

[7] From the salient feature the reader is intended to supply the name of the character; similar to this instance are: Virgil *Geo.* 1.14–15; *Aen.* 6.28 (here see E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*, 5th ed. [Stuttgart 1970] ad loc.); Prop. 3.22.29–36; 4.4.41–42. There is an example, on a lesser scale, in Catullus 68: *imperio deterioris eri* (114) — that is, Eurystheus. For a related although somewhat different feature of neoteric style, see David O. Ross, Jr., *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975) 62; Ross observes that Propertius, by merely stating *velocem . . . puellam* (1.1.15), is able to make a learned reference to a character outside the myth with which he is dealing (the other Atalanta). Propertius is in fact referring here to a line from the Sixth Eclogue, which is of the same concealed nature: *tum canit Hesperidum miratam mala puellam* (*Ecl.* 6.61).

Is it mere coincidence that Iphigenia herself, in an anonymous Hellenistic papyrus of about 100 B.C. (*P. Teb.* I, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, no. 1 = *Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J. U. Powell [Oxford 1925] 185), is referred to without her actual name, and is entitled *σφάγιον* (cf. Catullus' *hostia*)?

> *ἧς ἕνεκα παῖδα τὰν*
> *ἄγαμον εἶλ' Ἄρτεμις*
> *σφάγιον Ἀγαμέμνονι*
> ([a] 12–14)

[8] We are not required to regard *frustra* as being closely connected with the following *cum* clause ("in vain, since . . . ") because the whole phrase *domum inceptam frustra*, being a translation of *δόμος ἡμιτελής* (cf. n.2), is completely self-contained; *frustra* should not, in fact, be separated from the rest of the phrase in such a way.

Laodamia. At lines 125–128 Laodamia, writing to her husband at Aulis, states:

> Hoc quoque, quod venti prohibent exire carinas
> me movet: invitis ire paratis aquis.
> quis velit in patriam vento prohibente reverti?
> a patria pelago vela vetante datis?

Ovid is clearly following Catullus; Laodamia's uneasiness about even considering a departure for Troy in the face of divine opposition answers Catullus' implied criticism of that very same action, as we have seen it. Nor will we overlook the fact that Ovid's *invitis . . . aquis* (126) occupies the same metrical position as Catullus' *invitis . . . eris* (78).

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# CICERO *AD ATTICUM* 14.1.2

ALBRECHT DIHLE

DASS *sed* (*autem*) und auch *at* oder *tamen* nicht nur in der üblichen adversativen Bedeutung vorkommen, sondern gelegentlich den Übergang zu einem neuen Thema markieren, ja sogar begründende Bedeutung (= *enim*) haben können, hat zuerst C. F. W. Müller an zwei Dutzend Stellen aus der Cicero-Korrespondenz gezeigt.[1] Einar Löfstedt[2] gab dann eine umfassende Darstellung dieses Phänomens, dessen Erörterung nunmehr zum festen Bestand der einschlägigen Handbücher gehört.[3] In diesem Zusammenhang muss man die textkritische Behandlung sehen, die Cic. *ad. Att.* 14.1.2 in neuerer Zeit erfahren hat. Cicero kolportiert dort ein offenbar bekanntes Dictum Caesars über seinen späteren Mörder Brutus: *Magni refert hic quid velit, sed quidquid volet valde volet.* In etwas abgewandelter Form ist der Ausspruch auch bei Plutarch (Brut. 6) überliefert: *Οὗτος ὁ νεανίας οὐκ οἶδα μὲν ὃ βούλεται, πᾶν δ' ὃ βούλεται σφόδρα βούλεται.*

Die Plutarch-Parallele hilft zunächst, Klarheit über das seltene,[4] aber hier einhellig überlieferte *volet* zu gewinnen. Alle älteren Herausgeber bis hin zu C. F. W. Müller änderten das doppelte *volet* in *vult*, neuerdings auch wieder Shackleton Bailey,[5] der in der griechischen Version eine Bestätigung dieser Emendation sehen möchte. Lediglich Sjögren entschied sich für *volet* als eindeutige lectio difficilior. Wie ich meine, wird er von Plutarch bestätigt, denn nach seinem Zeugnis gilt Caesars Ausspruch einem *νεανίας*, von dem auch in Zukunft weitere Proben

[1] Cicero, Opera omnia III 2 ed. C. F. W. Müller (Leipzig 1898) S. 36.18.

[2] *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae* (Leipzig 1911) 33f.

[3] z.B. Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Grammatik* 2.487f mit weiterer Literatur.

[4] Die Futurformen von *velle* sind für das ältere Latein bis hin zur spätrepublikanischen Zeit relativ weit häufiger bezeugt als später. Nonius (p. 478.24ff Müller = p. 768 Lindsay) meint, bei Lucilius und Plautus belegtes *volam* durch *velim* erläutern zu sollen, und im vulgären Alexanderroman des Julius Valerius wird die Form *malebit* gebildet. Das spricht dafür, dass der Gebrauch der Futurformen ausser Übung kam. Vgl. das Material bei Neue-Wagner, *Lat. Formenlehre* 3.621.

[5] D. R. Shackleton Bailey (ed.), *Cicero's Letters to Atticus VI* (Cambridge 1967).

der Willensstärke zu erwarten sind. Vor allem aber sind auch im Griechischen Futurformen der Verba des Wollens nicht übermässig häufig, so dass die Entsprechung volet / *βούλεται* nicht zu überraschen braucht.

Sowohl Cicero als auch Plutarch zitieren den Ausspruch im Zusammenhang eines Berichtes darüber, wie Brutus bald nach seiner Versöhnung mit Caesar nach der Schlacht bei Pharsalos bei diesem als Fürsprecher auftrat. Der Atticus-Brief bezieht sich auf die eindrucksvolle, auch sonst erwähnte (Cic. *Brut.* 21; vgl. Tac. *Dial.* 21) Rede, die Brutus vor Caesar zugunsten des Galater-Tetrarchen Deiotarus in Nikaia gehalten hat. Bei Plutarch ist daraus die Fürsprache für einen *βασιλεὺς Λιβύων* geworden — sicherlich ein Irrtum, denn der einzige "Libysche" König, an den man hier denken könnte, ist der ältere Juba. Der aber stand damals in Afrika noch auf pompeianischer Seite gegen die Caesarianer im Felde und nahm sich nach der Schlacht von Thapsus das Leben.

Dass Caesar dieses von ihm später offenbar wiederholte (*Caesarem solitum dicere*) Dictum aus Anlass jener Brutus-Rede von Nikaia prägte, wird man trotz des Wortes *νεανίας*, das Plutarch in diesem Zusammenhang verwendet, füglich nicht bezweifeln.[6] Einmal erzählt Cicero, dass Caesar die Hartnäckigkeit des Brutus bei eben jener Gelegenheit besonders aufgefallen sei (*idque eum* [*sc. Caesarem*] *animadvertisse, cum pro Deiotaro Nicaeae dixerit*), zum anderen gibt es auch sonst Zeugnisse dafür, dass Wörter wie adulescens, *νεανίας* u. ä. unter bestimmten Umständen auf ältere Menschen angewandt werden, wie hier auf den im Jahr 47 v. C. etwa 38 jährigen Brutus. So heisst es z. B. in Ciceros *Brutus* (331) vom Titelhelden: *cuius in adulescentiam per medias laudes quasi quadrigis vehentem transversa incurrit misera fortuna rei publicae.* Diese Aussage bezieht sich auf die Zeit nach dem Tode des Hortensius i. J. 50, den der Dialog in seiner Szenerie voraussetzt (4): *vixit* (sc. *Hortensius*) *tam diu quam licuit in civitate bene beateque vivere.* Unter der *adulescentia* des Brutus ist hier fraglos weniger sein Lebensalter als sein Status als begabtester unter den Nachwuchsrednern auf dem Forum zu verstehen, dem es eigentlich bestimmt sein sollte, den Platz der alten Heroen Hortensius und Cicero einzunehmen. Vergleichbares gilt für die an Cassius gerichteten Worte des Brutus, die Plutarch vom Vorabend der Schlacht bei Philippi berichtet (*Brut.* 40). Brutus revidiert darin sein negatives, aus philosophischer Überzeugung gefälltes Urteil über

[6] D. R. Shackleton Bailey und A. Henrichs haben mich durch ihre Kritik in diesem Punkt vor dem Irrtum bewahrt, aus dem Ausdruck *νεανίας* bei Plutarch auf eine frühere Entstehungszeit des Apophthegma zu schliessen.

den Selbstmord seines Oheims, des jüngeren Cato, und zwar mit dem Hinweis auf seine damalige Jugend und Unerfahrenheit (νεανίας ὢν καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρος). Diese Äusserung gehört ins Jahr 42, das Urteil über das Ende des Cato aber ins Jahr 46 oder besser 45, als Brutus sein Buch über Cato veröffentlichte. Wieder also darf man die in νεανίας implizierte Altersangabe nicht wörtlich nehmen, denn ein Einundvierzigjähriger wird einen Achtundreissigjährigen kaum einen Jüngling nennen. Wohl aber lässt sich verstehen, dass Brutus in der Situation von 42 v. C. seine Ansichten von 45 v. C. als jugendlich-unreif kritisiert und revidiert.

An unserer Stelle akzentuiert das Wort νεανίας den Unterschied zwischen Brutus und dem auf der Höhe von Erfolg und Macht stehenden Caesar. Die Verbalform *volet* in der lateinischen Version der Anekdote passt insofern dazu, als von diesem, gegenwärtig im Vergleich zu Caesar unbedeutenden und darum "jungen" Mann in Zukunft weitere Proben der Willensstärke zu erwarten sind.

Fast alle Herausgeber der Atticus-Briefe seit C. F. W. Müller haben — offenbar unter dem Eindruck des von ihm gesammelten Materials — an der zitierten Stelle die alte Emendation ⟨*non*⟩ *magni refert . . . sed . . .* abgelehnt und am überlieferten Wortlaut festgehalten. Dazu bedarf es allerdings eines vom üblichen abweichenden Verständnisses entweder des *sed* oder des Idioms *magni refert*. So verstehen Tyrell-Purser das *sed* im Sinn von "but at all events" und Shackleton Bailey übersetzt: It is a great question what he wants; but whatever he wants, he wants it with a will. *Magni refert* habe hier die Bedeutung *magna quaestio est*, heisst es in seinem Kommentar, offenbar in dem Sinn, dass Caesar sich fragt und gern wissen möchte, was Brutus eigentlich will. In unserer Überlieferung von jenem Vorfall in Nikaia deutet indessen nichts auf eine unausgesprochene, von Brutus heimlich verfolgte, von Caesar beargwöhnte, aber nicht durchschaute Absicht, die mit der offenbar Aufsehen erregenden Fürsprache für Deiotarus verbunden gewesen wäre. Nur unter dieser Voraussetzung ist die von Shackleton Bailey vorgeschlagene Übersetzung sinnvoll. Nach allem, was wir wissen können, handelte es sich lediglich darum, dass ein erst kürzlich von Caesar begnadigter und in den Kreis seiner Freunde aufgenommener Pompeianer sich bei dem Dictator mit Verve für den Galaterfürsten einsetzte und dadurch in der gegebenen Situation Zivilcourage und Willensstärke bewies: Mehr ist aus den Texten nicht zu gewinnen, insbesondere kein Hinweis auf weiterreichende Pläne, die Brutus mit seinem Vorgehen im Sinn hatte und aus denen sich Caesar gern einen Vers gemacht hätte. Brutus' Begnadigung stand offensichtlich unter

keinem Vorbehalt. Matthias Gelzer (*RE* 10.981f) hat die Emendation ⟨*non*⟩ *magni refert* zwar gleichfalls abgelehnt. Seine Übersetzung "es kommt sehr darauf an, was dieser Mann will; aber was er will, will er mit Nachdruck" zeigt jedoch ein Verständnis der Stelle, das ohne die Annahme auskommt, Caesar habe auch das Verlangen ausdrücken wollen, die wahren Absichten des Brutus zu kennen.

Bei einem Verständnis der Stelle in Gelzers Sinn befremdet indessen das "aber" in der Übersetzung. Wenn nämlich — und so müsste man Caesars Ausspruch nach Gelzer verstehen — die Absichten des in der gegebenen Situation doch ganz machtlosen Brutus ihr Gewicht haben (und auch unter anderen Bedingungen immer haben werden), so nicht im Gegensatz zu seiner Willensstärke (aber), sondern ausschliesslich wegen dieser Eigenschaft (denn, nämlich). Lässt man wie Gelzer die Stelle unemendiert, tut man also gut daran, das *sed* mit C. F. W. Müller u.a. im Sinn eines weiterführenden *enim* zu verstehen.

Nun ergibt aber eine nähere Überprüfung der von C. F. W. Müller aus der Cicero-Korrespondenz gesammelten 22 Belege für eine solche oder ähnliche Verwendung des *sed*, dass keine einzige Stelle die Beibehaltung des überlieferten Wortlautes in *ad Att.* 14.1.2 nahe legt. Einige der Stellen zeigen einen schlicht adversativen Gebrauch des *sed* (*ad Att.* 13.31.4; 16.7.5),[7] andere haben *at* in weiterführender Funktion, etwa im Sinn eines "à propos" zur Einführung eines neuen, assoziativ hinzugenommenen Gegenstandes (*ad Att.* 2.4.1),[8] wieder andere bringen ein steigerndes (*ad Att.* 5.9.3; 5.13.1)[9] oder konkludierendes *sed* (*ad Att.* 4.3.5).[10] *Sed* in der Bedeutung eines echten, unbestreitbar kausalen *enim*, nicht etwa eines weiterführenden δέ — und nur diese Bedeutung passt zu einem vorhergehenden *nicht* verneinten *magni refert* — findet sich in Müllers Material nirgends. So liegt die Annahme viel näher, dass der mächtige Caesar auf die Hartnäckigkeit des machtlosen, bei Plutarch νεανίας genannten Brutus hinweisen will, indem er sagt: Auf den Inhalt dessen, was dieser Mann will, mag jetzt nicht viel ankommen, aber was er will, wird er immer mit Nachdruck wollen. Der Sinn des Ausspruchs wäre dann, dass Caesar die Willensstärke des Brutus erkennt, die sich unabhängig vom Gewicht oder der

[7] . . . et semiliberi saltem simus, quod assequemur et tacendo et latendo. Sed (indessen) et aggredere Othonem, ut scribis. Hoc vero nihil turpius quovis rei publicae tempore, sed hoc ἀναπολόγητον.

[8] pro eo tibi praesentem pecuniam solvi imperavi, ne tu expensum muneribus ferres. At quoniam nummorum mentio facta est . . .

[9] Dionysium semper . . . dilexi, sed cottidie pluris facio bzw. De incredibili multitudine quae mihi iam Sami, sed mirabilem in modum Ephesi praesto fuit.

[10] Sed haec summa est . . .

Bedeutsamkeit seines Planens geltend macht. Im Fall des Deiotarus kam auf Brutus' Absicht politisch nicht viel an: Trotzdem war die Willenskraft unverkennbar, mit der er vorging. Dass in einer anderen Konstellation diese Eigenschaft des Sohnes der Servilia schwerwiegende Folgen haben könne und man sie darum im Auge behalten müsse, ist der Sinn des Futurs *volet*. Dass Caesar recht gehabt und Cicero ihn auch so verstanden hat, zeigt das Datum des Briefes, aus dem das Zitat stammt: Er wurde wenige Tage nach der Ermordung Caesars geschrieben.

Legt man dieses Verständnis der Cicero-Stelle zugrunde, muss man für Caesars Apophthegma in der Situation von Nikaia im Jahr 47 v. C. eine Gliederung durch ... *non* ... *sed* ... um der Prägnanz willen beinahe postulieren. Sie ist bei Plutarch erhalten: *Οὐκ οἶδα μέν ... πᾶν δέ* ... Sie verlangt nach einem echten, adversativen *sed*, während das weiterführende *sed* sich durch seine Unbestimmtheit auszeichnet und eine zwischen *δέ* und *γάρ* oszillierende Bedeutung haben kann.

Weder Shackleton Bailey's *magna quaestio est*, noch Gelzers "aber," noch das Verständnis des ciceronischen *sed* im Sinn eines weiterführenden *enim* können also befriedigen. Immerhin kann man sich der ersten dieser drei genannten Deutungen anschliessen, wenn man, wie gesagt, die zwar nicht beweisbare, aber durchaus nicht abwegige Vermutung einführt, Caesar habe sich in der Situation von Nikaia über die unausgesprochene Absicht des Brutus den Kopf zerbrochen, die dieser mit seiner Fürsprache für Deiotarus verfolgte.

Hier taucht jedoch eine andere Schwierigkeit auf: *Magni refert* heisst "es ist wichtig," "es kommt darauf an." M. W. gibt es keinen Beleg dafür, dass dieses Idiom ohne Zusatz, ohne die Einführung eines Ausdrucks des Wissens, Erfahrens oder Erforschens als eines logischen Subjektes zu *refert*, nicht die Wichtigkeit des bezeichneten Sachverhaltes selbst, sondern die Wichtigkeit einer Information über diesen Sachverhalt wiedergeben soll. Natürlich kann die Wichtigkeit einer Information durch eine mit *magni refert* gebildeten Formulierung ausgedrückt werden, aber der Paraphrase *magna quaestio est ille quid velit* müsste unter dieser Voraussetzung ein *magni refert scire ille quid velit* im ciceronischen Text entsprechen, parallel etwa zu *Brut.* 110 *neque refert videre, quid dicendum sit*. Die von Shackleton Bailey vorgeschlagene Paraphrase führt ein semantisches Element ein, von dem der Text der Cicero-Stelle nichts weiss.

Eben dieses Bedeutungselement scheint nun bei Plutarch vorzuliegen: *Οὗτος ὁ νεανίας οὐκ οἶδα ... ὃ βούλεται* ... Das aber sieht so aus, als ob "ich weiss nicht, was dieser junge Mann will" bei Plutarch von

einem *magni refert* oder einem ⟨*non*⟩ *magni refert* — es ist ⟨nicht⟩ wichtig, was er will — bei Cicero gleich weit entfernt wäre. Hier ist jedoch daran zu erinnern, dass es οὐκ οἶδα . . . ähnlich wie lat. *nescio quis* in redensartlicher Verwendung mit der Bedeutung "irgend-" gibt.[11] Diese Bedeutung lässt sich bisweilen auch dort nachweisen, wo der indirekte Fragesatz nicht der redensartlich bedingten Ellipse zum Opfer gefallen ist: Plat. Rep. 429 A *Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἓν τῶν τεττάρων οὐκ οἶδα ὅντινα τρόπον ηὑρήκαμεν, αὐτό τε καὶ ὅπου τῆς πόλεως ἵδρυται. Οὐκ οἶδα ὅντινα τρόπον* heisst hier weniger "ich weiss nicht, wie" als "auf irgendeine Weise (die zu wissen sich nicht lohnt)," "von ungefähr," "irgendwie." Auch an der Plutarch-Stelle darf man also wohl verstehen "ich weiss nicht, was der junge Mann will — d.h. irgendetwas wird er wollen, was es ist, ist mir ziemlich gleichgültig — *aber* was er will, das will er mit Nachdruck."

Natürlich dient weder hier noch an der Cicero-Stelle *sed* bzw. δέ zur Bezeichnung eines logisch notwendigen Gegensatzes. Die mangelnde inhaltliche Bedeutung der Wünsche des Brutus bildet jedoch für denjenigen, der sich mit ihnen auseinanderzusetzen hat, einen deutlichen Kontrast zu der Intensität, mit der sie vorgebracht oder verfolgt werden.

Dass die bei Plutarch erhaltene Formulierung des Ausspruchs aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt ist und nicht etwa eine eigenständige griechische Überlieferung darstellt, lässt sich an dem Ausdruck *σφόδρα βούλεται* erkennen.

In nachklassischer Zeit haben sich (ἐ)*θέλειν* und *βούλεσθαι* in ihrer Bedeutung weitgehend angeglichen.[12] Der Unterschied zwischen beiden verlagert sich auf die stilistische Ebene: *Βούλομαι* wird zum feineren, der attischen Norm entsprechenden Wort. Gerade Plutarch bevorzugt es deutlich gegenüber *θέλω*. Doch bleibt dem Verb das semantische Element des Überlegens, des Entscheidens auf Grund intellektueller Erfassung des Handlungsziels gerade in der Literatursprache erhalten.[13] Diese dominierende Bedeutungskomponente erklärt den Umstand,

[11] Diese Bedeutung scheint sich daraus ergeben zu haben, dass *οὐκ οἶδα*, genau wie dt. "ich weiss nicht," auch "ich bezweifle" heissen kann, also nicht nur die Gewissheit des Nichtwissens bezeichnet, wofür Liddell-Scott Belege aus Isokrates und Demosthenes anführen. Das Element der Ungewissheit ist dann in elliptischen Ausdrücken wie *οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπῃ* (Plat. *Phaedr.* 265 B) "irgendwie" verallgemeinert. Aus kaiserzeitlicher Prosa vgl. Luc. *Men.* 1; 22.

[12] Dazu grundlegend A. Wifstrand, *Eranos* 40 (1942) 16ff.

[13] Diese Bedeutung geht, entgegen dem älteren Sprachgebrauch, auch auf *θέλω* über, so dass *θέλησις* gelegentlich geradezu als *ἑκούσιος βούλησις* definiert werden kann (Stob. 2 p. 87 W. H. aus Didymos' Abriss der stoischen Ethik).

dass *βούλομαι*, anders als Verben wie *ἐπιθυμῶ* oder *ὀρέγομαι*, nur selten mit einem adverbialen Ausdruck der Intensität wie *μάλα, σφόδρα* o. dgl. verbunden wird. Bei einer aus Überlegung resultierenden Entscheidung geht die Frage nach der Intensität am wesentlichen vorbei, beim Trieb oder Affekt ist sie von besonderer Wichtigkeit.

Die meisten Ausnahmen von dieser Regel lassen sich als scheinbare erweisen. So bezieht sich das häufige *μᾶλλον βούλομαι* stets auf die intellektuelle Wahl zwischen mehreren Handlungszielen, nicht auf die Stärke des Impulses, und ähnliches gilt für das homerische *πολὺ βούλομαι* mit oder ohne folgendes *ἤ* (A 112; *ρ* 404 u. a.) In dem Sappho-Vers *κῶττι μοι μάλιστα θέλω γενέσθαι* (1.17 L.P.) kann sich *μάλιστα* ebenso auf *θέλω* wie auf *γένεσθαι* beziehen. Eine Ausnahme könnte das *πολλὸν βούλ*[*ομαι* des Kölner Archilochos-Papyrus (*Z.P.E.* 14 [1974] 101 v. 23) sein, wo offenbar das Begehren gemeint ist, das der in den folgenden Versen rational begründeten Wahl oder Bevorzugung vorausgeht. Die rationale Komponente fehlt nämlich auch an einigen Homerstellen mit dem Ausdruck *μάλα βούλομαι* (z. B. *O* 51; vgl. *κάρτα θέλω* Eur. *Med.* 1376). Andererseits aber gibt es im klassischen Attisch nicht wenige Stellen, an denen *βούλομαι* selbst ohne einen Zusatz wie *μᾶλλον* oder *ἤ* auf eine echte *προαίρεσις*, auf Vorziehen oder Lieberwollen deutet, z.B. Plat. *Rep.* 372 E: *ἡ μὲν ἀληθινὴ πόλις δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι ἣν διεληλύθαμεν, ὥσπερ ὑγιής τις· εἰ δ' αὖ βούλεσθε, καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν.* (ähnl. *Theaet.* 183 A; *Prot.* 348 A; *Rep.* 432 A; *Leg.* 683 A). Eben diese Eigentümlichkeit im Gebrauch des Wortes lässt verstehen, warum *βούλομαι* im Attischen und in attizistisch geprägter Literatursprache sich gegen einen Zusatz wie *μάλα* oder *σφόδρα* sträubt, wenn auch *βούλομαι ἤ* "ich will lieber ... als ... " der klassisch-attischen Prosa fremd zu sein scheint (Herodt. 3.40; Eur. *Andr.* 34).

Merkwürdig ist aus dieser Perspektive der von Aristoteles gebrauchte Ausdruck *ὀξεῖαι βουλήσεις* (*Rhet.* 1389a8). Freilich spricht Aristoteles in diesem Zusammenhang von Hunger und Durst als möglichen Voraussetzungen einer *βούλησις*, die er im Einklang mit der ganzen philosophischen und ausserphilosophischen Tradition stets als Leistung des Intellektes zu verstehen pflegt. Es geht also an der zitierten Stelle der "Rhetorik" weniger um die *βούλησις* selbst als um das *ὀρεκτικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς βούλησιν*, wie es Diokles von Karystos formuliert.[14]

*Σφόδρα βούλεται* in der plutarchischen Fassung des Ausspruchs über Brutus bleibt also merkwürdig. Plutarch verfehlt deshalb auch nicht, den Ausdruck zu interpretieren. In korrekter Terminologie führt er anschliessend an die Übersetzung des Dictums aus, die *ὁρμαί* des

[14] Bei Oreibasios 3.22 (Wilamowitz, *Gr. Lesebuch*, 1.282).

Brutus seien deshalb so stark und effektiv gewesen, weil sie auf rechter sittlicher Einsicht und Überzeugung (λογισμοί, προαίρεσις) beruhten. Das σφόδρα gehört also eigentlich zum ὁρμᾶν oder ὀρέγεσθαι, nicht zum βούλεσθαι selbst. Andererseits zitiert Cicero (*de nat. deor.* 3.66) einen Vers aus der "Medea" des Ennius (269 Vahlen), in dem nur vom Wollen oder Wünschen die Rede ist und die Frage, wo das *velle* seinen Ursprung hat, ganz nebensächlich ist: *qui volt esse quod volt, ita dat se res ut operam dabit.* Ähnlich indifferent in dieser Hinsicht ist der Wortgebrauch in einem Caecilius-Fragment (258 Warmington): *fac velis, perficis.* Ein βούλεσθαι kann dagegen immer nur auf den kognitiv begründeten Impuls zum Handeln bezogen werden, und dieses stets unter voller Einbeziehung des vorausgehenden kognitiven oder deliberativen Aktes. Ὀρέγεσθαι, ἐπιθυμεῖν u.ä. bezeichnen demgegenüber einen Impuls, eine ὁρμή als solche und zeigen sie, sofern im Kontext nicht ausdrücklich Gegenteiliges gesagt wird, gerade im Gegensatz zu vernünftiger Überlegung und Einsicht, also als Resultat von Trieben oder Emotionen. Hier liegt der Grund, weshalb Plutarch ein *valde velle* durch das unübliche σφόδρα βούλεσθαι wiedergeben musste. Ein σφόδρα ἐπιθυμεῖ oder ὀρέγεται hätte an dieser Stelle nicht den *iustum et tenacem propositi virum*, sondern den Dickschädel bezeichnet.

Der Blick auf dieses semantische Problem kann lehren, dass man die plutarchische Fassung als Übersetzung ernst nehmen und auch textkritisch verwerten darf. Gerade unter dieser Voraussetzung aber spricht alles dafür, dass Cicero *non magni refert . . . sed . . .* geschrieben hat. Alf Önnerfors, dem ich für ausgiebige und geduldige Beratung in der hier erörterten Frage zu danken habe, macht mich darauf aufmerksam, dass der rekonstruierbare Archetypus X in den Atticus-Briefen viele ausgefallene *non* gehabt oder durch seine Schreibweise verursacht haben muss. Zuweilen lässt sich das paläographisch erklären wie in unserem Fall (*n* vor *m*- oder nach *-m*): 3.13.1 *ductum esse ⟨non⟩ moleste feram;* 6.1.8 *in qua ⟨non⟩ mentionem facias;* 9.7.4 *locupletem ⟨non⟩ abstinere.*[15]

Cicero hat an der besprochenen Stelle einen pointierten Ausspruch Caesars zitiert, dessen fehlerhafte Überlieferung man nicht durch paraphrasierende Übersetzung im Sinn eines zwar bezeugten, aber eben doch umgangssprachlich-unbestimmten Sprachgebrauchs rechtfertigen sollte.

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[15] Bisweilen lässt sich ein zweifellos ausgefallenes *non* paläographisch auch nicht erklären: 5.21. 12; 9.5.2; 10.4.9; 10.16.2.

# VARRONES MURENAE

G. V. Sumner

THE combination of the two *cognomina* Varro and Murena is familiar to all students of the history of the Augustan principate, alerting them to a set of problems that have been discussed almost *ad nauseam* in modern scholarship.[1] The affair Murena would appear to have been investigated from every conceivable angle, and one may well wonder what more there can be to say on so trodden-down a topic. The answer is that, although the question of nomenclature has been noticed from time to time in earlier treatments, it has not been so thoroughly investigated as it might have been. The inquiry into the name Varro Murena will, I believe, throw some oblique light on the main historical problem of "the conspiracy of Murena."

In Cicero's oration in defense of L. Licinius Murena, designate consul for 62 B.C. and on trial for *ambitus*, references to the close family of the accused are relatively restricted. Murena himself appears to have suffered a recent bereavement,[2] perhaps the death of his father, which is mentioned more than once, or perhaps some other loss. We hear of his widowed mother (*Mur.* 88) and his brother Gaius Murena, still in the province of Transalpine Gaul as legate (*Mur.* 89; cf. Sallust *Cat.* 42.3). There is the Vestal Virgin, Licinia (*Mur.* 73). There is a stepson,

[1] See, e.g., R. Hanslik, "Horaz und Varro Murena," *Rh. Mus.* 96 (1953) 282ff; K. M. T. Atkinson, "Constitutional and Legal Aspects of the Trials of M. Primus and Varro Murena," *Historia* 9 (1960) 440ff; D. L. Stockton, "Primus and Murena," *Historia* 14 (1965) 18ff; R. A. Bauman, "Tiberius and Murena," *Historia* 15 (1966) 420ff; R. J. Rowland, "The Conspiracy of Varro Murena," *CJ* 62 (1967) 362ff; P. M. Swan, "The Consular Fasti of 23 B.C. and the Conspiracy of Varro Murena," *HSCP* (1966) 235ff; Shelagh Jameson, "22 or 23?" *Historia* 18 (1969) 204ff; P. J. Cuff, "The Settlement of 23 B.C.: A Note," *RFIC* 101 (1973) 466ff; Susan Treggiari, "Cicero, Horace and Mutual Friends: Lamiae and Varrones Murenae," *Phoenix* 27 (1973) 245ff; B. Levick, "Primus, Murena and *Fides*," *Greece and Rome* 22 (1975) 156ff; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature* (A.P.A., American Classical Studies 3, 1976) 132f. I should like to thank Professor Shackleton Bailey for invaluable criticism of an earlier version of this article.

[2] Cf. Cic. *Mur.* 86, *animi dolore . . . nova lamentatione* (implying an earlier cause of grief).

L. Pinarius Natta (*Mur.* 73; cf. *Dom.* 134), who is already an *adulescens;* presumably Natta's mother was married to Pinarius *pater* before she married L. Murena, and she might still be Murena's wife (or she might be dead[3]). But there is no mention of a son or children. Cautious as one must be about any argument from silence, that would be a remarkable omission if Murena really did have a son or daughter in 63. Contrast, for example, the lacrimose perorations of the *Pro Sulla* and the *Pro Flacco.*

These observations render somewhat improbable the presumption that Varro Murena (*RE* Terentius 91) was a son of L. Licinius Murena, cos. 62, adopted by A. Terentius Varro, legate 82 (*RE* 82).[4] The Varro Murena in question is mentioned by Cicero in a letter of 46:

T. Manlium, qui negotiatur Thespiis, vehementer diligo; nam et semper me coluit diligentissimeque observavit et a studiis nostris non abhorret. accedit eo, quod Varro Murena magno opere eius causa vult omnia: qui tamen existimavit, etsi suis litteris, quibus tibi Manlium commendabat, valde confideret, tamen mea commendatione aliquid accessionis fore. me quidem cum Manli familiaritas tum Varronis studium commovit, ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem. [*Ad Fam.* 13.22.1, to Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, proconsul of Achaea]

We see that Varro Murena is a man of some influence and importance with contacts in Achaea, and that he is on good terms with Cicero, who apparently feels obligation towards him.

Varro Murena also appears on a Roman inscription as curule aedile about two years later (*ILLRP* 704):[5]

> Varro Murena / L. Trebellius aed. cur. /
> locum dederunt / L. Hostilius L. l. / Philargurus /
> A. Pomponius / A. l. Gentius / A. Fabricius / A. l. Buccio /
> M. Fuficius / (Gaiae) l. Aria / mag. veici /
> faciund. coer. / ex p. (quinquaginta).

Varro Murena's colleague is the L. Trebellius who was tribune of the plebs in 47 (*MRR* 2.287) and *aedilicius* in 43 (Cic. *Phil.* 13.26). The date of the aedileship is almost certainly 44 (*MRR* 2.322).[6]

If L. Licinius Murena was without a son in 63, then a son born to

[3] Unless she was indeed Sempronia Tuditani f. (C. L. Babcock, *AJP* 86 [1965] 1ff), who was still alive in 52 (Ascon. 40C). But the hypothesis of Murena's marriage to Sempronia is fragile and insecure.

[4] This assumption is common to all previous discussions and has prevented a correct appreciation of the family relationships.

[5] See A. Degrassi, *ILLRP Imagines* (Berlin 1965) 192f no. 262.

[6] Cf. G. V. Sumner, "The Lex Annalis under Caesar," *Phoenix* 25 (1971) 366.

him subsequently would have been no older than eighteen in 44 and obviously could not have held the aedileship in that year. Thus it is improbable that Varro Murena, curule aedile by 44, was a natural son of L. Licinius Murena, cos. 62.

Cicero mentions a close friend, A. Varro,[7] in a letter of January 29, 49, from Capua (*Ad Fam.* 16.12.6, to Tiro at Patrae):

> ego A. Varroni, quem quom amantissimum mei cognovi tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis et totum te susciperet ac tueretur. quem omnia facturum confido; recepit enim et mecum locutus est suavissime.

A. Varro has been with Cicero, and now is on his way to Greece, presumably in the vanguard of the Pompeian forces. The following year he is found as a Pompeian officer in Epirus. At the River Apsus, after P. Vatinius, put forward by Caesar, had harangued the Pompeians across the river, urging the advantages of negotiation for peace,

> responsum est ab altera parte A. Varronem profiteri se altera die ad colloquium venturum atque una visurum quem ad modum tuto legati venire et quae vellent exponere possent; certumque ei rei tempus constituitur. [Caesar *BC* 3.19]

However, on the day it was not A. Varro but T. Labienus who came forward to debate with Vatinius (the talks were broken up by a Pompeian sneak attack, according to Caesar). As far as A. Varro is concerned, the episode strongly suggests that he had an established reputation as an orator.

Suetonius, writing of the *grammaticus* L. Orbilius (*Gramm.* 9), says that he clashed even with *principes viri*, and cites as example an altercation with a Varro Murena:

> ac ne principum quidem virorum insectatione abstinuit; siquidem ignotus adhuc, cum iudicio frequenti testimonium diceret, interrogatus a Varrone, diversae partis advocato, quidnam ageret et quo artificio uteretur, gibberosos se de sole in umbram transferre respondit; quod Murena gibber erat. [*Gramm.* 9.5]

Della Corte in his edition of the *De Grammaticis* proposes to insert the name "Gibba" after "Varrone" (which is unnecessary), and holds that Varro "Gibba" the advocate is distinct from Murena, regarded as the defendant (and identified as "Aulo Terenzio Varrone Murena Licini-

[7] Probably identical with the Varro on Cicero's staff in Cilicia in 51 (*Ad Fam.* 3.7.4); see Shackleton Bailey's commentary ad loc., with the proposal to read ⟨*A.*⟩ *Varronem.*

ano").[8] But Orbilius' point is that he intends to put his "gibberose" interlocutor in the shade; it is the advocate, "Varro Murena," who is *gibber*. What Della Corte had in mind was a reference in Asconius (55 Clark), where Cicero's *subscriptor* in the second defense of M. Saufeius in 52 is named as "M. Terentius Varro Gibba." Let it be added that Cassius Dio refers to the same man as a tribune of 43, a Marcus Terentius Varro with a ridiculous προσηγορία (47.11.3f). It looks as if Suetonius may have confused the orator A. Varro Murena with the advocate M. Varro Gibba (*RE* Terentius 89).

To sum up: There was a friend of Cicero, A. Varro (in 49 and 48, probably also in 51–50), who between 48 and 46 becomes Varro Murena, still a friend of Cicero; about 44 he served as curule aedile. This points to a man born around 80 B.C., and that will fit neatly with the career of A. Terentius Varro (*RE* 82), who was obviously his father. A. Varro *pater* was legate to L. Licinius Murena *pater* in 82, and can be assumed to have returned for Murena's triumph in 81 (cf. *MRR* 2.72,77). A son born about 80 would not be out of place.

We have yet to account for Varro's change of name to Varro Murena. T. P. Wiseman[9] has drawn attention to a relevant point in this connection, when discussing the nomenclature of D. Iunius Brutus Albinus (the Caesaricide). D. Brutus was not a Postumius Albinus adopted into the Iunii Bruti, but a Iunius Brutus adopted by a Postumius Albinus.[10] In the same way, Varro Murena does not need to be taken as a Licinius Murena adopted by a Terentius Varro. He can, instead, be a Terentius Varro adopted by a Licinius Murena. The fact that Cicero, after naming him "Varro Murena," goes on to call him simply "Varro" in the next sentence (*Ad Fam.* 13.22.1) is an indication that Varro was his name before adoption.[11]

A Licinius Murena adopted Aulus Varro. The adoption seems likely to have occurred between 48 and 46, since that is when the change of name is observed.[12] Unfortunately the Licinii Murenae, both Lucius

[8] F. della Corte, *Suetonio: Grammatici e Retori*, 3rd ed. (Turin 1968) 22 n. 6, 23, 24 n.1, 85.

[9] *Cinna the Poet and Other Roman Essays* (Leicester 1974) 154ff.

[10] Cf. also Shackleton Bailey (above, n.1) 86.

[11] Wiseman (above, n.9) 154f makes this point in regard to D. Brutus (Albinus). As well as "D. Brutus," compare "(P.) Scipio" as the usual way to speak of the adoptive son of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, and "M. Brutus" for the adoptive son of Q. Servilius Caepio.

[12] The date can be narrowed to before mid-March 47, if the Murena of Cic. *Ad Att.* 11.13.1 is Varro Murena (so D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 5 [Cambridge 1966] 281f). "Murena" had a villa at Alsium (*Ad Att.* 13.50.4f, August 45).

and Gaius, have disappeared from record by that time, but this need not mean they were long deceased. The career of L. Murena—quaestor 74, praetor 65, consul 62 (*MRR* 2.103, 158, 172) — suggests a birthdate *c.* 105, so that if he had died around 48, he would have been only about fifty-seven. His brother Gaius would have been younger still.[13]

In the *Fasti Capitolini* for 23 B.C. we find an entry which can easily be restored as follows:[14]

A. T[erentius A.f. A.n. Var]ro Murena [. . . . . ] est.
In e. l. f. e. [Cn. Calpurn]ius Cn. f. Cn. n. Pis[o]

Is this A. Varro Murena (*RE* Terentius 92) the same person as the curule aedile of *c.* 44, born about 80? That would mean a consulship at the age of fifty-six, which is not absolutely impossible, even as late as 23.[15] But it is much more likely that this A. Varro Murena (*RE* 92) was the son of A. Varro Murena (*RE* 91), curule aedile *c.* 44. He (*RE* 92) can almost certainly be identified as the Terentius Varro found in command against the Salassi in 25 (Strabo 4.6.7; Dio 53.25.3).

It is notorious that the consulship of A. Terentius Varro Murena is not recorded by any Fasti other than the Capitoline; the rest make Cn. Calpurnius Piso consul ordinarius for 23. This has sometimes been explained by the assumption that A. Varro Murena (as consul) was removed from office and convicted in 23, and so his name was deliberately omitted from the Fasti. This explanation, which has difficulty accounting for the failure to omit Varro Murena's name from the Capitoline Fasti, is less satisfactory than the alternative, which is that A. Varro Murena died (or was condemned and disqualified) while still

[13] Especially if it were true that he was curule aedile *c.* 59 (*MRR* 2.189). See however, Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus: Prosopography and Chronology* (Toronto 1973) 139, for the argument that the aedileship of C. Murena with C. Visellius Varro (an interesting combination) was *c.* 67/6, in which case C. Murena would be only a year or so younger than his brother. The new inscription of Caunus honoring C. Licinius L. f. Murena along with his father, and probably his brother also (R. Bernhardt, *Anadolu* 16/17 [1972/3] 117ff), shows that he served with his father in the Asian campaign of 84–82. So he was almost certainly born before 100, which strengthens the view that the date 59 is too late for his aedileship.

[14] *Inscr. It.* 13.1.80f.

[15] L. Sestius had been quaestor in 44 (*MRR* 2.326), probably aged about twenty-six or twenty-seven (cf. Sumner [above, n.6] 369), and so was close to fifty when suffect consul in 23. It should be added that Varro Murena might be the Varro notable for *libertas* of speech who died denouncing Antony in 42 (Vell. 2.71.2). The alternative preferred by Münzer, Varro Gibba (*RE* 89), does not cut such a heroic figure (cf. Dio 47.11.3f).

only consul designate, in 24; this accords with the practice of the *Fasti Capitolini*.[16]

In 22, according to Cassius Dio (54.3), an advocate and alleged conspirator named Licinius Murena was not saved from destruction by the fact that his sister was married to the great Maecenas. That wife was named Terentia,[17] and Suetonius confirms that she was related to the conspirator, whom he calls Varro Murena (*Aug.* 19, *Tib.* 8).

It has often been thought that the conspirator Licinius Murena is identical with the "consul" A. Terentius Varro Murena. This requires a wholesale rejection of the evidence of Dio, for which it is hard to see sufficient justification. Dio was well able to distinguish between Licinius Murena (54.3.3) and Terentius Varro (53.25.3). In addition, Dio receives some support from Velleius (2.91.2) who knows the conspirator as L. Murena, not A. Murena.

The name of the alleged conspirator can in fact be reconstructed from the various sources as "L. Licinius Varro Murena."[18] This name, were it not for certain prepossessions having nothing to do with nomenclature, would normally be interpreted with little hesitation as signifying adoption of a Varro by a L. Licinius Murena (or, less commonly, adoption of a L. Licinius Murena by a Varro). The fact that Dio's "Licinius Murena" was brother of *Terentia* confirms that he was originally a Terentius. A simple solution to the puzzle is discoverable. To wit, both A. Terentius Varro Murena, consul designate for 23 (*RE* 92), and L. Licinius Varro Murena, advocate, were sons of A. Terentius Varro Murena, curule aedile *c.* 44 (*RE* 91). But L. Licinius Varro Murena had, as a child, been adopted by L. Licinius Murena, cos. 62. This hypothesis carries with it the implication that the elder A. Varro Murena (*RE* 91), was not adopted by the consul of 62, but presumably by the latter's brother Gaius Murena; it was no doubt a case of testamentary adoption, and the prime concern must have been the inheritance of the Murena fortune.[19] Varro Murena now became the distinctive

[16] As shown by Swan (above, n.1) 235ff. Cf. Cuff (above, n.1) 471, who, however, disregards the strong possibility that A. Varro Murena simply died while designate; it was perhaps an unhealthy season — after all, Augustus nearly died soon after (Dio 53.30.1). Cuff's idea that the names of consuls were inscribed on the Capitoline Fasti before they had actually taken office seems wildly improbable.

[17] Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 66, 69; Dio 54.19.3; Seneca *De Prov.* 1.3.10; *Digest* 24.1.64.

[18] Cf. Vell. 2.91.2, "L. Murena"; Tac. *Ann.* 1.10, "Varrones"; Suet. *Aug.* 19, *Tib.* 8, "Varro Murena"; Dio 54.3.3, "Licinius Murena."

[19] I suspect that there had been a previous marriage connection between Murenae and Varrones; perhaps A. Terentius Varro, legate 82, married a

name of this family.[20] As a result, the son L. Licinius Murena (Terentianus), took over into his own nomenclature the new style of his natural father "Varro Murena" (instead of Murena Varro). And his brother A. Terentius Varro took the same style.[21]

It remains for us to inquire into the identity of the "Murena" twice mentioned by Horace (*Serm.* 1.5.38, *Carm.* 3.19.11), and also the enigmatic "Licinius" (*Carm.* 2.10.1). The fifth satire portrays, of course, a historic journey to Brundisium in 37,[22] made by Octavian, Maecenas, Murena, and others, including Horace. The party stayed a night at Murena's house in Formiae. This Murena seems likely to be the same as the one Horace was to honor with a mention of his augurate in *Odes* 3.19. And that suits best the Varro Murena who reached the consulship.[23] He would, admittedly, have been rather young in 37. If we put the birthdate of Varro Murena *pater* about 80, his children are hardly likely to have been born before 60. A. Terentius Varro Murena *filius* must have been not over thirty-six (probably less) when elected consul in 24: hence not much, if at all, over twenty in 37. Nevertheless, if his father was dead, he would be the head of the family; the connection between his sister and Maecenas[24] gave him importance; and after all, the mighty Octavian was only twenty-five at this time. We will conclude that the Murena of 37 is the augur of uncertain date and the future consul designate. But we cannot allow that he is also the Licinius of *Odes* 2.10.[25] "Licinius" might be the conspirator, L. Licinius Varro Murena. But the *nomen* is not very distinctive, and if we have to look for a Licinius to whom Horace could aptly recommend *aurea mediocritas*, an alternative candidate could be M. Licinius Crassus, the ambitious proconsul of Macedonia, whose claim to the

daughter of his superior commander L. Licinius Murena, pr. 88/7, pro pr. 84–81 (*RE* 122). On testamentary adoption see now Shackleton Bailey (above, n.1) 81ff.

[20] The appearance of the name Varro Murena by itself, without *praenomen* or *gentilicium*, on the inscription *ILLRP* 704 is a really striking phenomenon.

[21] This name change was perhaps not legally necessary, but we are dealing with a period of experimentation in nomenclature. It is hard to decide whether A. Terentius A. f. Varro Murena, honored as *patronus* in an inscription at Lanuvium dedicated by Ptolemaiei Cyrenenses (*ILS* 897), was the father or the son. Lanuvium, of course, is the right place to find a Murena. It was the *patria* of the consul of 62 (Cic. *Mur.* 86, 90).

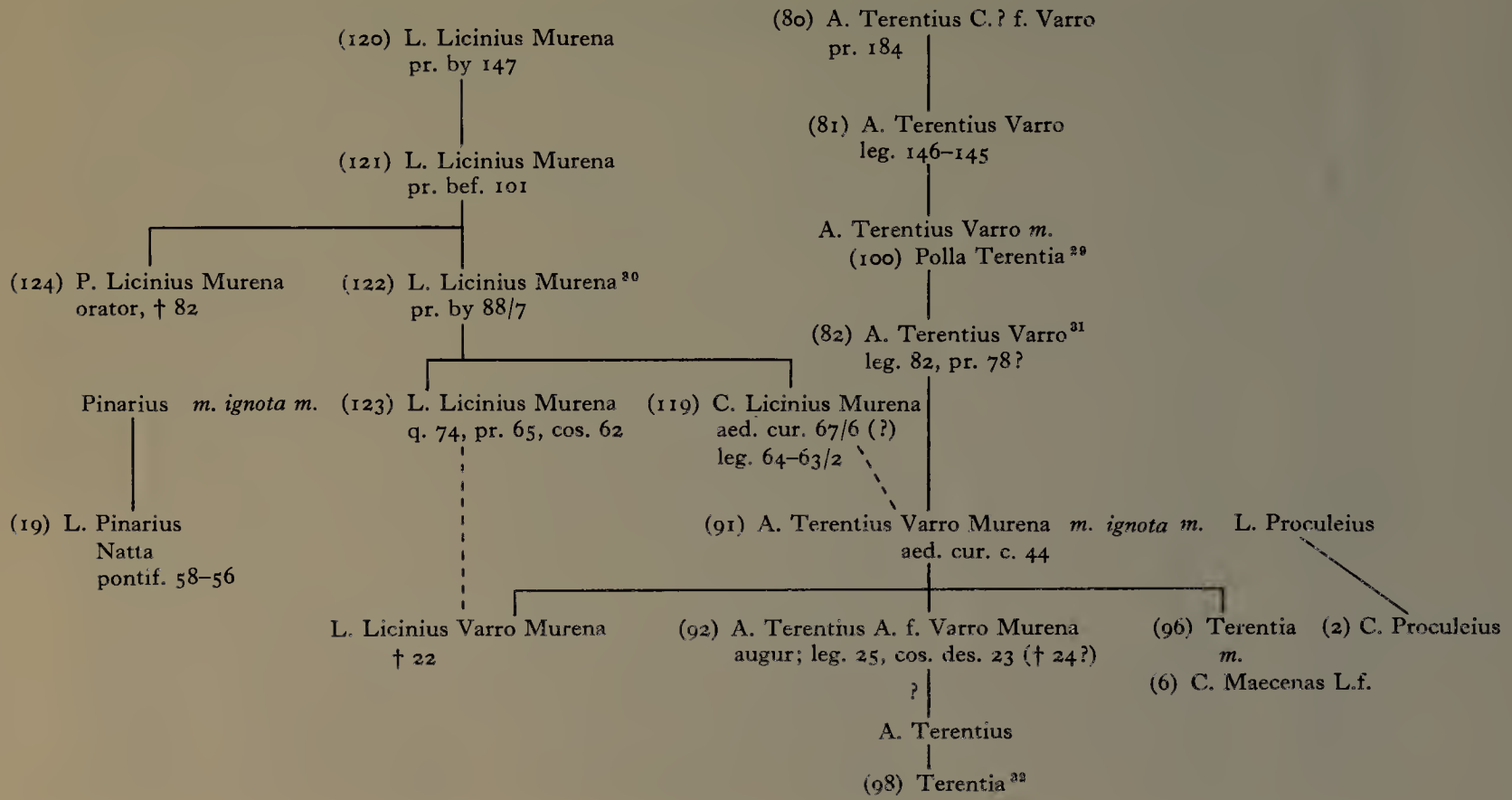
[22] Cf. R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 225.

[23] Cf. Treggiari (above, n.1) 255.

[24] Not to mention her affair with Octavian (if Antony is to be believed: Suet. *Aug.* 69).

[25] As Syme assumes (above, n.22), 325 n.5, 334 n.2.

## Stemma of the Varrones Murenae[28]



*spolia opima* in 28 had to be sacrificed to expediency (cf. Dio 51.24.4, 25.2). Finally, it may be suggested that the results of the present investigation enable us to improve on the slightly questionable commentary of the Horatian scholiasts on *Odes* 2.2.5f,

> vivet extento Proculeius aevo
> notus in fratres animi paterni.

They identify the *fratres* as "Scipio" and Murena.[26] We can identify the brothers (half-brothers) as A. Terentius A. f. A. n. Varro Murena and L. Licinius L. f. L. n. Varro Murena.[27]

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[26] Cf. Treggiari (above, n.1) 254, with nn. 39ff.

[27] We are destitute of information to explicate how a Scipio might be fitted into these relationships. Since we have *two* brothers Varro Murena, a Scipio is not needed.

[28] The figures in parenthesis preceding the names are those of the relevant *RE* entries. Dotted lines indicate adoption.

[29] Polla Terentia is known only from *ILS* 8773, where a city in Caria honors her and her son A. Terentius A. f. Varro *legatus* (*πρεσβευτής*). There is no reason to doubt that Terentia was married to her son's father Aulus Terentius. Marriage between men and women of the same *gens* occurred (e.g., M. Antonius and Antonia C. f., who were first cousins: Cic. *Phil.* 2.98f, Plut. *Ant.* 9.2).

[30] I have not included "M. Iunius Silanus Murena," supposedly a Licinius Murena adopted by M. Iunius Silanus, cos. 109 (Shackleton Bailey [above n.1] 118f). I doubt it is safe to build on the stray reference in *Inschr. v. Priene* no. 121 to *καρκον* (= *καὶ Μᾶρκον*) *Σιλανὸν Μυρέναν ταμίαν*. (Note that, according to the conventions of *Inschr. v. Priene*, *Μυρεναν is* read on the stone, not *Μυρενα*: the genitive is Hiller von Gaetringen's emendation). See for further discussion of this matter my forthcoming paper "Governors of Asia in the Nineties B.C.," *GRBS* 19 (1978). I should like to thank my colleague, Professor Christopher Jones, for his help on this and other points.

[31] See n.19 above.

[32] Cf. Sumner, *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 139.

# THE ADDRESSEE OF VIRGIL'S EIGHTH ECLOGUE

R. J. TARRANT

THE traditional identification of Virgil's addressee in *Eclogue* 8 as Asinius Pollio has been forcefully challenged by G. W. Bowersock.[1] Bowersock argues that Virgil's words *seu magni superas iam saxa Timaui / siue oram Illyrici legis aequoris* (6f) have no plausible connection with Asinius Pollio's movements as governor of Macedonia,[2] since he would in all likelihood have returned from that province by way of Brindisi; Octavian, however, did conduct campaigns in just this area in 35 B.C., and it is to this event, and thus to Octavian, that Virgil must be alluding. This new identification, however, entails difficulties of its own. The person addressed by Virgil must have had some claim to recognition as a writer of tragedy, since the poet asks *en erit ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem / sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno?* (9f). Octavian's only known claims in this area rest on an *Ajax* which, at an unspecified point in his life, he began with great enthusiasm but later abandoned in dissatisfaction.[3] For Virgil to praise Octavian's skill at tragedy in the hyperbolic terms of this poem at any time after the *Ajax* had been given up by its author would be at best tactless, at worst insulting; for him to do so in the very brief time during which Octavian was engaged

[1] *HSCP* 75 (1971) 73ff. Much of the content of that article is not affected by this discussion, in particular the author's shrewd assessment of the biographical information offered by late antique scholiasts. The revised chronology of the *Eclogues* which Bowersock advances, however, would have to be reconsidered if the identification on which it rests is rejected.

[2] The name of the province which Pollio governed is not on record. Bowersock accepts Syme's arguments for Macedonia, but the claims of Illyricum have been restated by A. Bosworth, *Historia* 21 (1972) 441ff, especially 463–468. (I am grateful to my colleague T. D. Barnes for this reference.) If Pollio governed Illyricum (as was generally thought before Syme), there would be no reason whatever to question the traditional reading of Virgil's poem; this note seeks to defend that reading even on the assumption that Pollio governed Macedonia.

[3] Bowersock refers to "the young heir of Caesar, who is reported to have worked with gusto on a tragedy entitled *Ajax*" (79), but Suetonius (*Aug.* 85.2) in fact attaches the incident to no period of his subject's life; on general grounds it might seem to belong better to a later time, perhaps after a revival of interest in tragedy provoked by the success of Varius' *Thyestes*.

with the play (a month or two at the most?[4]) would be not only premature, but also chronologically difficult, since on Bowersock's hypothesis the poem celebrates Octavian's return to Rome from Illyricum after an absence of some length.[5]

The reference to tragedy makes far better sense if it is addressed to Asinius Pollio. Doubtless his plays were as little worthy of Sophocles as was Octavian's abortive *Ajax*, and Virgil's statements are the product of *amicitia* rather than critical judgment, but at least Pollio is known to have written several tragedies and was willing to have them praised by other writers, as is clear from Horace's effusive compliments in the second book of *Odes*.[6] In addition, Pollio's reputation in this field can be dated to the approximate time of the poem by references in Horace's *Satires*[7] and earlier in the *Eclogues* themselves.[8]

Why would Virgil describe Pollio as passing the Timavus? The answer was given forty years ago by Ronald Syme: "the poet, writing in lively anticipation, imagines Pollio returning from Macedonia to northern Italy -- he is already (the word 'iam' is decisive here) crossing the cliffs of the river Timavus at the head of the Adriatic or is still sailing up the Dalmatian coast from Macedonia."[9] The lines are a poet's anticipation, not a historian's account, so it is no objection that Pollio did not in fact follow the route Virgil described.[10] Virgil's motive for thus imagining Pollio's return may not be beyond speculation: by passing the mouth of the Timavus on his way to Italy, the Pollio of Virgil's poem retraces in part the route of Antenor on his journey from

[4] Cicero's brother Quintus is supposed to have turned out four tragedies in sixteen days (Cic. *Epist.Q.F.* 3.5.7). The feat was, of course, remarkable because it was exceptional, but the incident suggests that dilettantes could work quickly.

[5] There is also the smaller point that the qualifier *sola* applied to a play of Octavian could suggest gratuitous denigration of Pollio's tragedies.

[6] *C.* 2 1.9ff.

[7] *S.* 1.10.42f, where Pollio represents contemporary tragedy as Varius does epic and Virgil bucolic poetry.

[8] In *Ecl.* 3.86 Virgil pays Pollio the compliment of mentioning his *noua carmina* alongside Virgil's own poetry. These *carmina* are almost certainly Pollio's tragedies. (This was denied by J. André, *La Vie et l'oeuvre de C. Asinius Pollion* [1949] 32f, with the dubious assertion that Pollio's tragedies contained nothing *nouum;* Andre's suggestion that the *carmina* were bucolic is refuted by Virgil's words *Pollio amat nostram, quamuis est rustica, Musam* (84), which carry the clear implication that Pollio's *Musa* was not *rustica*. Pollio's *Musa* is tragic in Horace, *C.* 2.1.9).

[9] *C.Q.* 31 (1937) 47f.

[10] "Not that Pollio did, as a matter of fact, return to northern Italy from Macedonia. But that is immaterial" (Syme [above, n.9] 48).

Troy to Padua. The reference to the Timavus may have been a subtle compliment to the triumphant proconsul; his deeds take on heroic stature through Virgil's allusion to one of the most venerable, and for a northerner one of the most meaningful, of Italian foundation legends.[11]

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[11] See R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy 1–5* (1965) 36f, for bibliography. Antenor's journey across the top of the Adriatic to the Veneto was narrated in Sophocles' *Antenoridae* (Strabo 608), the probable source of Accius' tragedy of that name. It is not unlikely that Virgil and Pollio were familiar with this work of Accius. Virgil himself later referred to Antenor's wanderings in terms strikingly similar to those used in *Ecl.* 8.6ff: *Antenor potuit mediis elapsus Achiuis | Illyricos penetrare sinus atque intima tutus | regna Liburnorum et fontem superare Timaui* (*Aen.* 1.242ff).

# THE ADDRESSEE OF THE EIGHTH ECLOGUE: A RESPONSE

G. W. Bowersock

I AM delighted that an outstanding scholar who is also a personal friend has undertaken to put clearly and concisely the case against the suggestion I made some years ago that Virgil's eighth eclogue was addressed to Octavian rather than Asinius Pollio. It is good to have the issues not only in the open, where they have been for some time, but in print.[1] Although neither Richard Tarrant nor I can pretend to certainty, the publication of opposing views should be useful for commentators.

The reference to the tragic composition of the honorand has always seemed to me the most vulnerable part of my argument, and Tarrant is right to fasten on it. No one would wish to identify Octavian with the addressee of the poem on the basis of that reference. The question is whether it is consistent with such an identification or whether it suffices to invalidate it. The identification itself is based upon the claims of geography and the unambiguous implication of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 10.1.92).

Virgil's lines are a laudation. They must be read with due allowance for the license of panegyric, in which flattery and excess are often at home. We have no idea of Octavian's age when he was at work on the *Ajax*, and so we must guess. But it is worth remembering that Julius Caesar wrote an Oedipus tragedy when he was a young man, and if Augustus started his play after Varius' *Thyestes* we should more than likely have heard about it from someone other than Suetonius, perhaps from one of the contemporaries of the princeps. It is true that the author made a joke about the *Ajax* when he aborted the project, but this scarcely means that he thought it a joke all the time he was working on it. And we have no idea how long that was, or even whether the project was taken up intermittently. Before it was aborted, it was presumably regarded seriously. A panegyrist could well have invoked the great Sophoclean prototype. If, as Tarrant says, the qualifier *sola*

[1] The matter has become important since W. Clausen, "On the Date of the First Eclogue," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 201–206, and Ernst Schmidt, *Zur Chronologie der Eklogen Vergils*, Sitz. Heidelberg. Akad. Wiss. (1974), have both proceeded on the assumption that my argument is valid and have drawn, in turn, serious consequences for the composition of the *Eclogues*. Cf. V. Buchheit, in ignorance of Clausen, *Gnomon* 49 (1977) 800–803.

suggested gratuitous denigration of Pollio's tragedies, so what? In 35 B.C. that would have caused no problem for Virgil. He had, after all, moved on to a new patron, the honorand of the first eclogue.

Tarrant is far too good a scholar to put his case as extravagantly as R. Coleman, whose remarks on Octavian's *Ajax* need only be quoted to be rejected: "He [Octavian] is said to have tried his hand at writing tragedy, but the date of this essay is unknown and it seems to have been taken light-heartedly by his friends. To see a serious reference to it in the lavish praise of line 10 would be fanciful, if not perverse."[2] This is, however, the *reductio ad absurdum* of Tarrant's position.

Geography remains the potent argument, and I draw the reader's close attention to a map. How to get back to Italy from Dyrrachium? (Since Tarrant presents his case as independent of Bosworth's hypothesis, that may properly be left out of account.)[3] In the same note from which an excerpt has already been given, Coleman observes, "Although the coast of Illyria and the mouth of the Timavo would be a very roundabout route for his [Pollio's] return to Italy, that is not to say he did not take it." *Credat Iudaeus Apella.* Quintilian, in borrowing Virgil's lines to address Domitian, must have recognized in them a homage to a supreme authority: *A te principium, tibi desinam,* words that evoke in the literate reader Agamemnon in Homer and Zeus in Theocritus. Tarrant's suggestion that Virgil is implying a parallel with Antenor strikes me as excellent. But would not an allusion to "one of the most venerable . . . of Italian foundation-legends" be more appropriate for the conquering *triumvir*, the heir of Caesar, than for a poet and proconsul? The point is, of course, indecisive since Virgil could also be flattering Pollio.

Tarrant, unlike Coleman, makes no claim that Pollio actually followed the route outlined by Virgil. We have therefore to confront squarely the possibility that the poet just made it up. Imagination and fancy are indeed the province of a poet; but when verse that is neither comic nor satiric turns to real, contemporary people, places, and events, there is small warrant for a critic to suppose, unless he has to, that the poet is writing fiction in the face of well known facts. If Virgil was not writing evident falsehoods about his addressee, that addressee has to be Octavian.

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[2] R. Coleman, *Virgil: Eclogues* (Cambridge 1977) 288.

[3] The most recent account of campaigns in Illyricum, and one of the fullest, is A. M. Malevany, "Illiriiskie Pokhody Oktaviana," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 1977, 129–141.

# HORAZ ALS ARETALOGE DES DIONYSOS: *CREDITE POSTERI*

ALBERT HENRICHS

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
vidi docentem, credite posteri,
  Nymphasque discentis et auris
    capripedum Satyrorum acutas:
euhoe recenti mens trepidat metu
plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
  laetatur, euhoe parce Liber,
    parce gravi metuende thyrso.
fas pervicacis est mihi Thyiadas
vinique fontem lactis et uberis
  cantare rivos atque truncis
    lapsa cavis iterare mella . . .

NACH der gängigen Auffassung verbindet die Dionysosode des Horaz (*c.* 2.19) in scheinbar abruptem Übergang zwei voneinander unabhängige Traditionen hellenistischer Dichtung: die Schilderung einer Dichterweihe einerseits, die Horaz hier abweichend von dem hesiodischen und kallimacheischen Vorbild als Inspiration durch Dionysos und als persönliche Schau des dionysischen Thiasos erfährt; und den "Hymnus" auf Dionysos andererseits, in dem der Dichter die Wundertaten (*πράξεις* oder *ἀρεταί*)[1] des Gottes in markanter Stilisierung aufzählt. Die Kompositionsfuge teilt das Gedicht in zwei ungleiche Hälften: dem Epiphanieerlebnis sind die beiden Eingangsstrophen gewidmet, während die sich unvermittelt anschliessenden Wundererzählungen drei Strophenpaare füllen.

Allen erdenklichen Schwierigkeiten und Feinheiten dieser Ode sind so bewährte Horazinterpreten wie G. Pasquali, Ed. Fraenkel und V. Pöschl — um nur einige der jüngeren zu nennen — mit grossem Einfühlungsvermögen und fundierter Gelehrsamkeit nachgegangen.

[1] So Diod. 3.63.2 (vgl. 3.62.2) *ἑκάστῳ* [d.h. jedem der von den Mythographen unterschiedenen Dionysoi] *προσάπτουσιν ἰδίας πράξεις*. Zu *ἀρεταί* "Wunder" zuletzt Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée*, EPRO 49 (1975) 1–8.

Angesichts der geleisteten Arbeit ist es weder möglich noch nötig, einen neuen Zugang zum Gesamtverständnis des Gedichts zu finden. Wir müssen uns mit einer bescheidenen Nachlese begnügen, die zu einem besseren Verständnis der kompositorischen Einheit der beiden Gedichtshälften beitragen möchte.

Die Mehrzahl der Interpreten neigt dazu, in *c.* 2.19 ein Programmgedicht zu sehen, das über sich selbst hinausweist: Horazens Selbstauffassung als göttlich inspirierter *vates* der augusteischen Erneuerung, so glaubt man, erfährt in der Dionysosode eine originelle dionysische Umdeutung, die der Dichter dann weiterführend in *c.* 3.25 (*Quo me Bacche rapis tui plenum?*) durch Einengung auf die göttergleichen Taten des Augustus aktualisiert. Die "Dionysosvision" wird so als "Symbol des Dichteranspruchs" aus ihrem konkreten Sinnzusammenhang gelöst und interpretatorisch aufgewertet.[2] Im Rahmen der ersten Odensammlung als ganzer ist diese Interpretation aus höherer Sicht legitim und sinnvoll und wohl auch vom Dichter intendiert. Aber sie führt dazu, dass *c.* 2.19 als Einzelgedicht abgewertet wird, und macht es keineswegs leichter, den ganz unrömischen Katalog der göttlichen *res gestae*, der doch das Hauptstück des Gedichts ausmacht, aus dem Augenblickserlebnis des Dichters und der ihm zur Verfügung stehenden dichterischen Ausdrucksmittel heraus zu verstehen. Selbst Ed. Fraenkel hat, wie mir scheint, die einheitliche religiöse Konzeption, auf der *c.* 2.19 aufbaut, nicht voll verstanden. Im Vergleich mit *c.* 2.19 gibt er *c.* 3.25 als dem "more personal document and the more beautiful poem" den Vorzug und konstatiert für *c.* 2.19 "the strangeness of this ode as a whole."[3]

Was Fraenkel "fremd" vorkam, ist offenbar die fehlende Verbindung zwischen den beiden Hauptteilen des Gedichts. Fraenkel konnte zwar jedes der drei Leitthemen — Vision, Gottesauffassung und Preislied — einzeln aus einer bestimmten historischen Tradition herleiten, aber es ist ihm nicht gelungen, alle drei Themen im Zusammenhang zu erklären und so den ungewöhnlichen Aufbau der Ode aus einem einheitlichen Konzept heraus verständlich zu machen. Zur Dionysosepiphanie bzw. zum Visionserlebnis des Dichters bemerkt er lediglich, dass Dionysos dem Horaz aus vielfältiger literarischer Tradition gegenwärtig war und dass der Dichter nur die Augen zu schliessen brauchte,

[2] So vor allem unter Einbeziehung der älteren Forschung V. Pöschl, *Hermes* 101 (1973) 208–230 bes. 211–216.

[3] *Horace* (1957) 200 und 257. Man wird Fraenkels Vorliebe ohne Zögern teilen, solange man die beiden Gedichte nach dem modernen Kriterium der schöpferischen Originalität beurteilt.

um den Gott in konkreter Gestalt vor sich zu sehen: "Horace means what he says. He did see Dionysus."[4] Dafür, dass Dionysos dem Dichter nicht als Weingott oder als Lenagetas erschienen ist sondern in der ungewöhnlichen Rolle eines Meisterdichters (*carmina . . . docentem*), verweist Fraenkel auf "Dionysus as god of poetry" in vorwiegend hellenistischer Tradition und bezeichnet ihn als "χοροδιδάσκαλος of his retinue."[5] Das hymnische Lob des Gottes schliesslich, zu dem sich Horaz durch die Vision legitimiert fühlte, stellt Fraenkel mit Kiessling-Heinze in die Tradition griechischer Kulthymnen, in denen die "ἀρεταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ" (so Fraenkel) aufgezählt werden. Hier ist Fraenkel offensichtlich E. Nordens berühmter Abhandlung über den "Du-Stil der Prädikation" verpflichtet, einer Stileigentümlichkeit, die dem alten griechischen Götterhymnus und den hellenistischen Aretalogien gemeinsam ist. Norden bemerkt zu *c.* 2.19: "Der Gott Dionysos und seine Gabe werden im Stile der Aretalogie gepriesen"; anschliessend vergleicht er damit den reihenden Stil der "Dionysoshymnen" bei Properz 3.17, Tibull 1.7 und Ovid *Metam.* 4.11ff.[6] Die Horazinterpreten haben zwar Nordens stilgeschichtliche Beobachtung zu *c.* 2.19 übernommen, es aber versäumt, den von Norden herangezogenen Begriff der Aretalogie über das rein Stilistische hinaus auf die religiöse Grundsituation anzuwenden, die Horaz vor Augen hatte.[7]

Horaz stellt sich uns als persönlicher Empfänger (*vidi*) einer göttlichen Selbstoffenbarung vor, deren Glaubwürdigkeit und Realität er für die Nachwelt durch sein Zeugnis ausdrücklich bekräftigt (*credite posteri*) und die ihn zu einem Preis der göttlichen Leistungen inspiriert (*fas . . . est mihi . . . cantare*). Es lässt sich zeigen, dass dasselbe Wechselverhältnis von göttlicher Offenbarung in Vision und Wunder einerseits und von menschlichem Zeugnis andererseits und darüberhinaus dieselben hymnischen Stilkonventionen den kultischen Aretalogien hellenistisch-römischer Zeit ihren unverkennbaren Charakter geben. Dazu muss man jedoch die inschriftlich erhaltenen Aretalogien

[4] *Horace* 200.

[5] Das von Fraenkel herangezogene Epithet erinnert zwar entfernt an die dionysischen Techniten, ist aber vom tatsächlichen hellenistischen Dionysosbild (dazu etwa Kallim. fr. 191.7–8, Epigr. 7.1–2 u. 8 Pf.) noch weiter entfernt als der von Pöschl verglichene Dionysos Melpomenos, den erst Pausanias für Attika bezeugt.

[6] E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos, Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede* (²1923, 1956) 153ff.

[7] Das gilt auch für Pöschl (oben Anm.2), der die religionsgeschichtlich umfassendste Behandlung von *c.* 2.19 geliefert hat, ohne auch nur die Schlüsselwörter "Aretalogie" bzw. "Aretaloge" zu nennen.

auswerten, die grösstenteils subliterarisch sind und vermutlich schon aus diesem äusseren Grund bei der formgeschichtlichen Interpretation von *c.* 2.19 als stilfremd übergangen worden sind. Wenn ich im folgenden die Horazode mit kultischen Aretalogien vergleiche, will ich damit keineswegs konkrete Vorbilder bestimmen, die einen literargeschichtlich nachweisbaren Einfluss auf den Dichter gehabt haben könnten. Vielmehr möchte ich die Interpretation des Gedichts aus der Sackgasse einer *einseitigen* literarisch-formgeschichtlichen Analyse herausführen, die sich als unzureichend erwiesen hat. Es scheint mir nämlich evident, dass sich Horaz bei der Komposition dieser Ode von der religiösen Dynamik und dem formalen Aufbau kultischer Aretalogien hat anregen lassen, die ihm aus der vorherrschenden griechisch-hellenistischen Religiosität seiner Zeit geläufig waren. Horaz gibt sich bewusst als Aretaloge des Dionysos, aber er tut es in viel subtilerer Weise als Properz, der sich mit dem Aushängeschild *virtutisque tuae Bacche poeta ferar* (3.17.20) selbst als *aretalogus* identifiziert.

R. Reitzenstein, der den Terminus "Aretalogie" in die moderne Forschung eingeführt hat, bezeichnete damit auf recht unglückliche Weise alle möglichen Arten von hellenistischen Wundererzählungen.[8] Heute fasst man den Begriff schärfer und beschränkt ihn meist auf zwei festumrissene Typen hellenistischer Kultliteratur, in denen zu Zwecken der Kultpropaganda das tatkräftige Eingreifen bestimmter Gottheiten von Augenzeugen berichtet und damit dokumentarisch festgehalten wird.[9] Neben Aretalogien, die Heilungs- oder Strafwunder des Asklepios oder Sarapis zum Inhalt haben, stehen solche, in denen die Kulturtaten der Isis listenartig aufgezählt werden. Beide Typen sind zwar funktionsmässig identisch aber herkunftsmässig ganz verschieden. Der erste Typ scheint im vorhellenistischen Asklepioskult ausgebildet worden zu sein, während der zweite letztlich auf theologisierte Kulturentstehungslehren des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. zurückgeht, in deren Mittelpunkt Demeter und Dionysos standen.[10] In der Aretalogie von Maroneia sind erstmals beide Traditionen miteinander verbunden: Das Lob der Kulturbringerin Isis ist der Dank für die erfolgte Heilung (siehe unten). Damit ist dem zweiten Typ der Aretalogie, dessen kultische Funktion

[8] *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen* (1906, 1963); vgl. W. Aly, "Aretalogoi," *RE* Suppl. 6 (1935) 13–15.

[9] Die inschriftlich erhaltenen Aretalogien sind bisher nicht zusammenfassend behandelt worden. Zur jüngsten Diskussion vgl. ausser Grandjean (oben Anm. 1) die aus neutestamentlicher Perspektive formulierten Thesen von M. Smith, *JBL* 90 (1971) 174–199 und H. C. Kee, *JBL* 92 (1973) 402–422.

[10] Vgl. *HSCP* 79 (1975) 110f Anm. 65.

bisher unklar war, ein fester "Sitz im Leben" zugewiesen.[11] Für unsere Zwecke können wir uns auf drei Inschriften beschränken, die ich in chronologischer Reihenfolge vorführe.

Isyllos von Epidauros (spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr.) berichtet in einem Gedicht, wie ihm Asklepios in der Nähe von Epidauros erschien.[12] Isyllos sah den Gott (Vers 64 *παῖς* [Isyllos] *δ' ἐσιδών σε*) ebenso wie Horaz (*Bacchum . . . vidi*). Asklepios teilt dem jungen Isyllos mit, dass er Sparta gegen Philipp II. verteidigen werde. Das Eingreifen des Asklepios rettet Sparta. Daraufhin gewähren die Spartaner dem Gott Gastrecht und Isyllos bewahrt das Andenken an die Tat des Gottes und an die ihm zuteil gewordene Epiphanie in dem inschriftlich erhaltenen Hymnus, der folgendermassen endet:

> *οἳ δὴ ἐκάρυξαν πάντας ξενίαις σε δέκεσθαι*
> *σωτῆρα εὐρυχόρου Λακεδαίμονος ἀγκαλέοντες.*
> *ταῦτά τοι, ὦ μέγ' ἄριστε θεῶν, ἀνέθηκεν Ἴσυλλος*
> *τιμῶν σὴν ἀρετήν, ὦναξ, ὥσπερ τὸ δίκαιον.*[13]

Die bekannte Sarapisaretalogie von Delos (Ende des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.) berichtet in Prosa und in Versen von dem glücklichen Ausgang eines Rechtsstreites, in den die dortige Sarapisgemeinde verwickelt war.[14] Sarapis interveniert, und seine Verehrer gewinnen den Prozess. In der Prosafassung des Sarapispriesters Apollonios wird das göttliche Eingreifen so geschildert: . . . *ἐπηγγείλατο δ' ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον*[15] *ὅτι νικήσομεν. τοῦ δ' ἀγῶνος συντελεσθέντος καὶ νικησάντων ἡμῶν ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀξίαν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες.*

[11] Vgl. Grandjean (oben Anm. 1) 25. Die Inschrift von Maroneia bestätigt ausserdem A. D. Nock, der für den Katalog der Taten der Isis den Namen "Praises of Isis" vorgeschlagen hatte (*Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* II [1972] 703ff; *Conversion* [1933] 40).

[12] *IG* 4².1.128 Z. 57ff = Powell, *Collect. Alex.* p. 134 = V. Longo, *Aretalogie nel mondo greco* I (1969) Nr. 45.

[13] Isyllos bedient sich der hellenistischen Kultsprache. Zu *θεὸν (ὑπο)δέχεσθαι* vgl. *HSCP* 80 (1976) 278 Anm. 71; zu *σωτῆρα . . . ἀγκαλέοντες* z. B. Phanodemos *FGrHist* 325 F 12 ap. Athen. 11.13 (465 A) *ἔμελπον τὸν Διόνυσον χορεύοντες καὶ ἀνακαλοῦντες Εὐάνθη καὶ Διθύραμβον καὶ Βακχευτὰν καὶ Βρόμιον*; zu *ἀρεταί* s. oben Anm. 1; zu *μέγ' ἄριστε* als Epithet des Asklepios vgl. C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions, Altertümer von Pergamon VIII 3* (1969) Nr. 113b (hergestellt von T. Drew-Bear, *HSCP* 79 [1975] 301) *σοί, μέγ' ἄριστε θεῶν, [Ἀσ]κληπιέ, θῆκε Διώνη, κτλ.*

[14] *IG* 11.4.1299 = H. Engelmann, *The Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis*, EPRO 44 (1975) = Longo (oben Anm. 12) Nr. 63.

[15] D.h. in einer Traumvision. Bedeutungsgleich sind die ebenfalls in Inschriften gebräuchlichen Wendungen *καθ' ὅραμα* und *ex visu* (vgl. Horazens *vidi*).

Der Dank für die Traumvision und das Wunder besteht in dem Gedicht, das bei dem sonst unbekannten Poetaster Maiistas in Auftrag gegeben wurde und dessen Schluss so lautet:

> ἅπας δ' ἄρα λαὸς ἐκείνωι
> σὴν ἀρετὴν θάμβησεν ἐν ἤματι καὶ μέγα κῦδος
> σῶι τεύξας θεράποντι θεόδμητον κατὰ Δῆλον.
> χαῖρε, μάκαρ, καὶ σεῖο συνάορος οἵ τ' ἐνὶ νειῶι
> ἡμετέρωι γεγάασι θεοί, πολύυμνε Σάραπι.

Der Verfasser der neuen Isisaretalogie von Maroneia (spätes 2. oder frühes 1. Jh. v. Chr.)[16] ist durch die Intervention der Göttin Isis von einem Augenleiden befreit worden. Bei dieser Gelegenheit war die Göttin zu ihm "gekommen" (Z. 10f *εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς καλουμένη σωτηρίας ἦλθες*); diese Epiphanie war vermutlich eine Traumvision. Nach erfolgter Heilung wird Isis gebeten, sich ein zweites Mal zu zeigen (Z.7 *ἐλθὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέραν εὐχήν*, Z. 10 *πείθομαι δὲ πάντως σε παρέσεσθαι*), um als Dank dafür ein *ἐγκώμιον* (Z. 5, 8, u. ö.) bzw. *ἔπαινοι* (Z. 4, 7) zu ihrer Ehre (Z. 11 *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τιμῆς*) in Empfang zu nehmen.[17] Die "Praises of Isis," die in Z. 22–44 folgen, bestehen in dem durch zahlreiche spätere Inschriften bezeugten Katalog der Kulturtaten der Göttin.[18] Doch im Gegensatz zu den Parallelfassungen werden die *res gestae* der Isis hier nicht im Ich-Stil (*ἐγώ εἰμι*) vorgetragen, sondern im Sie-Stil (*αὕτη* . . . ) und Du-Stil (*σύ* . . . ). Der Du-Stil der Prädikation, dessen sich Horaz in seiner Dionysosaretalogie bedient (*c.* 2.19.9ff), kennzeichnet also nicht nur die griechischen Kulthymnen, sondern auch die hymnenartigen Schlüsse hellenistischer Aretalogien.[19]

In den inschriftlich erhaltenen Aretalogien greift die Gottheit während oder unmittelbar nach der Vision fördernd in das menschliche Leben ein: Asklepios erscheint dem Isyllos und rettet Sparta; Sarapis

[16] Ediert von Grandjean (oben Anm. 1).

[17] Es ist dem Editor entgangen, dass Z. 13–15 *καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἥξω, τῶν ἐγκωμίων ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν τὴν πρώτην σου τοῦ γένους ἀρχήν* zurückgeht auf Isokr. *Hel.* 16 *τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς*. Zu dieser Isokratesimitation passen die *Laudes Athenarum* und die Gleichsetzung der Isis mit der attischen Demeter in Z. 35–41.

[18] Am besten informiert darüber noch immer D. Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, Abh. Sächs. Akad., Philol.-hist. Kl. 53.1 (Berlin 1961).

[19] Vgl. Horaz *c.* 2.19.17–29 *tu* . . . *tu* . . . *tu* . . . *tu* . . . *te* (ähnlich Tibull in der Osirisaretalogie 1.7.25ff; dazu L. Koenen, *ICS* 1 [1975] 146) mit dem Text von Maroneia Z. 29ff *σύ* . . . *σύ* . . *σοί* . . . *σύ*.

erscheint dem Apollonios und bewirkt den erfolgreichen Ausgang des Prozesses; Isis erscheint dem Gläubigen in Maroneia und macht seine Augen gesund. Entsprechend erwarten wir auch bei Horaz ausser der Epiphanie ein Wunder, durch das der Gott eine bleibende Wirkung auf den Dichter ausübt. Das dionysische Wunder, das Horaz an sich erfährt, liegt in der einzigartigen Erscheinungsweise des Gottes: Dionysos als Dichter hat durch sein aktives Vorbild Horaz in der Dichtkunst unterwiesen und damit zum Dichter gemacht. Das Wunder geschieht während der Vision, ganz so wie es in den Iamata von Epidauros häufig erzählt wird. Damit hat Horaz den seit Hesiod geläufigen Inspirationstopos einerseits und den Wundertopos der kultischen Aretalogien andererseits kühn uminterpretiert.[20] Der Römer hat seinen dichterischen Enthusiasmos, den er in Anlehnung an bekannte griechische Vorbilder dionysisch verstand,[21] in freier Erfindung in eine dionysische Vision umgesetzt und dabei Dionysos selbst zum Prototyp des Dichters gemacht. Horaz war sich der Neuheit seines Wunders wohl bewusst, wie seine aretalogische Beteuerung *credite posteri* (dazu unten) zeigt, die den Wunderbericht emphatisch unterbricht.[22]

Die drei zitierten Aretalogien aus hellenistischer Zeit stimmen mit der Horazode in Aufbau und religiöser Motivierung vollkommen überein. Die persönliche Erfahrung der wirksamen Präsenz der Gottheit wird ausgedrückt durch häufig belegte Visionstermini wie ἐσιδών σε (Epidauros),[23] κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον (Delos),[24] σὲ παρέσεσθαι

[20] Man vergleiche, wie anders dionysische Inspiration sonst ausgedrückt wird: Kallim. *Epigr.* 8.3 Pf. ᾧ δὲ σὺ μὴ πνεύσῃς ἐνδέξιος. Hor. *c.* 1.1.30ff me gelidum nemus / Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori / secernunt populo (cf. *c.* 3.4.5–8), *c.* 3.25.1 quo me, Bacche, rapis tui / plenum? Ovid *Fasti* 3.789f mite caput, pater, huc placataque cornua vertas / et des ingenio vela secunda meo (cf. Prop. 3.17.2). Prop. 4.1.62 mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua.

[21] Etwa Archil. fr. 120 W. und Platons *Ion.* Vgl. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (1924) 30ff.

[22] In diesem Abschnitt folge ich wichtigen Anregungen von Zeph Stewart.

[23] Vgl. z. B. *SIG*³ 3.1151 (ca. 350 v. Chr.; Athen, Akropolis) Ἀθηνάαι Μένεια ἀνέθηκεν ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ (Vision [ὄψις] und Wunder [ἀρετή] fallen auch hier zusammen); [Moschus] *Megara* 92 παλίγκοτον ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα (die Wendung ὄψ. ἰδ. ist unepisch und der Kultsprache entlehnt); bereits für das späte 5. Jh. bezeugt den Gebrauch Herod. 8.54 ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου. Mehr Beispiele bei C. Habicht (oben Anm. 13) 138f zu Nr. 132.2f κατὰ ἐνυπνίου ὄψιν (vgl. die folgende Anm.).

[24] Vgl. z. B. *PSI* 435 = *P. Cairo Zen.* 59034 (258/7 v. Chr.) Z. 5 ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις (Traumoffenbarung des Sarapis); Anagraphe von Lindos (99 v. Chr.) *FGrHist* 532 D Z.14 ἐπιστᾶσα καθ' ὕπνον (ähnlich Z.68f) = Z.16f τὰν ὄψιν ἰδών (Epiphanie der Athena); Sarapisaretalogie von Thessalonike *IG* 10.2.1 255.3f

(Maroneia),[25] und schliesslich *vidi* (Horaz).[26] Das göttliche Wunder, das mit dem Epiphanieerlebnis eng verbunden ist, löst ein Gefühl der Dankbarkeit und Verpflichtung gegenüber dem Gott aus (Epidauros: ὥσπερ τὸ δίκαιον; Delos: ἀξίαν χάριν ἀποδιδόντες; Horaz: *fas est*), das sich im spontanen Gotteslob äussert (Maroneia: ἔπαινος bzw. ἐγκώμιον und ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας τιμῆς; Epidauros: τιμῶν σὴν ἀρετήν; Delos: ἐπαινοῦμεν; Horaz: *cantare* sc. die ἀρεταὶ τοῦ Διονύσου). Dieses Gotteslob nimmt meist die metrische Form des Götterhymnus an (Epidauros; Delos; Horaz), kann sich jedoch auch in hymnische Prosa kleiden ("Praises of Isis"; Aelius Aristides *or.* 45 Keil). Inhaltlich kann das Lob entweder in dem blossen Wunderbericht (Epidauros und Delos) oder zusätzlich in einem Katalog der göttlichen Taten bestehen (Maroneia; Horaz).

Aretalogien sind also Augenzeugenberichte, in denen der Gläubige als Aretaloge Zeugnis von der Macht seines Gottes ablegt. Das Zeugnis dient sowohl dem persönlichen Glaubensbekenntnis als auch der allgemeinen Glaubenswerbung, indem das eigene Erlebnis durch das gesprochene oder geschriebene Wort anderen zugänglich gemacht wird: *credite posteri.*[27] Diesem Aufruf des Horaz, mit dem sich der Dichter als Augenzeuge an die gläubige Nachwelt wendet, entspricht im Kult der Stein mit der eingemeisselten Aretalogie.[28] Von dem Leser der

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(1.Jh. n. Chr.) καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα; Suet. *Vesp.* 7.2 orantes opem valetudini a Serapide per quietem = Dio 65.8.1 ἐξ ὄψεως ὀνειράτων (Vespasian in Alexandrien; dazu *ZPE* 3 [1968] 51ff bes. 68); Diod. 3.57.5 = *FGrHist* 32 (Dionysios Skytobrachion) F 7 κατενεχθεῖσαν εἰς ὕπνον ἰδεῖν ὄψιν καθ' ἣν ἔδοξεν ἐπιστάντα τὸν Ἥλιον παρακαλεῖν αὐτήν.

[25] Vgl. z.B. die Stellen bei O. Weinreich, *ARW* 18 (1915) 38ff = *Ausgew. Schriften* I (1969) 285ff; J. Roux, *Euripide, Les Bacchantes* II (1972) 239f; Grandjean (oben Anm.1) 34ff.

[26] Die Horazkommentare geben lediglich literarische Belege wie Kallim. *Apoll.* 10 ὅς μιν (Apollo) ἴδῃ, μέγας οὗτος, und Verg. *Ekl.* 10.26 Pan deus Arcadiae *venit* quem *vidimus* ipsi.

[27] Zur zentralen Rolle des Zeugen in aretalogischen Texten vgl. z. B. Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.3 (Vespasian heilt als θεῖος ἀνήρ bzw. νέος Σάραπις Kranke in Alexandrien; vgl. oben Anm. 24 und W. Fauth im vierten Band des Historienkommentars von H. Heubner 175ff) utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant postquam nullum mendacio pretium. *Markusev.* 1.45 (Reinigung des Aussätzigen) ἐξελθὼν ἤρξατο κηρύσσειν πολλὰ καὶ διαφημίζειν τὸν λόγον . . . καὶ ἤρχοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν (Jesus) πάντοθεν. Apul. *Metam.* 11.13 testantur tam inlustre deae beneficium.

[28] Die einzige inhaltliche Parallele, die mir für Horazens *posteri* aus der antiken religiösen Literatur zur Hand ist, ist kaiserzeitlich: In einem Nachwort zur Enosapokalypse des Kölner Mani-Kodex heisst es (*CMC* 55.5ff in *ZPE* 19 [1975] 54f) πάντα γὰρ ἃ ἤκουσεν καὶ εἶδεν (Enos) γράψας κατέλειψεν τοῖς μεταγενεστέ-

Aretalogie wird πίστις erwartet. Wer diesen Glauben verweigert, ist ἄπιστος und hat mit göttlicher Strafe zu rechnen, wie etwa im Falle eines Zweiflers in Epidauros, dem Asklepios den Namen Ἄπιστος gab.[29] So fordert auch Horaz, des Dionysos voll, unbedingten Glauben an seine Zeugenaussage und droht den Zweiflern. Wie ernst es dem Dichter mit seinem Bekenntnis gemeint war, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden.[30] Bei aller formalen Anlehnung an die kultischen Aretalogien hat Horaz seiner Wundererzählung dennoch einen dionysischen Inhalt gegeben, der mehr der literarischen Tradition als dem tatsächlichen Kult verpflichtet ist.[31] Diese Selbständigkeit im Inhaltlichen ist ein starkes Indiz dafür, dass Horaz in seiner Dionysosode mehr als inspirierter Dichter in eigener Sache denn als Missionar der Dionysosreligion zu uns spricht.[32]

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ροις πᾶσι τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας πνεύματος. Ähnlich *CMC* 63.7ff . . . γράψαι καὶ σημᾶναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις πᾶσι καὶ οἰκείοις τῆς πίστεως. Vgl. unten Anm. 32.

[29] R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*. Philologus Suppl. 22.3 (1931) Text Nr. 3 (*SIG*[3] 3.1168; spätes 4. Jh. v. Chr.) Z.29ff ἐπερωτῆν νιν τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἔτι ἀπιστησοῖ τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασι τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶμ πινάκων τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν [d.h. den aufgezeichneten Aretalogien], αὐτὸς δ' οὐ φάμεν. 'ὅτι τοίνυν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπίστεις αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐοῦσιν ἀπίστοις, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω τοι', φάμεν, '"Απιστος ὄνομα.' *Johannesev.* 20.25ff (der ungläubige Thomas) ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι μαθηταί· 'ἑωράκαμεν τὸν κύριον.' ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς. ' . . . οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω.'

[30] Vgl. Pöschl (oben Anm. 2) 212f.

[31] Die hellenistische Dionysosbiographie zählt zwar alle mythischen Taten des Gottes auf und ist daher formal den Isisaretalogien vergleichbar (Diod. 3.62–4.5; [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.5; Prop. 3.17), aber es lässt sich nicht sicher beweisen, dass Dionysosaretalogien im hellenistischen Dionysoskult gebräuchlich waren. Aretalogische Bilderzyklen in Dionysostempeln gab es jedoch sowohl im Athen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Paus. 1.20.3; vgl. M. Robertson, *GRBS* 13 [1972] 47) als auch vermutlich in der Kaiserzeit (Longus 4.3.2).

[32] Als Aretalogie ist *c.* 2.19 ein *monumentum aere perennius* (*c.* 3.30) zum Preis des Dionysos. Es ist bezeichnend, dass der Dichter in beiden Gedichten, in denen er sich zu seiner Berufung bekennt, an die Nachwelt denkt (*c.* 3.30.7f ego *postera* crescam *laude* recens): das Gotteslob von *c.* 2.19 weist bereits auf das Selbstlob von *c.* 3.30. Grosse Leistungen sollen ewig im Gedächtnis der Nachwelt fortleben: z.B. Thuk. 2.41.4 τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα, 2.64.3 ἐς ἀΐδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις . . . μνήμη καταλελείψεται; Corippus *In laudem Iustini* 2.128f amborum nomen per saecula cuncta canetur; / *narrabunt populi miracula vestra futuri* (vgl. oben Anm. 28). Darin sind sich profane und religiöse Propaganda einig. Von Dionysos selbst heisst es in den von Diodor benutzten *res gestae* des Gottes (oben Anm. 1 und 31): βουλόμενον ἀθάνατον ἀπολιπεῖν ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς τὸ καὶ διαμεῖναν μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων (Diod. 3.72.3 = *FGrHist* 32 F 8).

# SENECAN DRAMA AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

R. J. TARRANT

IN all the vicissitudes of critical opinion which Seneca's tragedies have undergone, they have been consistently linked with and compared to the tragedies of fifth-century Athens. Whether the result was the exaggerated esteem which Senecan drama enjoyed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[1] or the unmerited contempt to which it was subjected in the nineteenth,[2] critics generally assumed that Attic tragedy was both the model for Seneca's work and the proper standard for its evaluation. The present century has brought a needed revision of these assumptions. Much attention has been devoted to Seneca's own artistic aims and methods,[3] and they have been shown to be so different from those of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides that any assessment of Senecan tragedy based on competition with his fifth-century predecessors now seems naive and misguided.

Welcome though this change of perspective is, it seems in its effect on modern criticism of the plays to have gone both too far and not far

This article is based on a colloquium given at Harvard University in April 1975. I am very grateful to Professor Wendell Clausen for inviting me to offer the colloquium and to those who attended it for several helpful comments. I also wish to thank Dr. O. P. Taplin for generously sharing with me his knowledge of fifth-century dramatic technique.

[1] The most notorious pronouncement is that of J. C. Scaliger (*Poet.* VI.6): "Seneca . . . quem nullo Graecorum maiestate inferiorem existimo: cultu uero ac nitore etiam Euripide maiorem. Inuentiones sane illorum sunt, maiestas carminis, sonus spiritus ipsius." (The criteria of this judgment are those of Quintilian *Inst.* 10.1.97.)

[2] A. W. Schlegel, *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Litteratur*[2] (1817) II 27f: "Sie sind über alle Beschreibung schwülstig und frostig, ohne Natur in Charakter und Handlung, durch die widersinnigsten Unschicklichkeiten empörend"; D. Nisard, *Etude de moeurs et de critique sur les poètes latins de la décadence*[5] (1888) I 117ff: "Chercher un art dramatique dans les tragédies de Sénèque, ce serait tout à la fois perdre son temps et se donner fort inutilement le facile avantage de critiquer le poète pour des fautes qu'il a voulu faire"; H. E. Butler, *Post-Augustan Poetry* (1909) 74f.

[3] Two influential studies deserve particular mention: O. Regenbogen, "Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien des Seneca," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1927/28, 167–218 (= *Kl. Schr.* [1961] 409–462), and C. J. Herington, "Senecan Tragedy," *Arion* 5 (1966) 422–471.

enough. Not far enough, in that much modern analysis of Senecan tragedy, even when it seeks to isolate uniquely Senecan aspects of dramatic form, continues to place it in an unproven direct relationship with surviving Greek tragedy.[4] Too far, in that an increasingly popular approach takes Seneca's artistic independence from the Greeks as justification for reading the plays as isolated documents, as though nothing else in ancient literature were relevant to their interpretation.[5]

No work of literature can make complete sense when removed from the literary context in which it was formed. This is particularly true of Latin literature, with its great sensitivity to models and its highly developed techniques of imitation, and among Latin poets few give more evidence than Seneca of having been shaped by earlier literature. What follows is an attempt to place Senecan drama more precisely in its proper literary context.[6] I shall argue that fifth-century Attic tragedy was in many cases a remote and not a proximate source for Seneca; using the evidence of dramatic technique, I shall try to show how Seneca's plays employ a later Greek dramatic form for which the earliest surviving evidence is in New Comedy; finally I shall suggest that Seneca's conception of tragic form and style, as well as much of the content of his plays, came to him from Latin writers of the Augustan period.

## I

The only complete specimens of tragic drama which survive from the ancient world are the thirty-two plays attributed to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides and the ten plays attributed to Seneca.[7] What is known

[4] Below, pp. 216f.

[5] A few recent examples (from among many): N. T. Pratt, "Major Systems of Figurative Language in Senecan Melodrama," *TAPA* 94 (1963) 199–234; W. H. Owen, "Commonplace and Dramatic Symbol in Seneca's Tragedies," *TAPA* 99 (1968) 291–314; J. P. Poe, "An Analysis of Seneca's *Thyestes*," *TAPA* 100 (1969) 355–376; D. J. Mastronarde, "Seneca's *Oedipus:* The Drama in the Word," *TAPA* 101 (1970) 291–316; G. Braden, "The Rhetoric and Psychology of Power in the Dramas of Seneca," *Arion* 9 (1970) 5–41; and many (not all) of the studies by German scholars collected in *Senecas Tragödien*, ed. E. Lefèvre (1972; Wege der Forschung 310). Application of this critical procedure has hardly been restricted to Seneca; it has been perhaps the dominant tendency of classical literary criticism for a generation.

[6] I owe much to the work of Friedrich Leo, in particular to his study of dramatic monologue, *Der Monolog im Drama* (*Abhandlungen der Göttingen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. X [1908]), to W.-H. Friedrich's *Untersuchungen zu Senecas dramatischer Technik* (1933), and to O. Zwierlein's *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas* (1966).

[7] Eight of these ten plays may be confidently regarded as genuine; the *Octauia*

of tragedy between Euripides and Seneca — the tragedy of the fourth century and the Hellenistic age, of the Roman Republic and the time of Augustus — is at best fragmentary, at worst purely conjectural. Some comparison of Seneca with fifth-century Greek tragedy can thus hardly be avoided. Further, since there is no doubt that the mythic plots and the basic structure of Senecan drama have their ultimate source in classical Greek tragedy, such comparison is to an extent justified. What seems questionable is the assumption, still widespread in the criticism of Senecan drama, that every Senecan play is a direct adaptation (however free) of an extant or lost play by one of the Attic triad. For the most part this belief seems to rest on nothing more than a general similarity of plot and characters. Certainly it is impossible to assemble for Seneca a body of recognizably immediate translations of lines or speeches in his alleged Greek models, as can be done for the Republican Roman adapters of Attic tragedy.[8] In addition, for at least one play, the *Agamemnon*, direct evidence exists to show that Seneca's model was not the extant *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus.[9] Even if no fragment of another treatment had survived, comparison of Seneca's play with that of Aeschylus would reveal an almost complete absence of similarity in structure and characterization; the only points of contact are in elements virtually required by Seneca's choice of this mythic plot. On the basis of this play, one might conclude that Seneca had never read Aeschylus. The impression formed by comparison of the two plays is confirmed by the remains of plays on this subject by Ion of Chios, Livius Andronicus, and Accius; these fragments contain several important plot elements which appear in Seneca but not in Aeschylus,[10] thus demonstrating that Seneca's principal model was a post-Aeschylean play.[11] Yet so well

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is now almost universally (and rightly) considered un-Senecan; opinion about the *Hercules Oetaeus* remains divided, but the stylistic evidence presented by W.-H. Friedrich (*Hermes* 82 [1954] 51–84) and B. Axelson (*Korruptelenkult* [1967]) seems decisively to disprove its authenticity.

[8] The attempt has been made more than once: cf. W. Braun, *Rh. Mus.* 20 (1865) 267ff (*Phoenissae*), 22 (1867) 245ff (*Oedipus*); R. Schreiner, *Seneca als Tragödiendichter in seiner Beziehung zu den griechischen Originalen* (1909); C. Zintzen, *Analytisches Hypomnema zu Senecas Phaedra* (1960). In all cases the great majority of the parallels adduced concern similarity of plot and situation rather than close verbal correspondence.

[9] For details see my edition of *Agamemnon* (1976) 10ff.

[10] For example: an extended narrative of the Greeks' return from Troy, Agamemnon's murder at a banquet, and a confrontation after the murder between Electra and Clytemestra.

[11] F. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (1913) 70f.

established is the belief that Seneca turned directly to the great tragedians of the fifth century for his material that the majority of recent writers either implicitly assume[12] or openly assert[13] that Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* was the original of Seneca's play. While *Agamemnon* is admittedly an extreme case, what is patently true of it is at least arguable for several other plays: the similarities between Seneca and Sophocles or Euripides largely concern the identity of the characters and the main events of the plot,[14] and so are inadequate to establish Seneca's dependence on fifth-century tragedy or to exclude the influence on him of lost intermediate treatments of the same material.

An argument of a different kind may be added here. It is not implausible that Seneca was aware of and adopted a small number of the most popular Greek tragedies, for example Euripides' *Heracles*, *Medea*, and *Troades* or Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The assumption that Seneca's plays have for their immediate models Greek tragedies of the fifth century, however, entails a more complex and debatable hypothesis. Deviations from the alleged Greek source, in cases where this source survives, are generally explained as the result of conflation with a second or even a third Greek play; Seneca is thus thought to have practiced the same sort of *contaminatio* as Plautus and Terence. So, for example, traces of both *Hippolytus*-plays of Euripides and of Sophocles' *Phaedra* have been discovered in Seneca's *Phaedra*,[15] his *Hercules Furens* is said to contain a chorus grafted onto Euripides' *Heracles* (the alleged primary source) from Euripides' *Phaethon*,[16] the *Troades* has been analyzed as an amalgamation of scenes from Euripides' *Andromache*, *Troades*, and *Hecuba*,[17] the *Agamemnon* is said to have incorporated a speech from Euripides' *Alexandros*.[18] The knowledge of Greek tragedy presupposed now appears wider and more detailed, perhaps in fact too

[12] *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 10 n.3.

[13] Most recently W. M. Calder III, *CP* 71 (1976) 27ff.

[14] F. Leo, *Observationes Criticae in Senecae Tragoedias* (1878) 147: "ille enim nec secutus est Graecos praeter argumenta."

[15] C. Zintzen (above, n. 8); B. Snell, *Scenes from Greek Drama* (1964) 23ff; note, however, the properly cautious remarks of W. S. Barrett, *Euripides: Hippolytus* (1965) 16f.

[16] C. K. Kapnukajas, *Die Nachahmungstechnik Senecas in den Chorliedern des Hercules furens und der Medea* (1930) 7ff; J. Diggle, ed., *Euripides: Phaethon* (1970) 96f.

[17] W. Braun, *De Senecae fabula quae inscribitur Troades* (Progr. Wesel 1870); W. M. Calder III, *Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Univ. Rostock*, Ges. und sprachwiss. R. 15 (1966) 551–559.

[18] L. Strzelecki, *De Senecae Agamemnone Euripidisque Alexandro* (1949); cf. *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 16f.

great to be plausible for a Roman writer of the first century A.D. (as distinct from one of the Republican or Augustan period). Certainly the citations of Greek tragedy in Seneca's prose works do not give the impression of wide or deep familiarity: almost all the passages cited are well-known *sententiae*, many of which could have reached Seneca through earlier Latin sources.[19]

It emerges that the direct derivation of Senecan tragedy from the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides is not as well established as recent opinion has generally supposed; the confidence with which this relationship is asserted in the one instance in which it is demonstrably absent (*Agamemnon*) justifies a degree of suspicion concerning similar statements about other plays.[20] To cast doubt on this widely held assumption would have broader consequences: an element of distortion could be demonstrated in studies of Senecan dramatic technique, however meticulous, which use fifth-century tragedy as their only source of comparative material,[21] and attempts to reconstruct lost tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides on the basis of presumed or alleged Senecan imitation would merit even more skeptical treatment than they receive at present. In order to accomplish this revision of current views, however, it is not enough to assert the possibility that Seneca used lost postclassical[22] plays as his models. In the study of sources, as in textual criticism, sound method discourages the postulating of intermediate stages of transmission when no positive evidence requires their existence. To offer such evidence for the influence of postclassical tragedy on Seneca is the purpose of the next section.

## II

If the general similarity of Seneca's characters and plots to those of fifth-century tragedy is too slight a basis on which to determine Seneca's primary models, attention must be directed to less obvious

[19] *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 9.

[20] For example, C. W. Mendell, *Our Seneca* (1941) 4: "Seneca had before him the *Oedipus* of Sophocles when he wrote his play of the same name"; C. D. N. Costa, ed., *Seneca: Medea* (1973) 8: "So far as we can judge, Seneca's chief model was Euripides' play."

[21] Among recent publications B. Seidensticker's *Die Gesprächsverdichtung in den Tragödien Senecas* (1969), K. Heldmann's *Untersuchungen zu den Tragödien Senecas* (1974) and W.-L. Liebermann's *Studien zu Senecas Tragödien* (1974) are all to some extent affected by this limitation.

[22] The term "postclassical" is used throughout as a conveniently brief designation for ancient drama after the end of the fifth century B.C.

aspects of his plays. It is the premise of this argument that more reliable evidence of Seneca's antecedents is to be found in the area of "dramatic technique," that is, the practices and conventions which govern on a large scale the arrangement of action into a recognizable dramatic structure and on a smaller scale the deployment and behavior of actors and chorus on the stage.[23] The study of dramatic technique has been an object of much fruitful research in both Greek and Latin drama in recent decades;[24] when applied to the question of Seneca's debt to his fifth-century predecessors, it shows clearly that Seneca's technique is in many respects not that of the fifth century, but rather of a time after the death of Sophocles and Euripides. In the following pages the practices which Seneca shares with postclassical drama are listed and briefly discussed. Because of the almost total disappearance of post-classical tragedy, many of the conventions noted can only be documented from Seneca and New Comedy: when this occurs it is a plausible inference that the practice in question was also present in tragedy of the postclassical period, and that it reached Seneca through tragic rather than comic models.[25]

## FIVE-ACT STRUCTURE

The most obvious and well-known difference of dramatic technique between Seneca and fifth-century tragedy is Seneca's adherence to a structure of five acts: that is, almost all his tragedies comprise five sections in iambic trimeter separated by four choral odes.[26] Of the eight plays whose Senecan authorship is secure, only the *Phoenissae* departs

[23] In discussing Senecan drama, language relating to the theatre (for example, "on stage" and "off stage") is employed in a purly figurative sense, and carries no suggestion that Seneca's plays were intended for stage presentation.

[24] The importance of this approach to dramatic texts may be traced in part to Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Die dramatische Technik des Sophokles* (*Philologische Untersuchungen* 22 [1917]), cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *C.Q.* n.s. 22 (1972) 214ff; the studies of Friedrich Leo, especially those relating to New Comedy, also deserve mention in this connection. The work of Tycho and Leo had a decisive impact on Eduard Fraenkel, whose studies of both Greek and Latin dramatic technique (of which *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* [1960] is the best known) continue to exert considerable influence. Several of the points of technique considered here have now been discussed in greater detail by O. P. Taplin in his forthcoming book *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (1977).

[25] W.-H. Friedrich (above, n.6) 2; F. Leo (above, n.6) 40.

[26] On the entire subject see K. Anliker, *Prologe und Akteinteilung in den Tragödien Senecas* (1960). In terms of fifth-century technique Sen. *Oed.* 882ff and 980ff are both act-dividing odes, since they are preceded by an exit and followed by an entrance, cf. Taplin (above, n.24) 49ff.

widely from this arrangement; it lacks a chorus and consists of several iambic scenes of unequal length juxtaposed rather than organically linked. There are indications that *Phoenissae*'s structure was not without precedent in postclassical tragedy;[27] in any event its deviation from five-act structure is clearly not in the direction of classical Greek form.

A less striking exception to the five-act rule in Seneca has been seen in *Oedipus*, which contains five choral interventions (110–201, 403–508, 709–763, 882–914, 980–997) and thus, apparently, six acts; but while *Oedipus* 882–1061 certainly represents a deviation from Seneca's normal practice, the resulting structure does not need to be interpreted as a six-act play. If it is observed that the choral sections 882–914 and 980–997, particularly the second, are considerably below the usual length of an act-dividing choral ode in Seneca, and that the iambic sections 915–979 and 998–1061 together form a normally-sized Senecan final act,[28] two other explanations may be offered. First, 980–997 is not an act-dividing ode, but a choral statement within the fifth act.[29] In terms of the structure in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (to which Seneca's play happens to correspond rather closely at this point), 882–914 would correspond to the stasimon ἰὼ γενεαὶ βροτῶν (1186ff) while 980–997 would represent a somewhat expanded equivalent of the lines ὦ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν πάθος ἀνθρώποις (1297–1306) in which the chorus react to the appearance of Oedipus. Against this view is the fact that 980–997 are anapestic dimeters, Seneca's favorite meter for choral odes; there is no other place in the genuine plays where the chorus have anapests within an act.[30] Second, lines 882–914 and 980–997 are meant to be taken as a pair, and thus serve somewhat the same function as a divided strophic pair in Greek tragedy.[31] This reading accounts for the verbal similarities between the two sections (*fata*, 882– *fatis*, 980; *postes sonant*, 911– *sonuere fores*, 995) and for the relative brevity of each if taken singly. In thought as well the two pieces form a connected pair, voicing the customary Senecan reflections on the perils of high position (882ff) and the inevitability of fate (980ff); the tentative suggestion of limited

[27] Below, p. 228.

[28] *Oed.* 915–979 and 998–1061 together give an "act" of 129 lines; compare the final acts of *Troades* (124), *Medea* (149), *Phaedra* (125), *Agamemnon* (156), and *Thyestes* (143).

[29] *Oed.* 882–914 would form an act-dividing ode of shorter than average length (33 lines) but compare *Pha.* 959–990 (32) and 1123–1153 (31).

[30] The restriction is not observed in *Hercules Oetaeus*, cf. 1151ff, 1208ff, 1279ff, 1983ff, or *Octauia* (below, n.34).

[31] The two sections do not correspond metrically, but Seneca seems in general to have abandoned this principle of classical technique.

freedom made in 992f (*fata si liceat mihi / fingere arbitrio meo*) is canceled by the unqualified statement of 980 (*fatis agimur; cedite fatis*). By separating these two contemplative sections and arranging them in this order Seneca achieves a progression of thought as well as greater prominence and definition for the play's final actions;[32] similar parallels between two act-dividing choral odes are not easily found elsewhere in Seneca.[33]

Whatever view is taken of the structure of *Oedipus*, Seneca's general fidelity to a five-act arrangement is beyond question.[34] This principle of division is, of course, foreign to Greek tragedy of the fifth century, and is indeed not directly attested for Greek tragedy of any period. Traces of a five-act structure have been seen in various Hellenistic literary productions, most notably in the *Exagoge* of Ezechiel, an account of the Exodus from Egypt in dramatic form preserved in the *Praeparatio Euangelica* of Eusebius;[35] these efforts, however, have been unconvincing when not misguided.[36] Indirect evidence must be used. Horace's prescription of five acts for tragedy in *Ars Poetica*[37] makes it very probable that this arrangement had become canonical in post-Aristotelian literary theory.[38] For comedy there is direct evidence in the papyri of Menander, in which the location of the choral interludes (perhaps not written by the playwright and therefore not transmitted) is explicitly marked by

[32] The treatment of this question by W.-H. Friedrich (above, n.6, 148ff) displays some of the excessive rigidity which attends many important analyses of dramatic technique. Friedrich describes *Oed.* 980–997 as "a surplus chorus" which Seneca originally composed as an alternative to 882–914 and which was inserted after 980 by a negligent author or an arbitrary editor. Friedrich's argument is that 978f (*rigat ora foedus imber et lacerum caput / largum reuulsis sanguinem uenis uomit*) should introduce Oedipus directly, but in *Agam.* 586ff Clytemestra's announcement of Cassandra and the Trojan captives is separated from Cassandra' first speech by a choral meditation (589–658), and in *Phaedra* the messenger's account of Hippolytus' death is separated from the arrival of his remains by a short choral ode (1123ff).

[33] The last two odes of *Phaedra*, 959ff and 1123ff, are the only possible instance.

[34] The *Hercules Oetaeus* also conforms to this structure (the acts comprise 1–103; 233–582; 706–1030; 1131–1517; 1607–1996); the *Octauia*, however, is constructed on quite different principles, and only one act-dividing choral ode can be readily identified (273–376).

[35] Text and bibliography in B. Snell, *TGF* 1 (1971) 288ff.

[36] For example, five-act structure has been seen in the puppet show described by Hero of Alexandria (on which see my edition of *Agamemnon* [1976] 21).

[37] *Neue minor neu sit quinto productior actu / fabula, quae posci uult et spectanda reposci* (189f); see Brink ad loc. for discussion and bibliography.

[38] There is no mention of such a restriction in Aristotle's remarks about the structure of tragedy (*Poetics* 1450b26f [ch. 7], 1452b14ff (ch. 12]).

the direction χοροῦ (*sc.* μέλος). The *Dyscolus* is unmistakably divided into five acts by four such entries;[39] in the surviving parts of four other plays (*Aspis*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*, and *Sicyonius*) two of these directions marking the end of an act have been preserved, and the disposition of the remaining material into a five-act structure presents no difficulties.[40]

The regular use of a five-act structure by Menander is now rightly regarded as established. In the absence of equally direct evidence for the structure of tragedy in the fourth and third centuries B.C., it is impossible to determine whether fourth-century tragedy and comedy developed independently along similar lines or whether a structure first evolved to suit the needs of New Comedy was then adopted as canonical by theorists (and also, presumably, by practitioners) of tragedy. What seems certain is that Seneca is in this respect the heir to a change in dramatic form which took place after the fifth century. He either worked from models already in five-act form, or else his idea of tragic structure had been so thoroughly determined by this postclassical canon that he recast whatever arrangement he found in his sources to fit this shape.[41]

## USE OF THE CHORUS

In classical Greek tragedy the lyric odes of the chorus serve as much to bind a play together as to divide it into episodes. Furthermore, the normally uninterrupted presence of the chorus from the *parodos* to the end of the play provides a stable background and often a public dimension against which the speeches and actions of the individual characters are conducted. This integration of the chorus and the action, sometimes loosened in the later plays of Euripides,[42] was significantly eroded by Agathon's substitution of odes on stock themes (ἐμβόλιμα) for odes designed for a specific dramatic context;[43] at a later date the

[39] Following lines 232, 426, 619, 783.

[40] In *Aspis* following lines 249 and 390; *Epitr.* 171 and 418; *Samia* 420 and 615; *Sicyonius* 149 and 311. There are also single XOPOY indications in *Misumenus* (following line 275) and *Pericíromene* (following line 266). (All line references are to the O.C.T. text by F. H. Sandbach.) The evidence of the Mytilene mosaics also supports an upper limit of five acts for Menander (cf. Brink on Horace *A.P.* 189f): cf. A. Blanchard *REG* 83 (1970) 38ff.

[41] Seneca could, of course, have read of the five-act rule in Horace, but it would be strange for him to have observed this precept so faithfully while in general showing so little regard for Horace's advice about tragedy.

[42] Below, n.48.

[43] Arist. *Poetics* 1456a29f. (ch. 18). The subjects of Agathon's ἐμβόλιμα are not on record; the mutability of fortune is a plausible candidate, given the popularity of this theme in late Euripides and Seneca (note also Accius 422f R²

active role of the chorus, in particular its contact with the individual actors, must have been made even more awkward (and therefore more restricted) by the introduction of the raised stage.[44] There is little evidence, however, that postclassical tragedy ever took the final step of abandoning the choral element, as later Greek comedy had done by the end of the fourth century;[45] the indications are instead that the external form of the classical tragic chorus was preserved at least until the time of Seneca.[46]

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[*Medea*], *fors dominatur, neque quicquam ulli | proprium in uita est;* the meter, anapestic dimeter, is that most often used in Seneca's choral odes).

[44] G. M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (1967) 113ff.

[45] The indication *XOPOY* (or *XOPOY ΜΕΛΟΣ*) appears or has been restored by conjecture in several papyrus fragments of tragedy (now assembled and discussed by O. P. Taplin, *LCM* 1 [1976] 47ff), but it does not necessarily follow that the chorus of these plays played no larger rôle than a chorus in New Comedy. Two of the fragments in which *XOPOY* (*ΜΕΛΟΣ*) is a plausible restoration are of plays of Euripides, and a third in which *XOPOY ΜΕΛΟΣ* is certain may come from Euripides' *Oeneus* (P. Hib. 4). Euripidean *stasima* and other choral lyrics might have been omitted in later revivals and their place marked by *XOPOY ΜΕΛΟΣ*, but the entire choral part could not have been removed without considerable awkwardness. (Taplin argues that *XOPOY* cannot occur in a fragment of Euripides, since Euripides never allowed an ἐμβόλιμον to take the place of a specially-composed *stasimon*, and therefore rejects the proposed supplements and the attribution to the *Oeneus*. But [1] the liberties taken with fifth-century plays in postclassical productions are unknown, and may have included suppression or replacement of the difficult lyric parts; [2] the fragments under discussion might come from actors' texts or from otherwise abridged versions; [3] not enough is known about the postclassical use of *XOPOY* [*ΜΕΛΟΣ*] to support the strict application of its apparent meaning in New Comedy ["a song to be supplied by the χοροδιδάσκαλος"] to its occurrences in tragic contexts.) Furthermore, in P. Lond. 77 (from a postclassical *Medea*), the scene following the direction *XOPOY* contains an address to the chorus, showing that the performance of ἐμβόλιμα was not incompatible with the presence and activity of the chorus during an episode, if required (as in Seneca). Finally, Republican Roman tragedy, derived from fourth-century as well as fifth-century models, seems always to have had an active and fully-composed choral element. While Ezechiel's *Exagoge*, in its complete lack of an active chorus, comes closer to the form of New Comedy (with the additional similarity that the first appearance of the chorus is announced; cf. 56ff), there is as yet no way of knowing the degree to which the *Exagoge* resembles other tragedy of its time.

[46] The fragments of Augustan and Julio-Claudian tragedy are at least sufficient to establish the presence of a chorus. Gracchus 2 R², *sonat impulsu* (Del Rio: *-a* codd.) *regia cardo*, is an entrance announcement similar to Sen. *Oed.* 911ff and 995ff (below, pp. 246f), and Pomponius Secundus 8ff R², *pendeat ex umeris dulcis chelys*, etc., come from an invocation of Apollo similar to that in Sen. *Agam.* 327ff. (Pomponius' line *obrue nos Danaosque simul*, 7 R²,

The Senecan chorus performs many of the same tasks as its classical ancestor: it sings odes, announces the arrival of characters, and engages individual actors in dialogue.[47] Upon closer study, however, Seneca's choruses are seen to obey certain conventions which have no basis in classical Greek tragedy. It has been shown, for example, that the Senecan chorus enters into dialogue with an actor only when no third party is present and able to do so.[48] The convention is rigidly applied even when awkwardness results: in several places, for example, the chorus announces a new arrival at the end of an ode or scene but has no speaking part at the beginning of the subsequent scene (*Ag.* 408ff, 778ff, *Pha.* 829ff, 989f, 1154f, *Oed.* 995ff). These passages show that the Senecan chorus functions on a plane removed from that of the action; when it speaks during an iambic scene, it does so in order to avoid an impasse, not as an involved participant.

The most important difference between Seneca's handling of the chorus and that of fifth-century tragedy is that in Seneca the continuous presence of the chorus from its first entrance onwards is no longer presumed. In classical Greek tragedy the chorus could be removed from the stage after the *parodos*, but wherever this occurs there are explicit and indeed elaborate indications in the text.[49] In Seneca, on the other hand, it may transpire quite incidentally from the remark of an actor that the chorus is absent; there is in fact no reason to believe that the Senecan chorus was thought to be present during the iambic portions, except for those scenes in which it is compelled to speak by the technical

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might have been spoken by a chorus of Trojan captives.) The often-cited statement of Dio of Prusa (*Or.* 19.5) that the lyric parts of tragedy (not only the choral sections) are no longer performed in theaters cannot be applied to any time earlier than Dio's own; Dio's remarks may not have been true of all theaters even in his own day.

[47] It does not, however, continue the classical practice of concluding the play (except in pseudo-Seneca; cf. *HO* 1983ff, *Oct.* 973ff).

[48] F. Leo, *Rh. Mus.* 52 (1897) 509ff. An earlier phase of the process is visible in late Euripides, where the interventions of the chorus during the episodes pass unnoticed unless only one actor is present (so in *Orestes* and *Bacchae;* in *IA* the chorus is entirely ignored by the characters, even by those who enter in search of a character not on stage; cf. 801ff, 1532f).

[49] The chorus is offstage in Aesch. *Eum.* 232–243, Soph. *Ajax* 815–865 (note 803ff, 866ff), Eur. *Alc.* 747–860 (note 739ff, 861ff), *Helen* 386–514 (note 317–385, 515–527), Eur. *Rhesus* 565–674 (note 523ff, 675ff). The absence of any explicit direction to or announcement by the chorus is a strong argument against the view that the chorus of Euripides' *Phaethon* left with Clymene after line 226 and returned at line 270 (Diggle [above, n.16] rejects a choral exit on other grounds). On the entire subject see now Taplin (above, n.24) 375ff.

necessity mentioned above. The absence of the chorus during an episode is most obvious in these lines of *Phaedra* (599–601):

> (Pha.) Commodes paulum, precor,
> secretus aures. si quis est abeat comes.
> (Hipp.) En locus ab omni liber arbitrio uacat.

The chorus of women who sing the odes of this play are clearly not now on the stage.[50] The action described here will be discussed later, but the present interest of the passage lies in its clear contrast to the choral conventions of fifth-century tragedy. In Euripides' *Hippolytus* Phaedra must explicitly secure the silence of the chorus before setting underway her plot to ruin Hippolytus,[51] while in Seneca's *Phaedra* the chorus remains completely isolated from the intrigue: in place of the chorus Seneca uses the mute *famuli* as witnesses of Hippolytus' incriminating flight (901f, *hi trepidum fuga / uidere famuli concitum celeri pede*; cf. 725ff).

In classical Greek tragedy generally, plotting secret action requires either the acquiescence of the chorus[52] or its absence; the latter is only possible before the *parodos*[53] or in the very rare event of a choral exit.[54] In several plays of Seneca, however, plans are discussed which must by their nature be kept secret;[55] there is no other explicit statement comparable to that in *Pha.* 599ff,[56] but it seems a necessary inference that the chorus is absent during these scenes as well.[57]

In one passage of Seneca the absence of the chorus during an iambic episode does not need to be inferred but is explicitly mentioned in the text. In Act 3 of *Hercules Furens* Theseus relates to Amphitryon and Megara the adventures which he and Hercules have experienced in the

[50] W. M. Calder III, *CP* 70 (1975) 35; Calder is concerned to show the feasibility of private performances of *Agamemnon* using a small chorus.

[51] *Hipp.* 710ff.

[52] Instances in Barrett's note on *Hipp.* 710.

[53] So, for example, in Sophocles' and Euripides' *Electra*, in Euripides' *IT*, and in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

[54] In all surviving instances of a choral exit except that in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (above, n.49), some action is planned or carried out which requires the ignorance of the chorus; W. Ritchie, *Authenticity of the Rhesus of Euripides* (1964) 119.

[55] *Tro.* 203ff, *Pha.* 85ff, *Ag.* 108ff, *Thy.* 176ff (*HO* 233ff).

[56] In *Agamemnon* 147 (*tuta est latetque culpa, si pateris, tua*) and 284 (*delicta nouit nemo nisi fidus mea*), however, the speaker clearly assumes that the conversation is not being overheard; Calder (above, n.50) 33.

[57] The choral odes following these scenes of plotting betray no awareness of the crime which is going forward.

Underworld. The narrative culminates in the capture and raising of Cerberus, and then Theseus breaks off with these words (827–829):

> densa sed laeto uenit
> clamore turba frontibus laurum gerens
> magnique meritas Herculis laudes canit.

These lines conclude the act and are followed by an act-dividing ode (830–894); the *turba* whose approach Theseus describes is therefore the chorus of the play, which has been elsewhere during the foregoing act. There is no reason whatever to postulate a subsidiary chorus; such choruses in Seneca, as in Euripides, are used to accompany a major character and to give prominence to his or her entrance.[58] The closest parallels for this announcement of a choral entrance come from Greek New Comedy, in which the appearance of the chorus (usually an ὄχλος) is given as the motive for the suspension of action at the close of the first act.[59] (It must be added, however, that this comic convention developed from announcements of the chorus's first entrance in tragedy,[60] and that the convention as found in Menander is already fully formed in Euripides' *Phoenissae*.[61]) What is most remarkable about Seneca's use of the device in *HF* is its appearance in the middle of the play and the clear evidence which it provides that the chorus has been offstage during the foregoing dialogue scene.

Seneca therefore thought, at least in some scenes, of a chorus which took the stage only to perform its lyric pieces and which retired from sight during the episodes; this is just the sort of chorus one would expect to find in Greek tragedy after Agathon.

Nothing certain can be said about later Greek practice in this respect, and very little about that of Roman Republican tragedy; one fragment of Accius' *Epigoni* (289–291 R²), however, deserves close attention. The lines, although cited by Charisius (*GLK* I.288) as a specimen of tragic Saturnians, are clearly the end of an anapestic section;[62] they announce

[58] Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 58–71; J. Lammers, *Die Doppel- und Halb-Chöre in der antiken Tragödie* (1931); my note on Sen. *Agam.* 586ff. On secondary choruses see now Taplin (above, n.24) 230ff.

[59] For example, *Aspis* 246ff, *καὶ γάρ τινα | ὄχλον ἄλλον ἀνθρώπων προσιόντα τουτονὶ | ὁρῶ μεθυόντων*, also *Dysc.* 230ff, *Epitr.* 169ff, *Peric.* 191ff, and cf. E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (1965) 171f.

[60] Eur. *Hipp.* 51ff, *Cycl.* 32ff, fr. 105 N² (*Alope*).

[61] *Phoen.* 193ff, *ὦ τέκνον ἔσβα δῶμα καὶ κατὰ στέγας | ἐν παρθενῶσι μίμνε σοῖς, . . . | . . . | ὄχλος γάρ, ὡς ταραγμὸς εἰσῆλθεν πόλιν, | χωρεῖ γυναικῶν*, cf. E. Fraenkel, *De media et noua comoedia quaestiones selectae* (1912) 71.

[62] G. Hermann, *Elementa Doctrinae metricae* (1816) 388.

the arrival of Amphilocus and prepare for the speaker's own departure:

> Sed iam Amfilocum huc uadere cerno, et
> nobis datur bona pausa loquendi
> tempusque in castra reuorti.

The entrance announcement and the meter point to a chorus:[63] the same form of the anapestic dimeter catalectic (*tempusque · in castra reuorti*) occurs in a fragment of Accius' *Philoctetes* which is definitely choral (536 R², *fato expendisse supremo*). It is likely that in each case the clausula marks the end of a section or of an entire ode.[64]

If the lines were spoken by a chorus, it is hard not to conclude that these words announce and motivate the departure of the chorus from the stage. In addition, the words *pausa loquendi* and *in castra reuorti* strongly suggest that this chorus has no urgent reason to leave the stage, and that it is about to *return* to camp because it has performed its ode and its presence is no longer required. The source of Accius' *Epigoni* is not known (a reference to the play in a corrupt passage of Cicero is too uncertain to show that it was Sophocles[65]), but if the reading of the fragment suggested here is correct, Accius is not likely to have found such a choral exit in a fifth-century tragedy.[66]

In at least one important respect, therefore, Seneca's use of the chorus reflects a development which was probably true of postclassical Greek tragedy and for which there may be direct evidence in Accius. Other nonclassical aspects of Seneca's choral technique cannot be convincingly related to a tradition of drama after Euripides and before Seneca, and so must be mentioned with greater caution; it would be perverse to suggest that every deviation from fifth-century technique found in Seneca's plays derives from a lost intermediate source.[67]

[63] O. Ribbeck, however, referred the lines to a scene of dispute among the generals (*Die römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik* [1875] 490f.)

[64] The anapestic dimeter catalectic often appears in this position, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 149, 154, etc.

[65] *De Opt. Gen. Orat.* 18, *Idem Andriam et Synephebos nec minus* [*Terentium et Caecilium quam Menandrum legunt, nec*] *Andromedan aut Antiopam aut Epigonos Latinos recipiunt* [; *sed tamen Ennium et Pacuvium et Accium potius quam Euripidem et Sophoclem legunt*]. Even if the words deleted by Jahn are accepted, Cicero's references to Euripides and Sophocles do not seem exact enough in intention to justify the conclusion that Accius drew on Sophocles for the source of his *Epigoni*.

[66] Other postclassical features of Accius' *Epigoni* are discussed below, p. 249.

[67] For example, the presence of iambic bridge passages for the chorus following all the odes of *Phaedra* (358f, 824ff, 989ff, 1154f) compared with their

In this context a passage of Seneca's *Oedipus* may be cited. At the end of the second act Creon and Tiresias prepare to enter the Underworld in order to question the ghost of Laius about his murderer. Tiresias ends the act with these words (401–402):

> Dum nos profundae claustra laxamus Stygis,
> populare Bacchi laudibus carmen sonet.

The command to the chorus has no Sophoclean counterpart, and indeed such commands are uncommon in Greek tragedy as a whole.[68] The closest parallels come from Aeschylus and early Euripides. In the *Supplices*, Pelasgus leads Danaus off to address the Argives and directs the chorus to remain and pray to the gods of the place;[69] in the *Persae*, the Queen commands the chorus to accompany with its prayers the offerings she will make to invoke the ghost of Darius;[70] in the *Alcestis*, Admetus asks the chorus to remain on stage and sing a lament for Alcestis while he brings her body inside to be prepared for burial.[71] These passages, the last of them in particular, would seem to be sufficient classical precedent for *Oed.* 401f, although none of them is a likely direct source. Comparison of the way in which Aeschylus and Euripides handle this device, however, makes the ἐμβόλιμον-like character of the ode in *Oedipus* more apparent. In the *Supplices*, *Persae*, and *Alcestis*, the stasimon which the chorus is invited to sing is directly relevant to the action taking place at the time; in the *Persae* it is also an important adjunct to that action.[72] The ode in the *Oedipus*, on the other

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complete absence in *Thyestes;* or the vagueness with which the secondary chorus of *Agamemnon* is handled after its ode and dialogue with Cassandra.

[68] Invitations to join an actor's lament are a separate category; cf. Eur. *Tro.* 143ff, *Hel.* 167ff, and compare Sen. *Tro.* 63ff. In Eur. *El.* 694f, ὑμεῖς δέ μοι, γυναῖκες, εὖ πυρσεύετε / κραυγὴν ἀγῶνος τοῦδε refers not to the stasimon immediately following (699ff), but to the alarm which the chorus raises at 747ff.

[69] *Suppl.* 517ff, especially 520f, πρὸς ταῦτα μίμνε καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους / λιταῖς παραιτοῦ τῶν σ' ἔρως ἔχει τυχεῖν. A similar command to the chorus appears to have been present later in the play at 772ff, but its precise form is obscured by the lacuna following 773.

[70] *Pers.* 619ff, ἀλλ' ὦ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων / ὕμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τόν τε δαίμονα / Δαρεῖον ἀνακαλεῖσθε. The short choral passage in *Cho.* 152–163 is similarly invited (150, ὑμᾶς δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίζειν νόμος), and the first song of the Eumenides (*Eum.* 143ff) is in a sense a response to Clytaemestra's commands (133ff, τί δρᾷς; ἀνίστω κτλ).

[71] *Alc.* 422ff, ἀλλ', ἐκφορὰν γὰρ τοῦδε θήσομαι νεκροῦ, / πάρεστε καὶ μένοντες ἀντηχήσατε / παιᾶνα τῷ κάτωθεν ἀσπόνδῳ θεῷ.

[72] While the Queen has called for the chorus to accompany her own libations, in dramatic terms the chorus's invocations appear as the decisive cause of Darius' ascent.

hand, is an extended specimen of a ὕμνος κλητικός, a recital of the *laudes Bacchi* in which only three rather colorless lines refer to the present situation of Thebes (410ff, *uultu sidereo discute nubila / et tristes Erebi minas / auidumque fatum*). The ode makes no allusion to the descent of Creon and Tiresias in search of Laius;[73] it is not introduced to support that enterprise, but to supply a colorful poetic interlude before the action resumes in the next act.[74] The passage is a useful example of the way in which elements of classical dramatic technique may be made to serve postclassical dramatic ends.[75]

### INDEPENDENCE OF INDIVIDUAL SCENES

A more general characteristic of Senecan drama whose origins may lie in the postclassical period is its lack of organic coherence as defined by fifth-century standards.[76] Acute critical studies of Seneca have called attention to inconsistencies of various kinds: later scenes contradict earlier ones,[77] scenes are juxtaposed without connecting material,[78] and even within a scene transitions may be sudden and unresolved.[79] The description of the result as a "dissolution of the dramatic structure"[80] is now generally accepted, although conflicting views of the pheno-

[73] The words *Erebi minas* (411) have no real relation to Tiresias' description of the mission to the lower world in 393f, *ipse euocandus noctis aeternae plagis / emissus Erebo ut caedis auctorem indicet;* in the context of the choral ode they mean only "threats of death." Albert Henrichs refers me to Soph. *Ant.* 1115ff for a hymn to Dionysus containing a brief reference to pestilence at Thebes (1140ff). Besides the difference of function between the two odes (Sophocles' ὑπόρχημα is designed to bring temporary relaxation of tension) one should note that the Sophoclean chorus makes its appeal for aid in present distress near the climax of the hymn (1140, καὶ νῦν), while in Seneca lines 410ff precede the body of the ode, which makes no further reference to the troubles of Thebes.

[74] In *HO* 581f (*uos, quas paternis extuli comites focis, / Calydoniae, lugete deflendam uicem.*) the function of the ode as an interlude is even more obvious.

[75] Postclassical drama in its eclectic use of earlier material seems often to have deliberately adopted "archaic" features; note the freedom of place found in Ezechiel's *Exagoge* (below, p. 230), the meter and diction of the Gyges fragment (P. Maas, *Gnomon* 22 [1950] 142), and several aspects of the *Rhesus*.

[76] Or as defined by Aristotle, *Poetics* 1451a30ff (ch. 8).

[77] W.-H. Friedrich (above, n.6) 74ff, O. Zwierlein (above, n.6) 38ff, 107 n.40 (on the two halves of *Phoenissae*).

[78] For example, *Tro.* 164–202 and 203–370, *Med.* 380–430 and 431–578, 879–890 and 891–977 and 978–1027, *Thy.* 404–490 and 491–545, *Agam.* 108–225 and 226–309.

[79] *Pha.* 358–430, 580ff, *Agam.* 775ff; Zwierlein (above, n.6) 29ff discusses instances of severe compression of time within a scene.

[80] Regenbogen (above, n.3) 430f.

menon's cause and meaning are offered.[81] Here it may be useful to consider whether Seneca's interest in the single scene or speech is not at least in part an inheritance from postclassical tragedy.

The *Phoenissae* displays Seneca's emancipation from classical tragic form at its most extreme. The work consists of 664 iambics which fall into five scenes:[82] (1) 1–319, Oedipus, Antigone; (2) 320–362, Oedipus, Antigone, and a messenger; (3) 363–402, Jocasta and a servant;[83] (4) 403–442, Antigone, Jocasta, and the servant; (5) 443–664, Jocasta, Eteocles, and Polynices. At least two changes of setting are required, one between scenes 2 and 3, the other between 4 and 5. The scenes are simply juxtaposed, with one exception; the last two scenes are linked by a remarkable speech (427–442) in which the servant describes Jocasta's sudden flight from the palace and her arrival on the battlefield just in time to avert the mutual slaughter of her sons.[84]

Because of its length and unique structure, the play has often been considered incomplete.[85] The individual scenes, however, do not give the impression of being unfinished;[86] the opening dialogue in particular

[81] For Zwierlein (above, n.6, 88ff and *passim*) the lack of organic structure is evidence of a lack of interest in stage drama; for C. Zintzen (*Senecas Tragödien* [above, n.5] 175 n.84) Seneca's structural looseness is a result of his lack of theatrical experience, not a sign that he had no desire to write for the stage; for W. Schetter (*RFIC* 93 [1965] 396ff) and others the absence of classical unity is a by-product of Seneca's attempt to achieve unity by different means, through recurrent themes and motifs. The first and last of these views should perhaps be more clearly combined: Seneca neglected traditional dramatic form in favor of unifying motifs and images because his conception (and experience) of tragedy was more literary than theatrical.

[82] This scene division (which is also that adopted by the most recent editor, G. C. Giardina) best reflects the stages of the action. The *inscriptiones scaenae* of the manuscripts are discordant and incomplete: E makes only one division (1–362, 363–664), while A (= P CS) omits the essential division after 362.

[83] So E; the character is a Nuntius in A. The status of this character is not easily fixed, since his function has no parallel elsewhere in Seneca.

[84] See below, p. 252. For change of setting in postclassical tragedy see also Taplin (above, n.45).

[85] Most recently by W. M. Calder III, *CP* 70 (1975) 33. The latest critical study, by I. Opelt in *Senecas Tragödien* (above, n.5) 272–285, treats the work as a thematic unity and offers no discussion of structural oddities.

[86] The half-line at 319 (*iubente te uel uiuet*) is not a sign of incompleteness; compare *Thy.* 100 (*sequor*), *Tro.* 1103 (*in media Priami regna*), perhaps *Pha.* 605 (*me nolle*), cf. W. Woesler, *Senecas Tragödien: Die Überlieferung der a-Klasse am Beispiel der Phaedra dargestellt* (1965) 183. Seneca often allows a major speech to end on a half-line, which is then completed by the other speaker; cf. (e.g.) *Oed.* 81, *Thy.* 204, 286, 1021, 1068.

has only one near-equal for length in all of the genuine plays,[87] and the closing scene between Jocasta and her sons could hardly be spun out to greater length without losing its effectiveness.[88] Furthermore, the mere insertion of choral interludes and the expansion of the middle scenes, while it might bring the play up to normal Senecan length, would not affect the unconventional structure of its episodes.

It seems best to regard *Phoenissae* as an essay in a distinct subgenre of tragedy. The only other possible specimen of this form in ancient literature is Ezechiel's *Exagoge*, which happens as well to be the only extensive piece of Hellenistic tragic writing to survive. The *Exagoge's* 269 iambics (written in obvious emulation of Euripidean style)[89] also divide into five episodes: (1) 1–58, Moses alone: (2) 59–90, Moses with Sepphora and Raquel; (3) 91–192, Moses and the burning bush on Mt. Horeb; (4) 193–242, messenger report of the drowning of the Egyptians (5) 243–269, Moses with the Israelites in the desert. The freedom in the handling of time and place is as great as or greater than that of the *Phoenissae;* here, too, at least two changes of setting are required, before and after scene 3. Both plays illustrate the extent to which "dissolution of the dramatic structure" might proceed once the post-classical tragic theater abandoned the unifying chorus of fifth-century drama.

Indirect evidence confirms the impression that postclassical drama sacrificed structural coherence to the emotional or rhetorical effect of a single scene. Aristotle records the damaging effects of the actor's supremacy on fourth-century tragedy: the highly developed rhetorical and pathetic skills of the performers encouraged writers of tragedy to emphasize histrionically effective solo writing at the expense of a coherent whole.[90] These pressures could only have grown stronger in the Hellenistic period, when evidence for the performance of selections from classical tragedy is most abundant.[91] Seneca's neglect of classical

[87] *Tro.* 524–813.

[88] The unresolved situation at the end of the final scene is characteristically Senecan; compare the final scenes of *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, and *Thyestes*.

[89] J. Strugnell, *HTR* 60 (1967) 449–457.

[90] *Rhet.* 3.1.4 1403b32ff; *Poetics* 1450b7.

[91] S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, *Symbolae Osloenses* 31 (1955) 25ff, T. B. L. Webster, "Alexandrian Epigrams and the Theatre," *Miscellanea Rostagni* (1963) 531–543, Sifakis (above, n.44) 77f, 96f. E. G. Turner has suggested (*Actes X^e Congrès International de Papyrologues* [1964] 51–58) that *P Oxy* 2458 is an acting text of selected scenes from Euripides' *Cresphontes*; some of the difficulties that have been raised (cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 35 [1963] 444ff, C. Austin, *Noua Fragmenta Euripidea* [1968] 56f) could be resolved by supposing

norms of coherence may thus be the natural outcome of a long evolution in dramatic history.

### SUSPENSION OF DRAMATIC TIME

Under this heading are grouped two conventions of Senecan drama, the entrance monologue and the aside. Each creates a temporary suspension of time within a scene and permits a character to express thoughts not heard by others on stage. Indeed, entrance monologues of this kind might almost be regarded as asides distinguished from the others by their position. Both conventions are foreshadowed in classical tragedy, but their full development is a postclassical phenomenon.

*Entrance monologues.* In several plays of Seneca a character enters while an act is in progress and takes no notice of those already present. Instead, the new arrival delivers what is in effect a soliloquy during which the stage action is suspended; after this *de facto* monologue, the character takes notice of the person or persons present and makes an approach to them. The second act of *Hercules Furens* furnishes the clearest example.[92] Megara and Amphitryon have taken sanctuary at an altar and are awaiting the return of Hercules to rescue them. Megara announces the approach of the tyrant Lycus (329ff, *sed ecce saeuus ac minas uultu gerens / et qualis animo est talis incessu uenit / aliena dextra sceptra concutiens Lycus*), and Lycus then delivers a soliloquy in which he reveals his plan to marry Megara as a way of strengthening his hold on power in Thebes (332–353). At this point Lycus seems to become aware of Megara and Amphitryon for the first time, and says (354–357):

> temptemus igitur, fors dedit nobis locum.
> namque ipsa, tristi uestis obtentu caput
> uelata, iuxta praesides adstat deos
> laterique adhaeret uerus Alcidae sator.

The most remarkable aspect of this passage is the total isolation of

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that the leading actor of the troupe played the leading role in each scene, and so appeared as Cresphontes in the prologue (?) and as Merope in the recognition scene. In the performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* given at the Parthian court in 53 B.C. by the actor Jason (Plut. *Vit. Crass.* 33.3f), it would appear that Jason took several parts with the support of a group of choreutes. Such performances of selected scenes at royal courts by famous actors might go back to the fourth century, cf. Zwierlein (above, n.6) 137 n.14.

[92] The scene is discussed by Zwierlein (above, n.6) 67ff as evidence of Seneca's lack of concern for theatrical realities.

Lycus' speech from the preceding and subsequent action. His words are not meant to be heard by Megara, and her next lines show that she has in fact not heard them (358f): *Quidnam iste, nostri generis exitium ac lues, / noui parat? quid temptat?* Dramatic time has been suspended since her announcement of Lycus, and his speech has been delivered in a vacuum; dialogue begins only with Lycus' formal address *O clarum trahens / a stirpe nomen regia* . . . (359ff).

The essential characteristics of Lycus' monologue can be found in at least four other passages: *Tro.* 861ff (Helen), *Med.* 177ff (Creon), 431ff (Jason), and *Thy.* 491ff (Atreus). In each of these the temporary isolation of the speaker from his surroundings is shown by references to the other characters on stage in the third person: *Tro.* 866ff, *arte capietur mea / meaque fraude concidet Paridis soror. / fallatur; ipsi leuius hoc equidem reor; Med.* 177ff, *Medea . . . / nondum meis exportat e pedibus pedem? eqs; Med.* 441ff, *quin ipsam quoque, / etsi ferox est corde nec patiens iugi / consulere natis malle quam thalamis reor. / constituit animus precibus iratam aggredi eqs; Thy.* 491ff, *plagis tenetur clausa dispositis fera: / et ipsum et una generis inuisi indolem / iunctam parenti cerno eqs.* The content of the lines quoted also makes it clear that they are not intended to be heard by the persons being spoken about, and in each case the ensuing dialogue reveals that the monologue did in fact remain unheard. Two more specimens of this type of entrance monologue are probably to be recognized in the second act of *Agamemnon.* Clytemestra begins the act with a speech addressed to herself (108–124; note the vocative *anime* in 108) in which she tries to overcome the last traces of her reluctance to kill Agamemnon. The speech is apparently not heard by the nurse, who speaks next (125ff; note *licet ipsa sileas* in 127).[93] At the end of the scene between Clytemestra and her nurse, Aegisthus appears and in a similar, though shorter, soliloquy attempts to quell his own fears about the approaching murder. This speech is also marked as self-address by the use of *anime* (228); it is surely not intended to be heard by Clytemestra, to whom Aegisthus would hardly confess his cowardly doubts. The end of his isolated monologue is marked by the formal address *tu nos pericli socia, tu, Leda sata* in 233; compare *HF* 359f, *Tro.* 871f. The placing of the monologues at the beginning of each scene is presumably deliberate, and may be intended to make explicit the rather different premises from which each scene sets out.[94]

[93] For discussion see *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) ad loc.

[94] In the course of the first scene Clytemestra conquers her last vestiges of *pudor* and rouses herself to kill Agamemnon; the second scene begins with

Greek tragedy offers no precise parallels for entrance speeches of this sort; the closest analogues come from the latest surviving tragedies of Euripides.[95] It is not rare for the first lines of an entering character to be directed neither to the chorus nor to another character. This is particularly so when the lines contain an invocation, such as that of the herald in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (503ff): *ἰὼ πατρῷον οὖδας Ἀργείας χθονός*. Even after the invocation proper has been concluded, the herald continues to address his surroundings generally rather than any of those present, and apparently comes to the end of his opening statement (537) without having once addressed the chorus directly.[96] The impression given is that of a person thinking out loud; this self-absorption is justified by the strong emotions to which the speaker gives voice. The same pattern is evident in the opening speech of Aegisthus in the play. Aegisthus begins with a cry of joy and relief (1577, *ὦ φέγγος εὔφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου*) and then narrates at length the reasons for which he rejoices at Agamemnon's death. The text gives no indication of an address to the chorus.[97] While these speeches display prolonged self-absorption, neither shows any sign of the isolation or suspension of dramatic continuity visible in Seneca. The chorus of the *Agamemnon* is aware of what the herald and Aegisthus have said and this knowledge provides the basis for the ensuing dialogue.

In a larger group of Euripidean passages[98] a related convention can be observed. A new arrival, whose entrance is generally unannounced,[99] muses on his feelings or announces his reason for having come, then reacts strongly (often with *ἔα* or a similar word) to the sight of the person or persons already on stage. The earliest example of this technique appears in the *Hecuba*; Agamemnon enters, explaining that he has

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Aegisthus wavering in his resolve, turning to Clytemestra for support, and finding her determined to seek a reconciliation with Agamemnon.

[95] The fullest treatment of monologues in classical tragedy from the technical standpoint has long been F. Leo's *Der Monolog im Drama* (above, n.6); useful comments on a number of single passages can be found in W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch* (*Neue philologische Untersuchungen* 2 [1926]); see now David Bain, *Actors and Audience: A Study of Asides and Related Conventions in Greek Drama* (1977) 61ff.

[96] So Denniston-Page ad loc.; Fraenkel has the herald turn to the chorus at 524, *ἀλλ' εὖ νιν ἀσπάσασθε*. The point made above is valid whether the herald speaks to the chorus at 524 or is spoken to by it in 538.

[97] Leo, *Monolog* (above, n.6) 30 n.4, regarded the entire speech as addressed to the chorus; Fraenkel has Aegisthus turn to the chorus at 1583 (appealing to his interpretation of the herald's speech).

[98] Leo, *Monolog* (above, n.6) 30.

[99] Exceptions: *Or.* 356, 1554, *Suppl.* 1034, *Phoen.* 1310 (if genuine).

heard noises and has come to investigate (1109–1113); he is then hailed by the blinded Polymestor (1114–1115) and exclaims ἔα. The postponement of the "recognition" until Agamemnon has been addressed by Polymestor lends greater force to Agamemnon's sudden reaction. This way of building tension is even more fully exploited in *Troades* 860ff, where Menelaus enters, announces his intention to have Helen brought back to Greece and executed, and orders his servants to lead Helen out of her tent (to 883). The speech is a self-contained whole which shows no awareness of the Trojan chorus or of the recumbent Hecuba; Menelaus' self-absorption thus gives even greater power to Hecuba's sudden intervention (884–888, *ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν* κτλ.) and heightens Menelaus' surprise (889, *τί δ' ἔστιν;* κτλ.).

The entrance of Iphis in *Supplices* (1034ff) uses comparable means and produces a similar effect. Iphis is announced by the chorus (1032–1033) but does not at first address it directly. Instead he laments his double misfortunes, the death of Eteocles and the disappearance of Evadne, and only at the end of his speech turns to the chorus to ask *φράζετ' εἰ κατείδετε* (1044). Before the question can be answered Evadne breaks in and reveals herself sitting on a high rock (1045ff, *τί τάσδ' ἐρωτᾷς; ἥδ' ἐγὼ πέτρας ἔπι* κτλ.; Iphis' reaction in 1047f, *τέκνον, τίς αὖρα; τίς στόλος;* κτλ.).

The two entrances of Menelaus in *Orestes* merit attention in this context. The first (356ff) is comparable to *Suppl.* 1034ff in technique. Menelaus greets his homeland and tells how he learned of the deaths of Agamemnon and Clytemestra. Then he turns to the chorus to ask where Orestes can be found (375ff, *καὶ νῦν ὅπου 'στὶν εἶπατ'* κτλ.). The answer to his question is forestalled when Orestes, who has been present but not noticed by Menelaus, steps forward and reveals himself (380ff, *ὅδ' εἶμ' Ὀρέστης,* κτλ.; 385 contains Menelaus' thunderstruck reaction, *ὦ θεοί, τί λεύσσω;*). The same pattern is followed at Menelaus' second and final entrance (1554ff). After seven lines explaining his reasons for coming, Menelaus turns to a servant and orders the house door opened (1561). The completion of the order is forestalled by the appearance of Orestes on the roof with the captive Hermione (1567ff, *οὗτος σύ, κλῆθρων τῶνδε μὴ ψαύσῃς χερί·* κτλ.). The similarity in technique between the two scenes is surely deliberate and may be designed to emphasize the shift of control from Menelaus to Orestes which has taken place in the interim.[100]

More often in Euripides this surprised reaction to someone or some-

[100] Such "paired" scenes were used in discussing *Philoctetes* and the *Oresteia* by O. P. Taplin, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 25ff.

thing on stage is part of the new arrival's first speech. Of this kind are the entrance speeches of Heracles in *Her.* 523ff (ὦ χαῖρε, μέλαθρον πρόπυλά θ' ἑστίας ἐμῆς — 525, ἔα· τί χρῆμα); Theseus in *Suppl.* 87ff (τίνων γόων ἤκουσα καὶ στέρνων κτύπον . . . — *e.m.* ἔα. 92, τί χρῆμα; κτλ.); the old man in *El.* 487ff (ποῦ ποῦ νεᾶνις πότνι' ἐμὴ δέσποινά τε κτλ. — 493, ὦ θύγατερ);[101] perhaps Perseus in *Andromeda* (cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 1098ff and 1105, ἔα τιν' ὄχθον τόνδ ὁρῶ κτλ.); Teucer, Helen, and Theoclymenus in *Hel.* 68ff, 528ff,[102] and 1165ff respectively; and finally, the speech which Pentheus delivers at his first appearance (*Ba.* 215ff). Though often treated as a new departure in dramatic technique,[103] this last is perhaps better regarded as another example of this type of entrance speech, in which temporary self-absorption is broken by a violent reaction to the situation on stage. In Pentheus' speech this moment is unusually long in coming (248, ἀτὰρ τόδ' ἄλλο θαῦμα marks his reaction to Tiresias and Cadmus in Bacchic clothing); the length of the monologue is a result of its dramatic function, since it offers a full exposition of Pentheus' attitudes as a basis for the following action. (A comparable function may be suggested for some other speeches of this type, for example, *Tro.* 860ff, *Or.* 356ff, and *Hel.* 528ff).[104] This speech as well, though not addressed to those on stage, is clearly heard by them, since Tiresias later in the scene (286ff) attempts to refute part of Pentheus' opening remarks (242ff).

None of the Euripidean passages considered so far provides any precedent for the isolation and suspension of time observed in Senecan entrance monologues. The entrance of Polynices in *Phoenissae* (261–277), however, marks an important step in the direction of Senecan

[101] This scene is slightly different from the others, in that the old man's opening question, ποῦ ποῦ νεᾶνις πότνι' ἐμὴ δέσποινά τε . . . ; could be addressed to the chorus; since, however, he does not wait for an answer, it seems more natural to take his "question" as addressed to no one in particular. His self-absorption is interrupted by Electra's entrance; compare *IA* 1098ff, although the language there is quite different (1103f, μνήμην δ'ἄρ' εἶχον πλησίον βεβηκότος / Ἀγαμέμνονος τοῦδ').

[102] These lines were regarded as an address to the audience by Leo, *Monolog* (above, n.6) 30f, and A. M. Dale on the perhaps excessively literal ground that Helen cannot tell the chorus what they have just heard for themselves. Kannicht (in his note on 528–540) correctly says that, while in content the lines might appear to foreshadow the *Auftrittsmonolog* of New Comedy, Euripides' emphasis is on what they reveal of Helen's feelings.

[103] Schadewaldt (above, n.95) 241f, Friedrich (above, n.6) 2 n.1, Dodds on 215–247 (comparing *Hel.* 386ff, *Or.* 356ff). The position of the speech in the middle of a scene is perhaps its most novel formal aspect.

[104] For Senecan examples of this type of entrance speech cf. *HF* 592ff, *Agam.* 782ff, 918ff, *Pha.* 835ff.

technique. The passage contains a number of novel features, such as the reference to looking around in 265–266[105] and the sudden fright in 269ff, not caused by any action or event on stage. Most remarkable, however, is Polynices' announcement of his intention to question the chorus (277); this is apparently a new development in tragic technique and a clear anticipation of the complete detachment of Lycus and other characters in Seneca.[106] The chorus for its part seems either not to have heard Polynices' speech or else not to have understood it completely, since in spite of his references to the truce arranged by his mother (272–273), the chorus needs to ask who he is (286–287).

This scene from the *Phoenissae* is significant evidence of the direction in which the technique of tragedy was developing at the end of the fifth century. The speech of Polynices differs from that of Lycus in Seneca's *HF* primarily in that Polynices enters just after the *parodos*, with only the chorus on stage; his neglect of them and gradual approach to them are somewhat less remarkable than Lycus' treatment of Megara and Amphitryon, who have been speaking before he enters and who in fact are aware of his arrival (cf. 329ff).[107]

The entrance speech of Polynices looks forward to the entrance monologues of Seneca in its content and dramatic function as well as in its form. The isolated entrance speech is reserved by Seneca for characters who have reason to conceal their thoughts from those already present, whether because they are planning deception (Lycus, Helen, Atreus) or because they are apprehensive and do not wish the other characters on stage to know their state of mind (Creon, Jason, Clytemestra, Aegisthus); hence the functional similarity of these speeches to asides. This use of a detached entrance speech to explore the *affectus* of a character and to bring onto the stage thoughts or plans which must remain hidden if the subsequent action is to take place is prefigured by Euripides' depiction of the nervous reflections of Polynices.

Although the latest surviving plays of Euripides, *Phoenissae* in particular, show a development of technique regarding entrance speeches which looks forward to that found in Seneca, it is highly unlikely that Seneca's handling of such scenes is directly patterned on Euripidean models. The Euripidean examples suggest a gradual loosening of previously established conventions in the service of

[105] Below, p. 248.

[106] The subordinate position of this announcement, and the absence of any sign of surprise in Polynices' reference to the chorus, offer further points of similarity to the entrance speech of Lycus.

[107] In this respect *Ba.* 215ff is perhaps the closest fifth-century parallel.

specific dramatic ends; the Senecan passages resemble each other so closely in essentials that one may justly speak of a new convention. The establishment of the isolated entrance speech as a conventional form is a postclassical development which may be illustrated from New Comedy.

An early specimen of the isolated entrance speech can be seen in Aristophanes *Plutus* 335ff. Blepsidemus enters marveling at the behavior of Chremylus in sharing his good fortune with his friends; although Chremylus is present Blepsidemus speaks of him in the third person throughout. At the end of Blepsidemus' speech (342) he is addressed by Chremylus and a dialogue ensues. Blepsidemus' opening words appear to have no effect on the development of the scene;[108] they only serve to establish his skeptical attitude at the outset in the most economical way possible.

In comparison a Menandrean entrance speech like that of Cnemon at his first appearance (*Dysc.* 153ff) is rather closer to Euripides in form and feeling. Before Cnemon enters the remarks of Sostratus and Pyrrhias elaborately prepare the audience for his μισανθρωπία (142ff), which is then amply displayed in his opening remarks. Cnemon's isolation from Sostratus is plausibly grounded, since Sostratus has apprehensively shrunk back out of sight (148f). When Cnemon sees Sostratus his temporary isolation ends abruptly with an anguished οἴμοι (167); the moment of violent surprise is very much in Euripides' manner (and is notably absent in the *Plutus* scene). Cnemon's outburst prompts Sostratus' frightened question ἆρα τυπτήσει γέ με; (168), after which dialogue begins, so that it is impossible to say whether or not Sostratus has heard lines 153–166. Cnemon's self-revelation, however, has greater interest for the audience than it appears to have for Sostratus, who continues to behave as he had done before Cnemon's arrival; indeed, his attempt to placate Cnemon by feigning a rendezvous on his doorstep (171f) shows by its ineptness that he has completely missed the point of the old man's monologue.

This scene of the *Dyscolus* shows such theatrical and psychological skill that the bare bones of convention in it almost escape detection. The freestanding entrance speech is more easily recognized in Plautus, for example the entrance of Tyndarus in *Captiui* 997ff:

> —sed eccum incedit huc ornatus haud ex suis uirtutibus.
> —Vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Accherunti fierent
> cruciamenta, uerum enim uero nulla adaeque est Accheruns

[108] Chremylus' first words (343ff) are not a reply to 335–342, but follow directly upon Chremylus' announcement of Blepsidemus in 332–334. (In 343 it is perhaps better to punctuate ἐρῶ. μὰ τοὺς θεούς.)

> atque ubi ego fui, in lapicidinis. illic ibi demumst locus
> ubi labore lassitudost exigunda ex corpore.
> nam ubi illo adueni, quasi patriciis pueris aut monerulae
> aut anites aut coturnices dantur, quicum lusitent,
> itidem haec mihi aduenienti upupa qui me delectem datast.
> sed erus eccum ante ostium. -et erus alter eccum ex Alide
> rediit.

The lines clearly suspend the action, not in order to provide material for its further development, but to give Tyndarus a chance to expatiate on his woes.[109] Here the short suspension of action has a dramatic function, that of increasing the joyfulness of Tyndarus' reunion with his father, but this is not the case with all such conventional entrance speeches in Plautus.[110]

Plautus also provides examples of more extended monologues delivered in isolation from the other characters present. In *Trin.* 843ff the monologue of the Sycophanta is observed by Charmides (note 839ff, especially 841f, *opperiar / quam hic rem agat animum aduortam*) but is not overheard, as is customary in such scenes;[111] nor is any explanation given for Charmides' failure to hear the monologue, as is done in, for example, *Men* 478f, *Merc.* 364f.[112] In the second scene of the *Stichus* the action shifts from a monologue of Antipho (58–67, formally an address to servants within) to a conversation between his daughters Panegyris and Pamphila (68–74) to a further monologue by Antipho (75–87). During this time Antipho and his daughters remain unaware of each other, as is shown by references in the third person in 68ff, 75ff. The multiple suspension in this passage is given a physical explanation in the text (87f; the sisters and Antipho are in some way hidden from each other until he approaches the door to their house and is heard by them),[113]

[109] Men. *Dysc.* 522ff contain a similar lament, but in that passage Sostratus enters with the stage empty and so delivers a true monologue. On Plautine monologues see in general E. Fraenkel (above, n.24), ch. 6.

[110] See, for example, *Aul.* 178ff, 608ff.

[111] E.g., *Amph.* 153ff, *Cas.* 443ff (note 575ff), *Most.* 429ff; G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (1952) 110.

[112] Duckworth (above, n.111) 123.

[113] The details of staging have been variously interpreted; most recently, H. Petersmann (*Plautus: Stichus* [1973] 40f) has argued that the sisters are outside the door of their house during the entire scene. The opening scene of *Octauia* offers a noteworthy (and apparently unnoticed) parallel. The play begins with a monody by Octavia (1–33), followed by a speech by her nurse; it seems likely that the nurse enters after Octavia's monody and describes the condition of her offstage protégée, as in the prologos of Euripides' *Medea* (note 46ff). Then Octavia cries out again from within (57–71), provoking this response from the nurse: *uox en nostras perculit aures / tristis alumnae; cesset thalamis / inferre*

but the scene remains an instructive example of the freedom with which time and space could be treated in New Comedy.[114] Later in the *Stichus* (150ff) the maid Crocotium is ordered by Panegyris to go and find the parasite Gelasimus. In the very next lines Gelasimus himself arrives and delivers a long monologue (155–195); then Crocotium speaks, and her words make it clear that she has not heard the preceding speech (196f, *hic illest parasitus quem arcessitum missa sum. / quae loquitur auscultabo prius quam conloquar;* compare her later asides 217, 235f). Crocotium could leave at 154 and return at 196, and the only hints for stage action in the text perhaps point in this direction (150, *i;* 154, *propera atque actutum redi*), [115] but it may also be possible that the isolation of an opening monologue was a sufficiently well-established convention to make any efforts at verisimilitude unnecessary.[116]

Even more interesting is the return of Amphitryon in *Amph.* 551ff. Having heard from Sosia that another Sosia (that is, the disguised Mercury) is waiting for him at home, Amphitryon resolves to puzzle out the mystery (628, 632): *sequere hac igitur me, nam mi istuc primum exquisito est opus. / utinam di faxint infecta dicta re eueniant tua.*[117] These lines hint at a withdrawal to the side of the house. Alcmena now comes out of the house and delivers a *canticum* (633–653) lamenting the sudden departure of her husband (that is, Jupiter disguised as Amphitryon); her appearance and *canticum* are not noticed by Amphitryon and Sosia, who resume their conversation in 654. Alcmena sees her husband in 660 (*meus uir hicquidem est*) and Amphitryon is aware of her by 665, but each continues to speak of the other in the third person until 675, after which dialogue begins with Amphitryon's formal salutation *Amphitruo*

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*gradus tarda senectus*? (72–74). The similarity to *Stich.* 87f, *certo enim mihi paternae uocis sonitus auris accidit. / — is est ecastor. Ferre aduorsum homini occupemus osculum,* suggests that the scene in Plautus as well as that in pseudo-Seneca is to be imagined as taking place "indoors;" for the language of *Oct.* 72f cf. also Pl. *Merc.* 864, *nescioquoia uox ad auris mi aduolauit, Rud.* 233, *certo uox muliebris auris tetigit meas.*

[114] Compare Pl. *Pers.* 1ff for alternating entrance speeches at first unheard by either party.

[115] Petersmann (above, n.113) suggests that Crocotium is not visible until 196, that Panegyris speaks 150ff into the house, and that Crocotium leaves the house by the back door. This seems excessively cumbersome, and the same end (avoiding Crocotium's silent presence on stage until 150) could be met by supposing that 150ff summon her out of the house and send her off on her mission.

[116] Leo, *Monolog* (above, n.6) 56, Duckworth (above, n.111) 123.

[117] Lines 629–631 are incompatible with the action of the scene and were rightly deleted by Ussing.

*uxorem salutat laetus speratam suam* (676). The isolation of Alcmena's *canticum* and the delay in the start of dialogue find a remarkable parallel in Seneca's *Hercules Furens*. Hercules enters from the Underworld and greets Phoebus, recounting his triumphs and taunting Juno with his completion of all her trials (592–615). He then breaks off to notice the armed guards whom Lycus has stationed around the sanctuary (616f, *sed templa quare miles infestus tenet / limenque sacrum terror armorum obsidet*?),[118] but does not mention Amphitryon and Megara. Amphitryon, who announced Hercules' impending arrival some time before (520ff), does not immediately address him but instead expresses his joy and amazement at his son's return in terms similar to those of Alcmena in Plautus (618–621; compare *HF* 621, *estne ille natus*? *membra laetitia stupent*, with *Amph.* 660, *nam quid ille reuortitur ...* ? 663, *ecastor med haud inuita se domum recipit suam*); dialogue then begins with a formal salutation (622, *o nate, certa at sera Thebarum salus*). The scenes are undeniably similar in technique, and Plautus is if anything more artificial in his use of convention than Seneca (perhaps because Plautine exuberance has swollen the scene's original dimensions). There is also a similarity of function, since in both cases the disruption of continuity establishes the *affectus* of one of the actors in a more direct way than was possible within the conventions of classical tragedy.

The prominence of monologues in New Comedy has in part a purely technical explanation. The disappearance of the chorus means that a single character entering when the stage is empty or remaining on stage when others leave delivers a monologue in the strict sense. The writers of New Comedy made extensive use of such true monologues as structural devices marking the start and conclusion of important phases in the action.[119] The absence of a choral, and therefore public, background is probably also a factor in the further development of entrance speeches which make no immediate reference to the on-stage action or characters. Persons in Euripides who deliver self-absorbed entrance speeches generally reflect on the immediate situation or its background; they may not explicitly address the chorus, but their words can in most cases be taken as a public statement.[120] In many of these speeches the

[118] To this point the technique of the scene is essentially Euripidean, with expansion of the entrance speech.

[119] This function is already present in Arist. *Eccl.* 311ff. The point was made by Leo, *Monolog* (above, n.6) 49ff, but his attempt to show that such monologues always coincided with the beginning or end of an *actus* (and in particular to read this principle back into Euripidean tragedy) is excessive.

[120] The clearest exception is the entrance speech of Polynices in *Phoenissae* (above, p. 235f).

depiction of character is subordinate to the conveying of necessary information.[121] Comedy, on the other hand, contains as well as this kind of public entrance speech many others in which the emphasis is on the private thoughts or feelings of characters. Quasi-monologues like that of Cnemon in *Dysc.* 153ff do little to advance the action but much to advance the audience's understanding of the speaker. Entrance speeches of this kind, together with the usually longer true monologues, are one of comedy's chief ways of giving more rounded portrayals of individual personalities than was possible in the formal situations of fifth-century tragedy. This concern to explore the detailed workings of character is also evident in Seneca's monologues, several of thich could fairly be described as extended self-portraits.[122] Comedy, to be sure, pursues this end with a more secure grasp of theatrical realities than does Seneca. In comedy, for example, most of the longest and most revealing monologues are true soliloquies, delivered when no other person is present (or at least visible); in Seneca, on the other hand, monologues in this strict sense are virtually absent except in prologues,[123] and self-revelation most often takes place in the presence of others. The evidence does not make it clear whether Seneca's procedure is his own or an inheritance from lost tragic models; it does, however, show that Seneca is far closer in this aspect of technique to the writers of comedy than to fifth-century tragedy. Seneca's apparent impatience with the constraints of theatrical conditions may have led him to push the convention to an extreme of implausibility, but the basic shape and function of his entrance monologues conform to the practices of postclassical drama.[124]

[121] Although Euripides was, of course, often able to combine these functions; in some of the later examples (*Hel.* 528ff, *Ba.* 215ff) character portrayal begins to outweigh exposition.

[122] *HF* 332ff, *Tro.* 861ff, *Agam.* 108ff, 226ff.

[123] Leo, *Monolog* (above, n.6) 91.

[124] Two other aspects of Seneca's technique merit brief mention: (1) in *HF* 205–278 and 279–308 Amphitryon and Megara have successive speeches neither of which seems to take any notice of the other — in effect, therefore, two successive monologues (note the formal address in 309, *O socia nostri sanguinis casta fide*, marking the beginning of dialogue). A parallel can be found in such set-piece scenes as the opening of the *Persa*, in which each of two characters makes an opening speech and only then becomes aware of the other. (2) In *Med.* 560ff Medea appears to be left alone on stage when Jason leaves, and she reflects on her next course of action; the structure of the scene has many parallels in New Comedy, cf. (e.g.) Pl. *Ba.* 349ff, *Ps.* 395ff, *Trin.* 199ff, 591ff, 717ff (*abiit ille quidem;* compare *Med.* 560, *discessit*), 998ff, Ter. *And.* 206ff, *HT* 502ff, *Eun.* 197ff, *Hec.* 274ff, 510 (*abiit*), 566ff, 793ff. In the *Medea* scene,

*Asides.*[125] An aside is a remark or speech, usually short, spoken in the presence of one or more other characters but not intended to be heard by them. Suspension of *dramatic* time is involved whenever the aside is not noticed by the other person(s) present, although a very brief aside may be inserted into dialogue with almost no disruption of *real* time.[126] Here the difference in technique between Seneca and fifth-century tragedy is even clearer than in the case of entrance monologues: Seneca has several instances of asides in the strictest sense, while classical tragedy has none.

An aside is most easily identified when it refers to the other person or persons on stage in a way that would make a reaction inevitable if the remark had been heard. Scenes in which deception is planned or executed offer the clearest occasion for such an aside; a good example may be seen in Seneca's *Medea* 547ff, when Jason professes that his children mean more than life to him and Medea remarks (549f) *sic natos amat? / bene est, tenetur, uulneri patuit locus* before begging Jason for permission to embrace the children for one last time. Asides are used for a similar purpose by Ulysses in *Tro.* 625f (*intremuit: hac, hac parte quaerenda est mihi; / matrem timor detexit; iterabo metum*) and, at much greater length, by Atreus in *Thyestes* 491ff (*plagis tenetur clausa dispositis fera* to 507, *praestetur fides*). Seneca's characters also use asides to exhort themselves to action (*Pha.* 592ff, *aude, anime, tempta . . .* 599, *en, incipe, anime*) or, in the remarkable central scene between Ulysses and Andromache in *Troades*, to debate courses of action within themselves (607–618, 642–662, 686–691). The dramatic function of asides thus closely resembles that of the monologue; it depicts either deception or inner turmoil and permits these thoughts or feelings to bypass classical theatrical restraints and to be presented in the most direct and explicit possible form. All but one of the Senecan passages mentioned are asides in pure form, with no sign that the other person on stage is aware of the words spoken; the apparent exception is *Tro.*

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Medea's apparent soliloquy gives way at 568 to a command to the nurse; cp. Pl. *Most.* 408ff (419, *sed quid tu egredere, Sphaerio,* etc.).

[125] The aside in Greek drama is now thoroughly and admirably discussed by David Bain (above, n.95). His study confirms in general the conclusions I had reached (from a much less systematic survey of the material) before his monograph appeared; as a result the text of this section remains essentially unchanged.

[126] This would be particularly true if some asides were spoken simultaneously with lines delivered by other characters (note Pl. *Ps.* 208, *male facis mihi quom sermone huic obsonas*). Instead of "suspension of time" Bain (above, n.95) 70 speaks of "freezing of the action," perhaps a clearer term.

607ff, in which Ulysses seems to describe Andromache as trying to catch the words he is speaking.[127]

No scene of fifth-century tragedy has been shown to contain an aside in pure form, but several passages deserve mention as coming near to the conventional aside and as possible precursors of it. The most often cited passage in this connection is from Euripides' *Hecuba* (726ff). Agamemnon enters and asks Hecuba why she is delaying to bury Polyxena; then, coming on the body of Polydorus, he asks who this dead Trojan may be. Hecuba, turned away from Agamemnon, does not answer him and instead debates with herself whether or not to appeal to his mercy to obtain burial for Polydorus. Her first line makes it clear that her words are meant for herself (736, *δύστην' ἐμαυτὴν γὰρ λέγω λέγουσα σέ*)[128] and it is equally clear that Agamemnon cannot hear her deliberations, since he reacts three times as though Hecuba were refusing to answer his questions (739f; 743f, note *μὴ κλύων*; 747f). The scene thus lacks the suspension of dramatic time characteristic of asides in Seneca and New Comedy; Agamemnon is aware of what he thinks is Hecuba's silence, and so dramatic and real time coincide. This scene in the *Hecuba* may be compared to the much more sophisticated use of a similar technique in the merchant scene of *Philoctetes*. The false merchant (a crony of Odysseus in disguise) arrives to assist Neoptolemus in persuading Philoctetes to leave Lemnos with him. Part of the dialogue between Neoptolemus and the merchant is as follows (572ff):

*Νε.* πρὸς ποῖον αὖ τόνδ' αὐτὸς οὐδυσσεὺς ἔπλει;
*Εμ.* ἦν δή τις—ἀλλὰ τόνδε μοι πρῶτον φράσον
τίς ἐστίν· ἂν λέγῃς δὲ μὴ φώνει μέγα.
575 *Νε.* ὅδ' ἔσθ' ὁ κλεινός σοι Φιλοκτήτης, ξένε.
*Εμ.* μή νύν μ' ἔρῃ τὰ πλείον', ἀλλ' ὅσον τάχος
ἔκπλει σεαυτὸν ξυλλαβὼν ἐκ τῆσδε γῆς.
*Φι.* τί φησιν, ὦ παῖ; τί με κατὰ σκότον ποτὲ
διεμπολᾷ λόγοισι πρός σ' ὁ ναυβάτης;

[127] This would seem the most natural interpretation of *Tro.* 616f *sed huc et illuc anxios gressus refert | missasque uoces aure sollicita excipit,* unless the lines refer to Andromache's behavior during the entire scene to this point. For description during an aside of the behavior of another character cp. Pl. *Amph.* 441ff.

[128] Schadewaldt (above, n.95) 30f plausibly suggests that the explicitness of Hecuba's language is a sign of the novelty of this form of self-address in the presence of another. The scene is well analyzed by Bain (above, n.95) 13–15 ("Admittedly Hecuba's remarks do not constitute what might be considered the purest form of aside," 15), but his later suggestion (56) that the "naturalistic" character of the scene could be the result of Euripides' wish "to treat in a new way a convention that was already familiar to the audiences of tragedy"

The "aside" is not meant to escape Philoctetes' notice, but to attract it and so to prepare him for the merchant's lying narrative. Philoctetes' awareness that he is being talked about by the other two characters on stage preserves dramatic time intact.[129]

The third passage is from Euripides' *Orestes*, and comes during the appeal for help which Orestes makes to Menelaus (669ff):

> φιλεῖν δάμαρτα πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν δοκεῖς·
> κοὐχ ὑποτρέχων σε τοῦτο θωπείᾳ λέγω·
> ταύτης ἱκνοῦμαί σ'—ὦ μέλεος ἐμῶν κακῶν,
> ἐς οἷον ἥκω. τί δέ; ταλαιπωρεῖν με δεῖ·
> ὑπὲρ γὰρ οἴκου παντὸς ἱκετεύω τάδε.

Orestes' outburst is not directed to those present and expresses a private thought of overwhelming intensity. But it is not necessary to suppose that the words were meant not to be heard except by the audience; the language used is general enough to prevent Menelaus from taking in its full significance. The lines may thus be interpreted as a "turning-away" of particular boldness, rather than as an aside.[130]

Each of the passages discussed displays an adaptation to specific dramatic circumstances; together they offer no evidence for a fully-developed convention of asides. It is worth noting that in the Euripidean scenes the disruption of continuous speech or dialogue results from an emotional dilemma which makes it temporarily impossible for a

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seems implausible since Bain himself admits only one aside prior to the *Hecuba* passage, *Med.* 277–280 (21–23), and he is properly tentative about calling that an aside.

[129] Bain (above, n.95) 81–85 interprets the scene differently, as a *genuine* attempt to converse aside (thus adopting a "Tychoist" approach to the problems of Neoptolemus' role). This controverted point cannot be taken up here, but a comment is in order on Bain's remark (83 n.1) "it is interesting that Sophocles does not use the device which would have removed any ambiguity. He does not allow the dissembler or alleged dissembler to explain his conduct to the audience aside." It would be astonishing if Sophocles *had* done so, since Bain's careful survey shows that the kind of aside in which an actor takes the audience into his confidence is entirely alien to fifth-century tragic technique.

[130] Compare Eur. *Med.* 277–280, also from the middle of a speech rather than in dialogue. Most, if not all, of the Euripidean passages which Bain (above, n.95) 13–55 accepts as genuine asides share this characteristic: the short outburst is rarely so unambiguous as to make it incredible for the other actor(s) on stage to proceed without remarking on it. It is, of course, proper to recognize in these passages the forerunners of the fully-developed aside, as long as this essential difference between the procedure of Euripides and that of New Comedy (and Seneca) is kept in mind.

character to proceed. There is thus a similarity of dramatic purpose between these passages and several of Seneca's asides, but the form used by Seneca is clearly a postclassical creation.

The presence of pure asides in New Comedy is too obvious to require extensive demonstration.[131] As with entrance monologues, the earliest clear examples of a comic aside come from Aristophanes. When in *Thesmophoriazusae* Cleisthenes warns the women that a man in disguise has infiltrated their meeting, the relative of Euripides utters several desperate asides before being singled out for questioning (603, *ποῖ τις τρέψεται;* 604, *κακοδαίμων ἐγώ.* 609, *διοίχομαι*). In form this passage resembles others in Aristophanes in which a third party comments sardonically on a dialogue between two other characters,[132] but it differs from them in that these words must not be overheard by the others on stage. In *Plutus* 365ff Blepsidemus comments on Chremylus' behavior in the third person when no other character is present. His first remark is apparently not noticed (364 and 366 make the same point), but his second (367f) draws the reply *σὺ μὲν οἶδ' ὃ κρώζεις*; the aside is thus "caught," as often in later comedy.[133] Comic asides are used, as in Seneca, both in scenes of deception (cf. Pl. *Cas.* 685ff, *ludo ego huc facete; / nam quae facta dixi omnia huic falsa dixi*, *Poen.* 647ff, 653ff, Ter. *Ad.* 548) and when characters are temporarily at a loss (cf. Pl. *Most.* 662ff, Th. *age comminiscere ergo.* TR. *quid ego agam / nisi*, etc., Ter. *And.* 746, *quid dicam aliud nescio*). In contrast to Seneca, comedy often gives its asides a physical basis by stage directions in the text;[134] in other passages the aside is noticed and the convention thereby punctured for humorous effect.[135] There are, however, more than enough specimens of the pure aside in dialogue scenes to show that the

[131] See now Bain (above, n.95) 105–184 with full bibliography. Bain shows that asides tend to be longer and more artificial in Roman comedy (especially Plautus) than in the surviving parts of Menander; this development goes a step further in Seneca.

[132] For example, *Thesm.* 200f, *Ran.* 108, 115, 159f, 552, 554, *Plut.* 99, 106, 111, 147f. These "bomolochic" remarks are well handled by Bain (above, n.95) 87–90. Bain also makes the important point that eavesdropping asides and asides commenting on the deception of another character first appear in Aristophanes (90–93); his suggestion that the asides of *Thesm.* 603ff are a comic adaptation of Eur. *Hel.* 133a, 139b is attractive.

[133] Could *κρώζεις* mean that Blepsidemus has been using a "stage whisper"? The use of the verb in *Lys.* 506 is insulting, since it attributes to Cleonice the croaking voice of a crone.

[134] E.g., Pl. *Ps.* 1157ff, *Mil.* 20ff, 1020ff, *Trin.* 562.

[135] E.g., Pl. *Aul.* 549, *Ps.* 613ff, *Merc.* 377, *Most.* 512, *Trin.* 567. Both procedures are abundantly illustrated by Bain (above, n.95) 156–158, 162–171.

aside as it appears in Seneca was an accepted convention of post-classical comedy.

### DETAILS OF STAGE BUSINESS

*Creaking doors.* In Seneca's *Medea* a dialogue between Medea and her nurse is cut short when Medea hears the creaking pivot of an opening door (177f): *sed cuius ictu regius cardo strepit? / ipse est Pelasgo tumidus imperio Creo.* Noise from an opening door also announces two entrances in *Oedipus* (911ff, *sed quid hoc? postes sonant, / maestus et famulus manu / regius quassat caput;* 995ff, *sonuere fores atque ipse suum / duce non ullo luminis orbus / molitur iter*), and the device was used once by the author of *Hercules Oetaeus* (254f, *sonuere postes: ecce praecipiti gradu / secreta mentis ore confuso exerit*). This means of announcing an entrance appears only three times in fifth-century tragedy, in late plays of Euripides (*Ion* 515f, *Helen* 858ff, *Orestes* 1366ff[136]), twice in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 1326, *Ran.* 604), and becomes conventional in postclassical drama; in this case there is direct evidence for both tragedy and comedy.[137] The appearances of the convention in Seneca, particularly that in *Med.* 177f, resemble the postclassical rather than the Euripidean form in both function and language. In none of the three Euripidean passages just cited does the noise of the opening door interrupt or prematurely terminate a dialogue; *Ion* 515f and *Or.* 1366ff come after a stasimon and introduce a new episode, and *Hel.* 858ff comes at the end of a long dialogue between Helen and Menelaus (761–854; note the choral tag 855f, which marks the end of the foregoing section as does 758ff). In Seneca's *Medea*, however, Medea and her nurse have been speaking for only a short time when Creon's arrival is heard;[138] for this arrangement compare (for example) Men. *Peric.* 316, Ter. *Ad.* 264, Pl. *Amph.* 496, *Cas.* 163f, *Curc.* 92ff. In referring to the noise of the door

[136] The authenticity of *Or.* 1366ff has often been questioned; most recently cf. M. D. Reeve, *GRBS* 13 (1972) 263f. The suggestion of di Benedetto that the door which opens is a side door to the *gynaeceum* has nothing to commend it.

[137] Duckworth (above, n.111) 116f; B. Bader, *Antichthon* 5 (1971) 35–48; C. Dedoussi, *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 6ff; H. Petersmann, *WS* n.s. 5 (1971) 91ff. In Republican tragedy note Pac. 214, 133, Acc. 29, 470 R$^2$; in comedy (e.g.) Pl. *Amph.* 496f, 955, *Aul.* 665, *Bacch.* 234, *Mil.* 410, 1198, 1377, Ter. *Phorm.* 840, *Ad.* 264.

[138] To describe any conversation in a play as "prematurely terminated" is, of course, only a *façon de parler;* the impression created by the dramatist, however, may be that of a new entrance coinciding with the natural end of a phase of the action or else of an entrance which is unexpected and prevents further development of the existing situation.

pivot (*cardo Med.* 177; cf. Pl. *Curc.* 94, 158) or of the door generally (*postes Oed.* 911, *fores Oed.* 995; cf. Pl. *Aul.* 665, *Cas.* 163, *Mil.* 1377, Men. *Sam.* 532[139]), Seneca is closer to postclassical writers than to Euripides, two of whose passages mention the noise of the door bolts (κλῆθρα).[140] In this case Seneca's choice of words permits a narrower definition of "postclassical" than is usually possible. The combination *cardo strepit* used in *Med.* 177 cannot be duplicated in comedy or in Republican tragedy,[141] and the closest parallel appears to be in Ovid *Met.* 14.782: *nec strepitum uerso Saturnia cardine fecit.* It may also be worth noting that *cardines*, though uncommon in creaking-door scenes in comedy and Republican tragedy,[142] appear in two of the four surviving fragments of the Augustan tragedian Gracchus (1 R², *o grata cardo, regium egressum indicans!*; 2 R², *sonat impulsu* [*Del Rio:* -a *codd.*] *regia cardo*). The language of *Oed.* 911, *postes sonant*, and 995, *sonuere fores*, is also instructive: the noun *postis* does not appear in this context in Republican drama, and the verb *sono* is only used once;[143] on the other hand, *sonat* is found in the line of Gracchus quoted above, and both *postis* and *sono* (together with *cardo*) appear in Ovid *Am.* 1.6.49: *fallimur, an uerso sonuerunt cardine postes . . . ?* Seneca's creaking doors would be at home in any phase of postclassical drama, but the language with which he describes them seems to point clearly to the Augustan age.[144]

*Looking around.* In a passage of *Phaedra* to which reference has

[139] In Menander the terms most often used are ἡ θύρα (ψοφεῖ, ἐψόφηκεν) and τὴν θύραν (τις ψοφεῖ, ἐψόφηκεν); Bader (above, n.137) 37.

[140] The exception is *Ion* 515f, τῶνδ' ἀκούομεν πυλῶν / δοῦπον.

[141] In comedy the only uses of *cardines* in this context are Pl. *Curc.* 94, *num cardo muttit*, 158, *crepitum cardinum* (the word also appears in scenes of violent knocking at doors; cf. *As.* 388, *Amph.* 1026). The use of *cardo* in Ennius *Sc.* 82 R² (= 88 J) *saeptum altisono cardine templum* has no connection with doors on the stage.

[142] The tragic fragments listed above (n.137) use the word *ualuae* for the source of the noise, except for Pacuvius 133 R², *quidnam autem hoc soniti est, quod stridunt foris?*

[143] For *postis* in other contexts cf. Pl. *Bacch.* 149, *Most.* 818ff. Instead of *sono* Republican drama uses *sonitus* alone or with *facio;* cf. Pac. 133 R², *quidnam autem hoc soniti est?*, Caec. 21 R², *numquidnam fores fecere soniti?*, Pl. *Curc.* 203; *sono* appears only in Pac. 214 R² (below, p. 256 and n.174).

[144] Similar language is used by Tibullus, cf. Bader (above, n.137) 42. The distinction Bader draws between "tragic palace-gates and comic house-doors" (45) is useful, since it makes Seneca's links with the "comic" usage particularly clear.

already been made,[145] Phaedra asks Hippolytus for a word in private, ordering any of his companions who may still be present to leave them (*si quis est abeat comes*); Hippolytus then surveys the stage and reports that there are no eavesdroppers in sight (*en locus ab omni liber arbitrio uacat*). The writer of the *Hercules Oetaeus* included this piece of stage business in the plotting scene of Deianira and her nurse (482ff):

(Deian.) Circumspice agedum, ne quis arcana occupet,
partemque in omnen uultus inquirens eat.
(Nutr.) En locus ab omni tutus arbitrio uacat.[146]

Once again, parallels from fifth-century tragedy are extremely rare and are found only in late Euripides: in prologues at *IT* 67ff and *Phoen.* 92ff and, more remarkably, in the presence of the chorus at *Phoen.* 265f and *IA* 862f. As in the case of tragic "asides," these passages are not sufficiently numerous or alike in language or dramatic function to justify speaking of a convention; only in the passage from the *IA*, for example, is the assurance of privacy a prerequisite for a secret conversation, and this passage lacks any reference to looking around the stage: *Πρ. ἦ μόνῳ παρόντε δῆτα ταῖσδ' ἐφέστατον πύλαις; Αχ. ὡς μόνοιν λέγοις ἄν, ἔξω δ' ἐλθὲ βασιλείων δόμων.*[147] (A closer Euripidean parallel to the lines of Seneca's *Phaedra* may have existed in the lost *Archelaus*, written like the *IA* after Euripides had left Athens for Macedon. The version of the story given by Hyginus [*Fab.* 219], generally agreed to reflect the structure of Euripides' play, reads in part: *qui re cognita dicit se cum rege colloqui uelle secreto; arbitris semotis Archelaus regem arreptum in foueam coniecit atque ita eum perdidit.* The similarity of the action to that in Sen. *Pha.* 599ff is striking, but there can be no certainty that Hyginus' account depicts precisely what Euripides presented on stage.) Looking around the stage before a private conversation, however, is clearly a convention in postclassical drama. New Comedy, as often, furnishes the fullest evidence: cf. Pl. *Capt.* 219f, *secede huc nunciam, si uidetur, procul | ne arbitri dicta nostra arbitrari queant*, *Mil.* 607f, *sed speculabor nequis aut hinc aut ab laeua aut a dextera | nostro consilio uenator adsit cum auritis plagis*; 955ff, 1137f, *sequimini, simul circumspicite ne quis adsit arbiter. | — neminem pol uideo, nisi hunc quem*

[145] Above, p. 224.

[146] The language of 483 is perhaps meant to echo phrases like *ὁρῶ, σκοποῦμαι δ' ὄμμα πανταχῆ στρέφων* (Eur. *IT* 68).

[147] A similar situation (inspecting the stage before a private conversation) is also present in the prologos of *Philoctetes*, but here the elements of the action are even farther removed from stylized convention (cf. 15ff, 30ff, 48f).

*uolumus conuentum*, *Most* 472ff, *circumspicedum, numquis est / sermonem nostrum qui aucupet? — tutum probest. / — circumspice etiam. — nemo est*, *Stichus* 102f, *Trin.* 146f, *circumspicedum te ne quis adsit arbiter / nobis, et quaeso identidem circumspice.*[148] That the convention was not limited to comedy is shown by a fragment of Accius' *Epigoni* (292 $R^2$): *eaque iui hoc causa, ut ne quis nostra uerba cleperet auribus.*[149] Seneca's use of this item of stage business clearly derives in both language[150] and dramatic function from passages like these rather than from the analogous scenes in Euripides.

*Withdrawing to plot future action.* At the end of the second act of *Agamemnon*, Clytemestra urges Aegisthus to withdraw with her in order to discuss further their plot to kill Agamemnon (308f): *secede mecum potius, ut rerum statum / dubium ac minacem iuncta consilia explicent.* Coming at the end of a long dialogue devoted to precisely this subject, these words can have only a conventional force; they serve as an exit formula which neatly draws the scene to a close.[151] This motive is not found in the exit announcements of fifth-century tragedy, where plotting is usually carried out on stage in the absence of (or with the connivance of) the chorus.[152] In New Comedy, on the other hand, one character not infrequently orders another to go inside with him in order to plan or execute action; cf. Pl. *Aul.* 649f, *I hac intro mecum, gnate mi, ad fratrem meum, / ut istuc quod me oras impetratum ab eo auferas, Most.*, 1036ff.[153] Seneca's language also shows a connection with that of Roman comedy, where *secedere* and *concedere* are used in situations where a private conversation is sought (cf. Pl. *Am.* 771, *As.*

[148] In *Trin.* 69f the convention is the basis of a mild joke: —- *men? — numquis est hic alius praeter me atque te? — nemo est.*

[149] This fragment may confirm the suggestion made above that the chorus retired during the episodes of this play.

[150] The word *arbitrio* in Seneca recalls the comic use of *arbiter* in the sense of "eavesdropper," although the use of *arbitrium* in this sense may have originated with Seneca (cf. *T.L.L.* II.410.12ff, where the earliest appearance is given as *Aetna* 196).

[151] One could argue that the scene to this point has turned on Clytemestra's participation in the murder, and that these lines refer to a more specific discussion of strategy, but this second phase of the conversation hardly requires greater secrecy than the first; the lines therefore have almost purely conventional force.

[152] In his note on Soph. *OT* 859ff Jebb interpreted Jocasta's words ἴωμεν ἐς δόμους as an invitation to further discussion inside; there is no clear sign of this in the text.

[153] Further discussion in *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) ad loc.

639, *Capt.* 218, 263, Ter. *HT* 510); neither word is used in comedy to announce a joint exit[154] as in *Agamemnon*, but Pl. *Ps.* 571f, *concedere aliquantisper hinc mi intro lubet, / dum concenturio in corde sycophantias*, comes close to the Senecan passage in dramatic function.[155]

*Calling for water.* When Seneca's Agamemnon returns home to Argos, his reception is marred by the sight of Cassandra lying in a faint after an exhausting series of prophetic visions (786ff):

> Quid ista uates corpus effusa ac tremens
> dubia labat ceruice? famuli, attollite,
> refouete gelido latice. iam recipit diem
> marcente uisu. suscita sensus tuos:
> optatus ille portus aerumnis adest.

Although several Euripidean characters faint, none is revived with water (cf. *Tro.* 462ff, *Andr.* 1076f, *Hec.* 438ff, *Hcld.* 602ff, the most detailed account: *ὦ παῖδες, οἰχόμεσθα. λύεται μέλη / λύπῃ· λάβεσθε κεἰς ἕδραν μ' ἐρείσατε / αὐτοῦ πέπλοισι τοῖσδε κρύψαντες, τέκνα.*); other instances of this item of business can only be produced from comedy, cf. Arist. *Vesp.* 995, Men. *Sic.* 364, Pl. *Miles* 1330ff:

> opsecro, tene mulierem, male
> ne adfligatur. — quid istuc quaesost? — quia aps te abit, animo /
> factum est huic repente miserae. — curre intro atque ecferto aquam.
> — nil aquam moror, quiescat malo. ne interueneris,
> quaeso, dum resipiscit.[156]

[154] In Pl. *Men.* 570 *huc concedamus* announces a withdrawal out of sight by two characters in order to spy on a third character.

[155] Friedrich (above, n.6) 132f has suggested a connection between the numerous scenes of overhearing in New Comedy and these lines of *Phoenissae* (359ff): *latebo rupis exesae cauo / aut saepe densa corpus abstrusum tegam. / hinc aucupabor uerba rumoris uagi / et saeua fratrum bella, quod possum, audiam.* The context in Seneca seems very different from the proposed comic situation, but the appearance of the verb *aucupor* is suggestive in view of its frequent use in Plautine overhearing scenes; cf. *As.* 881, *Men.* 570, *Mil.* 995, *Most.* 473, cp. Titin. *Com.* 151 R², also *auceps*, *Mil.* 955, *Stich.* 102, *aucupatio* Caec. *Com.* 62 R². The word, however, also appears in Republican tragedy in this sense; cf. Ennius *Sc.* 218 R² (= 245 J) *fructus* (*fluctus* Junius) *uerborum aures aucupant*, as well as in later writers; cf. Cic. *Pis.* 57, *ut leuitatis est inanem aucupari rumorem*, Ovid *Her.* 9.41, *aucupor infelix incertae murmura famae.* Seneca's lines seem to owe more of their language and tone to Ovid than to Plautus.

[156] See further *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) ad loc. The "theatricality" of Seneca's lines is perhaps made clear by citing the close parallel in the second scene of da Ponte's libretto for *Don Giovanni*: *OTT. "Ah! soccorrete, amici, il mio tesoro. Cercatemi, recatemi / Qualche odor, qualche spirto . . . Donn' Anna! . . .*

*Description of offstage action.* One of the most settled conventions of classical Greek tragedy concerns the treatment of action which takes place out of sight of the audience, whether inside the building represented by the σκηνή or at some distance from the scene of the play. Action of this kind is reported, briefly or at length according to its importance, by a participant or a witness who arrives on stage; all reports are, obviously, subsequent to the events described. The dramatists often imparted tension and immediacy to such scenes by allowing those on stage to hear something of the off-stage action before its precise nature is made clear, but this modification leaves the convention wholly intact.[157] In two plays of Seneca, however, this fundamental limitation is overridden; for each passage a striking parallel can be cited from postclassical drama.

In the *Phoenissae*, Jocasta's lament for her sorrows (363–386) is followed by a rebuke from a servant[158] who recalls her to the desperate circumstances of the present, as the forces of Eteocles and Polynices prepare for combat (387ff):

> Regina, dum tu flebiles questus cies
> terisque tempus, saeua nudatis adest
> acies in armis.

The servant's description of the armies continues and grows more detailed, until it becomes clear that he is pointing out to Josasta what both of them can see from the palace (394ff):

> uiden?[159] atra nubes puluere abscondit diem
> fumoque similes campus in caelum erigit
> nebulas, equestri fracta quas tellus pede
> submittit et, si uera metuentes uident,
> infesta fulgent signa, subrectis adest
> frons prima telis, aurea clarum nota
> nomen ducum uexilla praescriptum ferunt.

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*sposa! . . . amica! . . . il duolo estremo / La meschinella uccide!" ANNA "Ahi!" OTT. "Già rinviene. / Datele nuovi aiuti."* etc.

Oliver Taplin refers me to the Charioteer in *Rhesus*, who claims to be fainting from his wound (799) and whom Hector orders to be taken to his house for medical attention. The charioteer, however, does not actually faint on stage, and Hector's language maintains a dignified vagueness (872, οἶκος . . . ἐξιάσεται; 878, πορσύνετε).

[157] E.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 1343ff, Soph. *El.* 1404ff, Eur. *Hipp.* 565ff, *El.* 747ff, *Or.* 1347ff.

[158] Above, n.83.

[159] *Viden* is Lachmann's emendation (*ad* Lucr. 3.941); E has *uiden ut*, P CS *uide ut* (for which *Tro.* 945 may be cited as a parallel).

Shortly thereafter Antigone joins in this direct account of the offstage action (414ff): *signa collatis micant / uicina signis, clamor hostilis fremit; / . . . / et ecce motos fletibus credas meis, / sic agmen armis segne compositis uenit.* When Jocasta finally leaves for the battlefield to separate the brothers (after 426[160]), the servant proceeds to describe her offstage actions (427–442):

> Vadit furenti similis aut etiam furit . . .
> attonita cursu fugit et binas statim
> diduxit acies. uicta materna prece
> haesere bella, iamque in alternam necem
> illinc et hinc miscere cupientes manus
> librata dextra tela suspensa tenent . . .
> laniata canas mater ostendit comas,
> rogat abnuentes, irrigat fletu genas.
> negare matri qui diu dubitat, potest.

These lines not only bypass the conventional restriction on the handling of offstage action; even more remarkable, they accomplish a change of scene, so that the setting described in them becomes the actual setting of the scene which immediately follows. In this respect Seneca's dramatic technique seems unparalleled: no other "redefinition" of the scene in ancient drama, including early tragedy and Old Comedy, is quite so bold. The physical limitations of the ancient theater seem completely left behind,[161] and the properties of narrative and dramatic poetry uniquely juxtaposed.[162] While this use of described offstage action to effect a change of setting appears without parallel, the accounts of action offstage earlier in the scene (394ff, 414ff, quoted above) are remarkably similar to a scene in Plautus' *Rudens* in which Sceparnio excitedly describes the stormy landing of Palaestra and Ampelisca (160ff):

> sed O Palaemo[n], sancte Neptuni comes,
> qui Herculi †socius† esse diceris,

[160] Not after 414a, as in F. J. Miller's Loeb translation; note the tenses in 421, *aget;* 423, *feret;* 424, *rapiet;* 426, *proiciet* (cp. *Thy.* 623ff), and the servant's *uadit* in 427.

[161] The scene would not pose insuperable difficulties in a modern production (although a revival of *Phoenissae* is an unlikely eventuality), given the possibilities of selective lighting and of filmed projections of Jocasta's offstage movements. The result might bear some slight resemblance to the scenes of transformation in *Das Rheingold* or *Parsifal,* with the servant's description fulfilling the function of Wagner's musical connecting passages.

[162] *Pha.* 580–588 and *Agam.* 775–781 are other instances in which Seneca seems to resort to a "narrative" transition between scenes.

quod facinus uideo! DA. quid uides? SC. mulierculas
uideo sedentis in scapha solas duas.
ut adflictantur miserae! eugae eugae, perbene!
ab saxo auortit fluctus ad litus scapham
neque gubernator umquam potuit tam bene.
non uidere undas me maiores censeo.
saluae sunt si illos fluctus deuitauerint.
nunc, nunc periclumst. ⟨unda⟩ eiecit alteram.
at in uadost, iam facile enabit. eugepae!
uiden alteram illam ut fluctus eiecit foras?
surrexit, horsum se capessit. salua res.
desiluit haec autem altera in terram e scapha.
ut prae timore in genua in undas concidit!
saluast, euasit ex aqua. iam in litore est.
sed dextrouorsum auorsa it in malam crucem.
hem! errabit illaec hodie.

The scene presumably goes back to Diphilus, and could represent a comic adaptation of a *coup de théâtre* from fourth-century tragedy.[163] The closest fifth-century analogies are the *teichoskopia* of Eur. *Phoen.* 101ff and Danaus' report of the Egyptian landing in Aesch. *Suppl.* 713ff. Perhaps in this, as in other respects, the last plays of the fifth century reintroduced for a special effect what had been part of early tragedy's natural freedom of movement. (In both these passages, as well as in the brief description of action inside the οἶκος at Eur. *Her.* 867ff, a physical basis for the speaker's ability to see offstage is clearly established. This is not done in Plautus or Seneca.)

In his *Agamemnon*, Seneca makes use of Cassandra's prophetic gifts to relate the murder of Agamemnon in an unusual way. Left alone on stage when Agamemnon enters the palace, Cassandra experiences a clairvoyant vision of the fatal banquet taking place inside, and so describes the offstage events as they unfold (867ff):

Res agitur intus magna, par annis decem.
eheu quid hoc est? anime, consurge et cape
pretium furoris: uicimus uicti Phryges . . .
tam clara numquam prouidae mentis furor

[163] Marx notes that *quod facinus uideo* is probably paratragic, and compares Aesch. *Cho.* 10, *τί χρῆμα λεύσσω;* The language of the passage in general contains much that could have found a place in a tragedy, and a later tragedian at least thought the scene worthy of imitation: Shakespeare's account of Othello's arrival on Cyprus (II.i) seems to owe its general shape to this passage, and in particular the words "I never did like molestation view / on the enchafèd flood" may well be derived from *non uidisse undas me maiores censeo* (167).

ostendit oculis: uideo et intersum et fruor,
imago uisus dubia non fallit meos:
spectemus. epulae regia instructae domo . . . [164]

The simultaneous description of action taking place "inside" is not found in fifth-century tragedy or in what is known to date of New Comedy.[165] A nearly exact parallel, however, has come to light in a recently published papyrus fragment of a postclassical tragedy.[166] The scene is set in Troy, and in the preserved lines Cassandra is giving an account to Priam and the Trojans of the meeting of Hector and Achilles outside the walls. The entrance of Deiphobus from the palace gives Cassandra a violent shock, since she had assumed that Deiphobus (not Athena in his shape) was standing outside with Hector. Not all details of interpretation are clear, but it is likely that Cassandra was giving the Trojans a clairvoyant account of the offstage action, as in Seneca's *Agamemnon*.[167] There is even a similarity of content between what Seneca's Cassandra says about Aegisthus (890f, *haurit trementi semiuir dextra latus / —nec penitus egit!— uulnere in medio stupet*) and what the Cassandra of the tragic papyrus says of Achilles (*βέβληκε δεινὸν κάμακα . . . ἀλλ' ἠστόχησε⟨ν⟩*). The primary interest of the fragment, however, lies in the precedent it offers for Seneca's use of Cassandra's powers to circumvent the restrictions of the classical messenger speech.[168]

## III

The previous section has attempted to show not only that the dramatic technique of Seneca differs from that of fifth-century Greek tragedy, but also that in doing so it conforms to post-Euripidean traditions of

[164] See *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) ad loc. for discussion.

[165] The closest approach to a description of indoor action by looking through the stage door may be in Pl. *Bacch.* 833ff, *forem hanc pauxillulum aperi; placide, ne crepa; / sat est. accede huc tu. uiden conuiuium?*

[166] *P Oxy* 2746; cf. R. A. Coles in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 36 (1970) 7–12; *B.I.C.S.* 15 (1968) 111–118.

[167] A prophetic account may be ruled out, since the entrance of Deiphobus, which is clearly the high point of excitement in the scene, is only disturbing if Cassandra thought he was with Hector *at that moment*; an eyewitness account (with Cassandra on the walls reporting to Priam and the Trojans below) is possible but unlikely, since there would be no point in using Cassandra to report what anyone could see.

[168] As usual the process may be seen starting in the latest plays of the fifth century: *Orestes*, *Philoctetes*, and *IA* show various attempts to enliven the messenger speech, or even (in *IA* 855ff) to dissolve it into dialogue. On this subject, and with reference to Aeschylus as well, see Taplin (above, n.24) 82.

dramatic form.[169] It remains to see whether the source of these post-classical usages in Seneca can be more precisely determined. That Seneca did in fact inherit the practices in question from earlier writers of tragedy, rather than himself imposing techniques of New Comedy directly onto fifth-century models, is virtually certain. Comic evidence has dominated the discussion simply because the tragedy of the period has left almost no traces, but there is every reason to believe that fourth-century tragedy advanced further in the directions which can already be seen in the latest plays of Sophocles and Euripides. If complete texts or even more substantial fragments of fourth-century Greek tragedy or of Republican Roman tragedy were available, a large area of common ground in the structure and technique of tragedy and comedy would probably emerge.

Although Greek tragedy of the fourth century and the Hellenistic age must be passed over for lack of evidence,[170] it is in any case highly unlikely that Seneca had direct knowledge of Greek drama of these periods. The fragments of Republican Roman tragedy, on the other hand, do support to an extent the suggestion of a convergence of post-classical tragic and comic technique. First, a line from Accius' *Epigoni* (302 $R^2$), *sed quid cesso ire ad eam? Em praesto est*, is indistinguishable in language and stage technique from several comic parallels; cf. Pl. *Trin.* 1135, *quid ego cesso hos conloqui?*, Ter. *HT* 410, *cesso pultare ostium / uicini . . .* ?, 757, *cesso hunc adoriri*? Alcmaeon in the *Epigoni* has apparently been soliloquizing or speaking aside and now prepares to approach Eriphyle; the stage direction addressed to oneself (in the absence of a classical chorus) is typical of postclassical drama.[171] Second,

[169] Because of this aim, those differences from classical technique which cannot be plausibly related to postclassical practice have either been ignored or mentioned briefly in notes. A further example may be touched on here. In two passages of stichomythia (*Med.* 170f, *Thy.* 257), Seneca divides a trimeter into four parts, thus doubling the normal division into two (*antilabe*). The division into four has only one precedent in extant classical tragedy (Soph. *Phil.* 753, an extraordinary passage in several respects), but is not uncommon in the looser dialogue of New Comedy (cf. Menander *Dysc.* 85; *Epitr.* 249, 391; *Sam.* 409; Pl. *Merc.* 324, 730, 749; *Most.* 638, 641, 1000; Ter. *Andr.* 384, 449, 462, 765; etc.). Neither in Sophocles nor in comedy, however, does the division into quarter-verses serve the dramatic purpose for which Seneca uses it, that of mirroring the emotional excitement of the protagonist (Medea, Atreus; compare also the feeble imitation in *HO* 438). It is therefore impossible to say whether Seneca's use of this technique is an innovation of his own or an inheritance from earlier dramatists. (For further discussion see Seidensticker [above, n.21] 86ff.)

[170] A partial exception can be made for Ezechiel's *Exagoge;* above, pp. 220, 230, and cf. Zwierlein (above, n.6) 138ff.

[171] The situation in Accius offers a useful parallel to the monologue of Lycus

the exit formula *ibo atque* in a fragment of Pacuvius' *Hermiona* (187 R²), *ibo atque edicam frequentes ut eant gratatum hospiti*, may be compared with Terence's use of the same formula in *Hec.* 565, *ibo intro atque edicam seruis ne quoquam ecferri sinant.*[172] Third, another fragment of Pacuvius, probably from *Iliona* (214 R²), reads as follows: *ibo ad eam ut sciscam quid uelint. ualuae sonunt.*[173] The speaker announces an exit (for the purpose of having an offstage conversation; cf. p. 249 above) but is forestalled by a noise from the doors signaling the entrance of another character;[174] compare Pl. *Poen.* 741f, *ibo et pultabo ianuam. — ita quippini? / — tacendi tempus est, nam crepuerunt fores*, Ter. *HT* 173, *ibo adeo hinc intro. sed crepuerunt fores?* Fourth, a fragment of Ennius' *Medea* (218 R² = 245 J) reads *fructus uerborum aures aucupant.* Jocelyn comments, "if this were a comic fragment one would most naturally interpret it as spoken by an eavesdropper standing on stage. In a tragedy it is likely to have been spoken by the chorus hearing something offstage or by a character who has just entered";[175] in the context of the present discussion this argument against taking the line to refer to eavesdropping no longer seems conclusive.[176]

Even the few surviving fragments of Republican Roman tragedy

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in *HF* 332ff (above, p. 231); Seneca's blander language (*namque ipsa . . .*, 355, compared to *em praesto est*) reflects a difference of stylistic assumptions, not of dramatic technique. In fifth-century tragedy *μέλλεις;* (or *τί μέλλεις;*) is used by one character of actions to be performed by another; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 908f, *PV* 627, Eur. *Hec.* 726, *El.* 576, *Pho.* 299, but *μέλλω;* (or *τί μέλλω;*) does not appear to be so used. Seneca's genuine plays contain no instance of this use of *cesso . . .?* but note *Octauia* 644, *quid tegere cesso Tartaro uultus meos?* (and *Oct.* 73f [above, n.113]).

[172] Seneca has only one example of *ibo* used by a character leaving the stage: Jocasta in *Phoenissae* (407), *ibo, ibo et armis obuium opponam caput.* Its language at least distinguishes this line from those cited in the text.

[173] The line is so transmitted by Nonius (p. 812 Lindsay; *ualuae* is an editorial correction of *balue*); *eum* and *uelit* have been suggested as emendations, but neither would affect the point of dramatic technique.

[174] Warmington (fr. 222) proposes a different staging: after the words *ibo . . . uelint* the speaker goes to the door and knocks; *ualuae sonunt* are then spoken by someone inside ("there's a knock at the door"). This seems more cumbersome and is less easily paralleled; *ualuas sonere* announcing an entrance appears twice in Accius, 29 and 470 R².

[175] *The Tragedies of Ennius* (1967) 382.

[176] In this case, however, eavesdropping is no more likely than a character (not necessarily the chorus) hearing words spoken indoors, as in Eur. *Hipp.* 565ff. Jocelyn rightly points out that *fructus* makes a connection with Eur. *Med.* 67ff or 131f unlikely; Junius' conjecture *fluctus*, however, which Jocelyn does not mention but which was accepted by Ribbeck, would appropriately denote "a turbulent outpouring of words" (cf. Lucr. 6.34, *uoluere curarum tristis in*

show significant resemblances of language and dramatic technique to New Comedy, perhaps the result of the Roman dramatists' adaptation of fourth-century Greek tragedies as well as the works of fifth-century writers.[177] Seneca therefore could, at least in theory, have absorbed many or even all of the postclassical aspects of his technique from Republican tragedy. This possibility might seem to receive confirmation from parallels between plays of Livius Andronicus and Accius and the corresponding Senecan treatments of the myths,[178] and also from the undeniable presence of archaic language in Seneca's tragic style.[179] Other considerations, however, tell against the direct influence of Republican tragedy, primarily Seneca's own strongly expressed scorn for the work of Ennius.[180] If Seneca so little esteemed the greatest of Rome's early poets, he probably shared the contempt of Cicero and Horace for Livius Andronicus, and that of Persius, Martial, and Tacitus for Pacuvius and Accius.[181] Certainly Seneca's prose works display no close knowledge of Republican tragedy, as Cicero's do; almost all Seneca's citations are of well-known *sententiae* (of which *oderint, dum metuant* is the most famous) which might have been derived at second hand, in some instances from Cicero himself.[182] (This

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*pectore fluctus*, 3.298, *irarum fluctus*, 6.74), making possible a close link with Eur. *Med.* 131f or (perhaps more likely) 98f.

[177] F. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* I (1913) 70f, 189f, 227ff, 396ff; H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 9 (1964) 50f, 54ff, 78ff; Jocelyn (above, n.175) 7ff, 161ff, 238, *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique* 17 (1972) 46ff. The activity of early Latin poets like Livius Andronicus and Naevius in both tragedy and comedy might have contributed to a similarity of language and technique between the forms.

[178] The most striking are those connecting Seneca's *Agamemnon* with Livius Andronicus' *Aegisthus* and Accius' *Clytemestra;* cf. *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 13ff.

[179] There is no comprehensive study of Seneca's tragic language. Some material was brought together by B. Schmidt, *Rh. Mus.* 16 (1861) 589 n.; see also my notes on *Agam.* 137, *pessumdatus*; 301, *aerumna;* 300, *facesse propere;* 582, *altisonus*; 636, *subdolus.*

[180] Quoted in Aul. Gell. 12.2; cf. also *De Ira* 3.37.5.

[181] F. Strauss, *De ratione inter Senecam et ueteres Romanas fabulas intercedente* (1887) 5ff; H. D. Jocelyn, *Antichthon* 1 (1967) 61f; *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 12ff.

[182] G. Mazzoli, *Seneca e la poesia* (1970) 188–198 (though Mazzoli believes that Seneca read the Republican dramatists himself). The single exception to the statement in the text is the unplaced line *quod nisi quieris, Menelae, hac dextra occidis* (cited in *Epist.* 80.7), which may have had an intermediary source now lost. The more famous lines *en impero Argis, sceptra mihi liquit Pelops, / qua ponto ab Helles atque ab Ionio mari / urguetur Isthmus* (*Epist.* 80.7) are generally thought to derive from an Augustan *Thyestes;* cf. Strauss (above, n.181) 17f,

argument from silence, however, cannot be pressed too hard, since Seneca's prose works reveal virtually nothing about his activity as a poet.) Seneca might have been compelled to use the work of the Republican dramatists as a point of departure by the absence of any more palatable examples of Latin tragedy, but this was not the case: the works of the Augustans in this genre were available, providing specimens of Latin tragedy closer to Seneca both in time and in literary taste. The existence of this body of Latin tragic poetry is not in doubt; the scope and nature of its influence on Seneca must now be considered.

## IV

Any description of Augustan tragedy must of necessity be built up from indirect evidence, since the surviving fragments are pitifully few. Fortunately, the period is in other respects the best preserved and best documented in Roman literary history, and provides a basis for several inferences about the development of tragedy after Accius.

*Meter.* The most obvious formal difference between Seneca and his Republican predecessors is Seneca's use of the iambic trimeter rather than the senarius in dialogue scenes; the refinement had apparently been adopted by the Augustans, and may indeed be due to them.[183] The suggestion that Asinius Pollio introduced the practice, which was then refined by Varius and perfected by Ovid, is only a guess, but a plausible one. Pollio in his youth was close to Cinna and Catullus, in whose works appear early specimens of Latin iambic trimeters.[184] (Seneca's experiments in polymetric *cantica* in *Oedipus* and *Agamemnon* also deserve mention; their point of departure is the adaptation of Greek lyric meters to Latin accomplished by Horace.[185])

*Choice of subjects.* All the titles of Augustan tragedies which have been preserved refer to tragic plots for which there was fifth-century

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B. Bilinski, *Tragica* I (1952) 101ff, L. Strzelecki, *Eos* 53 (1963) 163 n.30. For the circulation of isolated *sententiae* from Republican drama note (perhaps) Phaedrus 3 *Epil.* 33f, *ego, quondam legi quam puer sententiam / 'palam muttire plebeio piaculum est'* (= Ennius *Sc.* 286 R²); cf. Sen. *Epist.* 58.5, 108.30ff.

[183] Leo (above, n.14) 166, 174; L. Strzelecki, *Eos* 53 (1962) 153ff.

[184] H. A. J. Munro, *JPhil* 6 (1876) 75. For Pollio's connections with Cinna and Catullus see Fordyce on Cat. 10.29, introduction to Cat. 12. Iambic trimeters may be implied by Horace in *S.* 1.10.42f, *Pollio regum / facta canit pede ter percusso* (cp. Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.75, Caesius Bassus *GLK* 6.554.22ff).

[185] B. Bussfeld. *Die polymetrischen Chorlieder in Senecas Oedipus und Agamemnon* (1935); *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 372ff.

precedent: *Thyestes*, *Medea*, *Atalanta*, *Peliades*. Although caution is needed in interpreting such slender evidence, it would appear that the Augustans reversed the trend toward post-Euripidean plots which can be observed in Pacuvius and Accius. A similar restriction of subject matter is true for Seneca.[186]

*"Classical" refinement.* The restrictions of meter and subject just mentioned contributed to a feeling that Latin tragedy had at last attained an appropriately "classical" stature. While for Cicero the Latin equivalents of the Attic triad were Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius,[187] both Horace and Virgil spoke of the tragedies of Asinius Pollio in words which imply or state a connection with the work of fifth-century Athens: *grande munus / Cecropio repetes coturno* (*C.* 2.1.11f), *sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna coturno* (*Ecl.* 8; 10).[188] In tragedy, as in several other genres of poetry, the Augustans felt that Romans had at last produced work that was worthy to stand comparison with the best of Greece. In according a superior standing to the work of their contempories the Augustans were hardly unique in Roman literary history. Their self-evaluation, however, is particularly relevant for Seneca's own outlook, both because it was the view prevailing during his youth and literary education, and also because it continued to hold sway during and even after his maturity: when Quintilian surveyed Roman attainments in the field of tragedy, he accorded honorable mention to Pacuvius and Accius as leading figures in a formative stage of Roman tragedy, but singled out Varius' *Thyestes* and Ovid's *Medea* as the highest achievements by Romans in the genre.[189]

*Archaism.* While the Augustans may have avoided the robustness and occasional crudity of Republican tragedy, they were (unlike Seneca) neither so distant from nor so hostile to earlier Latin poetry as not to be influenced by its language and form. The openness of the major Augustan poets, Virgil and Ovid in particular, to earlier Latin poetry is well established; it suffices to recall Virgil's borrowings from Republican drama[190] and Ovid's use of material from Ennius, Pacuvius, and

[186] The translations of Greek tragedy by such as Surdinus (praised by Seneca Rhetor *Suas.* 7.12) might have given Augustan and later writers easier access to fifth-century plots for which there was no Republican version (e.g., *Phaedra* and *Oedipus*).

[187] *Acad.* 1.10, *De Or.* 3.27 (*Or.* 36).

[188] For the addressee of the eighth eclogue see my note above, pp. 197ff.

[189] *Inst.* 10.1.97 f; cf. Tac. *Dial.* 12.6.

[190] M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (*Hermes* Einzelschriften 24, 1972), with the comments of H. D. Jocelyn, *JRS* 64 (1974) 272f.

Accius in the *Metamorphoses*.[191] For Asinius Pollio there is explicit evidence of a sympathetic attitude to archaism in the criticism which Tacitus in the *Dialogus* puts into the mouth of Marcus Aper, that Pollio imitated Pacuvius and Accius in his speeches as well as in his tragedies.[192] This charge, at first difficult to reconcile with Pollio's links to "modern" poets,[193] must mean that Pollio's attempt to form a suitable Latin style for tragedy included a conscious admixture of archaic language, similar to that found in Seneca.[194]

*Recitation drama.* Varius' *Thyestes* was given a lavish stage presentation at the games celebrating the victory of Octavian at Actium,[195] but this was clearly an extraordinary event and there is no necessity to believe that Varius and other tragic poets of the time composed only for the public stage. Asinius Pollio is known to have introduced his writings to select audiences in the reciting hall,[196] and this practice probably included his tragedies as well as prose works and occasional verses.[197] In the second book of the *Tristia* Ovid draws a lurid picture of the Roman stage as a preserve of brutish sexual vice,[198] and speaks of his own tragedy *Medea* in language that makes no mention of the theater,[199] but Ovid's apologetic purpose may well have determined his presentation of facts. Perhaps tragic poets at this time made no exclusive choice between the stage and the reciting room, but composed for both as opportunity arose, as Pomponius Secundus may have done even in Seneca's day.[200] In any event, once recitation had been adopted for dramatic poetry, its greater convenience and accessibility would have commended it to writers at every level of ability.[201] As a result con-

[191] G. d'Anna, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ovidiano* (1958) II 217ff; cf. H. Jacobson, *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 299ff (on Ennian influence in *Heroides* 16 and 17).

[192] *Dial.* 21.7f; cf. also Sen. *Epist.* 100.7, Livy *apud* Sen. *Contr.* 9 *praef.* 26, Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.113, 10.2.17; R. Syme, *Sallust* (1964) 55.

[193] Above, n.184. Pollio himself criticized archaizing affectations in other writers (Suet. *Gramm.* 10).

[194] As recommended by Aristotle, *Poetics* 1458b3ff.

[195] The *didascalia* survives in Paris BN Lat. 7530 f.28 (= *CLA* 5.569), written at Monte Cassino between 779 and 797.

[196] Sen. *Contr.* 4 *praef.* 2.

[197] Horace's words in *C.* 2.1.9f, *paulum seuerae Musa tragoediae | desit theatris*, are no obstacle to this view, since *theatrum* can be as easily applied to a reciting hall as to a theatre; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.41f, Quint. *Inst.* 1.2.9, Gell. 18.5.2.

[198] *Tristia* 2.497ff.

[199] *Tristia* 2.553f, *et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale coturnis, | quaeque grauis decet uerba coturnus habet.*

[200] Tac. *Ann.* 11.13, Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.31; *Seneca: Agamemnon* (1976) 7f.

[201] Juv. 1.5f.

ventions which had once served a theatrical purpose would linger on as mere formal appendages or would be turned to new, non-theatrical ends; both effects are visible in Seneca.[202]

No subtlety of argument can bring Augustan tragedy back from the obscurity into which it has fallen through the accidents of transmission. All that is known or that can be plausibly conjectured, however, suggests that the tragedy of the Augustans resembled that of Seneca in several important respects, and that the synthesis of fifth-century subject matter, post-Euripidean form and technique, stylistic and metrical refinement, sporadic archaism of language, and abstraction from the physical realities of the stage which is generally associated with Seneca was in fact an Augustan achievement.[203] To suggest that every play of Seneca had an Augustan model would be extreme. His *Medea* and *Thyestes* (which are among his most effective productions), however, were undoubtedly shaped by the corresponding plays by Ovid and Varius; *Agamemnon*, *Troades*, and *Hercules Furens* may well have been based on Augustan versions of material which had been handled by Accius;[204] *Phoenissae* might represent an experiment in a new form of dramatic poetry;[205] about *Phaedra* and *Oedipus* nothing useful can be said. Even if Seneca in some cases returned to Republican or fifth-century texts, his ideas of tragic form and language had been so fixed by Augustan models that he molded his material to their specifications.

## V

The dominant influence of Augustan tragedy on Seneca which has been suggested here is fully consistent with the central place of Augustan poetry in general in Seneca's plays. It is a commonplace that Seneca's poetic style is heavily indebted to Virgil, Horace, and above all Ovid.[206]

[202] For example, entrance announcements by a chorus with no real connection with the action (above, p. 223), or entrance speeches which are allowed to develop into soliloquies (above, p. 231).

[203] This synthesis is not identical with the *tragoedia rhetorica* spoken of by Leo (above, n.14) 147ff, since Leo's early statements on the subject were dominated by his contempt for the influence of declamatory rhetoric on Latin tragedy.

[204] The action of Accius' *Amphitruo* and *Troades* (cf. in particular 479f) parallels at least in part that of Seneca's *HF* and *Troades*.

[205] Above, p. 230.

[206] J. Charlier, *Ovide et Sénèque. Contribution à l'étude de l'influence d'Ovide sur les tragédies de Sénèque* (1954), H. L. Cleasby, *De Seneca Tragico Ovidii imitatore* (1907).

What needs emphasis is the degree to which these nondramatic sources, and Ovid in particular, provided Seneca with models not only of diction and expression but also of characterization and thematic ideas. Seneca's Clytemestra in *Agamemnon*, for example, is clearly based in part on a passage in the *Ars Amatoria*,[207] and his Phaedra on Ovid's sketch of that character in the *Heroides*.[208] One further instance may be adduced, relevant to arguments advanced above. One of Seneca's most vivid scenes is that in which Atreus plots a hideous revenge on his brother Thyestes (*Thy.* 176–335). Part of the dialogue between Atreus and a servant who vainly attempts to restrain him is as follows (254ff):

SAT. Quid noui rabidus struis?
ATR. Nil quod doloris capiat assueti modus;
nullum relinquam facinus et nullum est satis.
SAT. Ferrum? ATR. Parum est. SAT. Quid ignis? ATR. Etiam nunc parum est.
SAT. Quonam ergo telo tantus utetur dolor?
ATR. Ipso Thyeste. SAT. Maius hoc ira est malum.
ATR. Fateor. tumultus pectora attonitus quatit
penitusque uoluit; rapior et quo nescio,
sed rapior . . . SAT. Facere quid tandem paras?
ATR. Nescio quid animus maius et solito amplius
supraque fines moris humani tumet
instatque pigris manibus — haud quid sit scio,
sed grande quiddam est.

These lines display Senecan characterization and rhetoric at their most forceful and influential.[209] Seneca's Atreus, it would seem, has gone far beyond the mere retributive vengeance plotted by his predecessors in Accius (199ff R², *iterum iam adgreditur me et quietum exuscitat: / maior mihi moles, maius miscendumst malum / qui illius acerbum cor contundam et comprimam*) and Varius (1f R², *iam fero infandissima, / iam facere cogor*). The praeternatural rage of this Atreus, however, is not entirely Seneca's own innovation; the lines quoted are clearly influenced by

[207] Sen. *Agam.* 162ff; Ov. *Ars* 2.399ff.

[208] *Pha.* 91ff — *Her.* 4.109ff; 97f — 128; 110f — 37ff; 113ff — 53ff; 127f — 61f; 184ff and 218ff — 11ff.

[209] They are the source of Lear's lines (II.iv.277ff) "No, you unnatural hags, / I will have such revenges on you both, / that all the world shall — I will do such things, — / what they are, yet I know not, but they shall be / the terrors of the earth."

Ovid's description of Procne faced with the knowledge that Tereus has raped and mutilated her sister Philomela (*Met.* 6.609ff):

> ardet et iram
> non capit ipsa suam Procne fletumque sororis
> corripiens "non est lacrimis hoc" inquit "agendum,
> sed ferro, sed si quid habes, quod uincere ferrum
> possit. in omne nefas ego me, germana, paraui;
> aut ego, cum facibus regalia tecta cremabo,
> artificem mediis inmittam Terea flammis,
> aut linguam atque oculos et quae tibi membra pudorem
> abstulerunt ferro rapiam, aut per uulnera mille
> sontem animam expellam. magnum quodcumque paraui:
> quid sit, adhuc dubito."[210]

Seneca's lines carry the theme a large step further than Ovid's, but in this case, as in many others, Seneca's originality as a poet and dramatist can only be grasped in an Ovidian context.

Friedrich Leo, with the impetuous frankness of youth, declared that he would willingly sell all of Senecan tragedy to recover Ovid's *Medea*.[211] Although that exchange would now seem somewhat unfair, I could gladly part with the *Hercules Oetaeus* and perhaps the *Phoenissae* in return for Ovid's *Medea* and Varius' *Thyestes*. I would do so in the hope of obtaining not only two works of superior literary merit, but also two documents of central importance for the development of Latin drama in general and of Senecan drama in particular.

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[210] Although both Procne and Atreus claim not to know the exact form their revenge will take, this is true only for Procne, who has not yet seen her child Itys and conceived the plan of serving him to Tereus; Atreus, on the other hand, has earlier named *ipse Thyestes* (259) as the means of his revenge. Atreus also refers explicitly to the story of Procne and Tereus as the inspiration for his revenge on Thyestes (275ff).

[211] Leo (above, n.14) 149.

# BEDEUTUNG UND ZWECK DES TITELS VON SENECAS "APOCOLOCYNTOSIS"

HERBERT EISENBERGER

DIE Tatsache, dass der Kaiser Claudius in Senecas Satire nicht in einen Kürbis verwandelt wird, ist die Ursache immer wieder neuer Erklärungen des Titels. M. Coffey[1] hat die betreffenden, zum Teil weit voneinander abweichenden Theorien, die in den Jahren 1922–1958 publiziert wurden, einer besonnenen Kritik unterzogen und die Meinung geäussert, dass Seneca "intended to degrade Claudius and his apotheosis by creating a jocular or nonsense word for his title, in which something squalid was substituted for the exalted notion of deification"; die "degradation" entstehe entweder durch Assoziation des Kürbisses mit Dummheit oder durch Verknüpfung mit ἀποραφανίδωσις in Form oder Bedeutung oder durch eine Beziehung, die Senecas Zeitgenossen bekannt gewesen, aber bald danach vergessen worden sei. Ich möchte versuchen zu zeigen, dass man zwei dieser Möglichkeiten durch neue Überlegungen eliminieren kann. Zuvor aber ist zu den Deutungen von J. Gy. Szilágyi[2] und A. N. Athanassakis[3] Stellung zu nehmen.

Nach Ansicht Szilágyis ist der Ausdruck ἀποκολοκύντωσις eine Analogiebildung in entgegengesetztem Sinne zu ἀποβίωσις; im Anschluss daran, dass Nero nach dem Ableben seines Vorgängers "morari eum desisse inter homines producta prima syllaba iocabatur" (Sueton, *Nero* 33), charakterisiere das Wort den Tod des Claudius nicht einfach als das Aufhören seines Lebens, sondern ebenso auch seines Narr-Seins. Dazu folgendes: Das Substantiv ἀποβίωσις ist nach Liddell-Scott-Jones erstmals an einer Plutarch-Stelle, *Mor.* 389 a, überliefert, wo aber ἀναβιώσεις gelesen werden muss. Sieht man von den sicheren späteren Belegen in der Literatur ab, so ist noch die in Lykien gefundene Inschrift *CIG* 4253 zu nennen, die offenbar aus der Kaiserzeit stammt, aber nicht genau datierbar ist. Ferner soll die im Jenseits spielende Handlung der Satire keineswegs den Eindruck erwecken, als sei Claudius dort nicht mehr *stultus* (was auch Nero bei

[1] *Lustrum* 6 (1961) 250ff, cf. auch 247ff.
[2] *Acta Ant. Acad. Scient. Hung.* 11 (1963) 235ff.
[3] *T. A. Ph. A.* 104 (1974) 11ff.

seinem Wortspiel nicht behauptete; vgl. "inter homines"), wenn es ihm auch auf eine nicht mehr feststellbare Weise gelingt, Hercules — den Seneca komisch darstellt — als Fürsprecher für seine Aufnahme in den Kreis der Götter zu gewinnen.

Athanassakis erklärt den Titel von einzelnen Stellen der Schrift her: In der ersten Hälfte des Wortes ἀποκολοκύντωσις findet er eine Anspielung darauf, dass Claudius ἀπὸ κόλου = *de culo* zu den Göttern komme, weil nach einer phantastischen Vorstellung von Athanassakis die Applikation des *fusus* der Lachesis in seinem *anus* den *sonitus maior* von 4.3 und den "propelling ἄνεμος" von 5.4 ermöglicht. Als Titel bezeichne das Wort eine "figurative transformation" in einen runden Kürbis. Nach dem Eindringen des Hercules und des Claudius in die Götterversammlung werde der Körper des Besuchers von den Göttern untersucht (kein Wort davon im Text), und man stelle fest, dass er kein *membrum virile* (= *caput* und = πρᾶγμα in 8.1 nach Athanassakis) habe. Deswegen könne er zwar kein epikureischer Gott werden (obwohl er kein πρᾶγμα ἔχει ?), wohl aber könne man nun sagen — was der in 8.1 redende Gott aber gerade nicht sagt — , er sei rund wie der stoische Gott: hier komme Claudius der Ähnlichkeit mit einem Kürbis am nächsten. Diese ἀποκολοκύντωσις sei vermutlich in dem nach 7.5 verlorengegangenen Text von den Göttern selbst durch eine Verstümmelung herbeigeführt worden und werde im Hades vollendet, wo Claudius zuletzt wie ein Spielball — wieder ein runder Gegenstand — von Hand zu Hand weitergegeben werde. Athanassakis' Erklärungsversuch erscheint mir ganz verfehlt. Aber der methodologische Grundsatz "in satire we must always watch for the double-entendre" (l. c. 18) bleibt gültig.

Immer mehr hat die Erforschung der "Apocolocyntosis" die Erkenntnis vertieft, dass Seneca in dieser Schrift durchweg anspruchsvolle, mehrschichtige, facettenreiche Satire gestaltet, die sich flüchtiger Lektüre nicht voll erschliesst. Das Werk ist kurz nach Claudius' Vergottung entstanden, für die römische Hofgesellschaft bestimmt und hält für diese "scharfsichtigen, klatschsüchtigen, spottlustigen,"[4] aber zugleich hochgebildeten Leser, die Anspielungen, Andeutungen, Bezüge jeder Art zu erfassen vermochten, in all seinen Komponenten unter der Oberfläche des vordergründigen Sinnes und Witzes weitere geistige Genüsse bereit. Dies ist auch bei der Behandlung der Frage nach der Bedeutung des Titels zu berücksichtigen.

[4] Cf. U. Knoche, *Wiss. Zeitschrift Univ. Rostock* 15 (1966), *gesellsch.- u. sprachwiss. Reihe, H.* 4/5, 469.

Nach Dio Cassius (60.35.3) hat Seneca die Schrift nur mit dem einen Wort ἀποκολοκύντωσις — also ohne Zusatz von "Claudii" oder "Divi Claudii" — betitelt. Das neue Wortungetüm sollte dem Leser als erstes ins Auge fallen, ihn frappieren und zur Deutung provozieren, noch bevor er mit der Lektüre begann. Dürfen wir glauben, dass eine parodische Beziehung des Titels zu ἀποθέωσις als Bezeichnung der offiziellen *consecratio* besteht und vom Leser erkannt werden konnte und sollte? Die meisten Interpreten nehmen dies ohne weiteres an; aber E. Müller-Graupa[5] und Szilágyi (l. c. 242) zweifeln daran, weil sich im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. bei dem Historiker Herodian (4.2.1) der erste Beleg für diese Bedeutung von ἀποθέωσις finde. Doch schon zur Zeit des Kaisers Claudius kommt ἀποθεόω in einem Erlass des Statthalters von Asia Paullus Fabius Persicus mit Bezug auf die Konsekration der Livia vor, und die Konsekration des Augustus wird auf Samos im Jahre 85 offiziell als ἀποθέωσις bezeichnet.[6] ἐκθέωσις erscheint als Bezeichnung der Vergottung des lebenden Kaisers nur in Philons Schrift "Legatio ad Gaium". Dies Substantiv konnte ebenso wie ἀποθέωσις die hellenistische Herrscherapotheose bezeichnen (Habicht, 175f). Aber nur ἀποθέωσις wurde nachweislich seit langem in Rom verwendet. Es begegnet in Ciceros Atticus-Briefen 1.16.13; 12.12.1; 36.1; 37 a.[7] Man vergleiche auch Onasander 10.28; der "Strategikos" ist dem Q. Veranius, *consul ordin.* des Jahres 49 n. Chr., gewidmet.

Neros Hang zum Griechischen, seine Vorliebe für griechische Redewendungen und Zitate sind bekannt[8] — die "Apocolocyntosis" muss ihm auch in dieser Hinsicht sehr gefallen haben. Daher ist es höchstwahrscheinlich, dass er und, seinem Beispiel folgend, die Hofgesellschaft — so wie in Senecas Satire der Gott 8.1 und der Erzähler 12.3 — gelegentlich statt lateinischer griechische Bezeichnungen wählten und dass dies gerade auch mit Bezug auf die von Nero selbst veranlasste *consecratio* des Claudius geschah. ἀποθέωσις war für den Römer damals, wie wir sahen, der nächstliegende Ausdruck; aber auch wenn man am Hofe die Vergottung ἀπαθανάτισις (dies Wort ist jedoch erstmals bei Dio Cassius 60.35.3 belegt) oder etwa ἀπαθανατισμός[9] genannt haben sollte, so genügte dies als Anstoss für eine parodische Neubildung wie

[5] *Philologus* 85 (1930) 316.

[6] *Forschungen in Ephesos* II 116, Nr. 21, 66; *IGROM* IV 1732. Cf. Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum u. griech. Städte*, 2. Aufl. (München 1970) 174; 175 A. 41.

[7] Habicht 175 A. 39.

[8] Cf. Suet., *Nero* 20; 33; 38; 40; 49.

[9] Dieses Wort findet sich bei Cornutus, *Theol. Gr.* c. 31.

die von ἀποκολοκύντωσις,[10] die von den Lesern des gleichen Kreises als solche verstanden werden konnte und sollte. So wurde sie auch später von Dio Cassius verstanden und von dem Unbekannten, der vermutlich als *grammaticus* den Titel mit der Anmerkung "Apotheosis per satiram" erläuterte, was dann in der von cod. Sangallensis 569 repräsentierten Überlieferung zur Ersetzung von "Apocolocyntosis" durch "Divi Claudii Apotheosis per satiram" führte (cf. Coffey 247).

Die Erfassung als Analogiebildung zu einem griechischen Ausdruck für Vergottung involvierte die Annahme der analogen Bedeutung "Verwandlung in einen Kürbis". Seneca musste auf jeden Fall damit rechnen, dass man das neue Wort so deuten werde: diese Auffassung wäre selbst ohne die Erkenntnis der parodischen Beziehung die nächstliegende gewesen; denn die meisten der damals unseres Wissens existierenden *nomina actionis* (und Verben), die durch Zusammensetzung von ἀπο– und einem Nominalstamm mit der Endung –ωσις (bzw. –όω, –όομαι) gebildet waren, bezeichnen die "Verwandlung" in das (das Machen oder — bei entsprechendem genus verbi — das Werden zu dem), was das zugrunde liegende Nomen im eigentlichen oder übertragenen Sinne bedeutet.[11] Natürlich ist nicht anzunehmen, dass Seneca und seine Leser alle auf die genannte Weise gebildeten Substantive und Verben kannten. Aber derartige Wörter mit der erwähnten Bedeutung mussten ihnen bei der Lektüre griechischer Werke ungleich häufiger begegnet sein als ebensolche mit anderen.

Wenn Seneca ein griechisches nomen actionis mit der Bedeutung "Verwandlung in einen Kürbis (im eigentlichen oder in einem übertragenen Sinne dieses Wortes)" prägen wollte, musste er eine Verbin-

[10] Die Analogie war auf jeden Fall durch die Abfolge ἀπο — Nominalstamm in einem nomen actionis gegeben.

[11] Es handelt sich um folgende Substantive, die nach Liddell-Scott-Jones vor oder in der Zeit Senecas nachweisbar sind: ἀπαγρίωσις (–όομαι), ἀπαλλοτρίωσις (–όω), ἀπελευθέρωσις (–όω), ἀπίσωσις (–όω), ἀποθέωσις (–όω), ἀπολίθωσις (–όω), ἀποσκότωσις (–όομαι), ἀποτύπωσις (–όομαι; beide zum Teil in dieser Bedeutung gebraucht), ἀποτύφλωσις (–όω), ἀποψίλωσις (–όω), ἀφιέρωσις (–όω), ἀφομοίωσις (–όω), ἀφοσίωσις (–όω). Diesen Wörtern stehen gegenüber: ἀπαξίωσις (–όω), ἀπογείσωσις (–όω), ἀπογλαύκωσις (–όομαι), ἀποθρίγκωσις (–όω), ἀποκλήρωσις (–όω), ἀπολύτρωσις (–όω), ἀπομίσθωσις (–όω), ἀποσημείωσις, ἀφέλκωσις (–όω), ἀφίδρωσις (–όω). Bei den Verben, zu denen Liddell-Scott-Jones keine Substantive aus dem genannten Zeitraum anführen, ist das Zahlenverhältnis 58:33. Unsicheres wurde hier nicht berücksichtigt. — Es ist fraglich, ob der nur in den Scholien zu Aristophanes, *Plut.* 168 belegte Ausdruck ἀποραφανίδωσις zur Zeit Senecas bereits existierte. Aristophanes selbst verwendet (*Nub.* 1083) das Verbum ῥαφανιδόω; cf. auch Lukian, *De mort. Peregr.* 9 (zu H. Wagenvoort, *Mnemosyne* III, 1 [1934] 4ff, u. *Mnemosyne* IV, 11 [1958] 340ff).

dung der Wurzel κολοκυντ- mit dem Suffix -σι- oder -(σ)μο- bilden. ἀπο- als Präfix war bei einem Nomen mit der Endung -ωσις nicht unbedingt erforderlich, ebensowenig wie bei einem Verbum auf -όω. K. Dieterich[12] hat — ohne Berücksichtigung unserer Frage — dargelegt, dass für den antiken Griechen z. B. ἀποθεόω nur ein verstärktes θεόω, ἀπολιθόω nur ein verstärktes λιθόω war usw. "Nachdem aber schon in spätaltgriech. Zeit die Simplizia ausgestorben waren und nur die Kompos. übrig blieben, musste man in diesen ἀπό als den eigentlichen Faktor der Verwandlung empfinden, nicht die Endung -όω bezw. -ώνω."[13]

Die Erkenntnis der parodischen Beziehung des Titels zu einer griechischen Bezeichnung der Vergottung, die gerade erst dem verstorbenen Kaiser zuteil geworden war, führte ganz natürlich dazu, dass der Leser den neuen Begriff mit Claudius in Zusammenhang brachte. Weil das Wort κολοκύντη nach den uns überlieferten Belegen nur in den — spärlich bezeugten — Wendungen "ὑγιώτερον κολοκύντας"[14] und "ἢ κρίνον ἢ κολοκύντην"[15] eine Verkörperung der Gesundheit bezeichnet bzw. "gesund, lebendig" bedeutet, können wir mit Sicherneit ausschliessen, dass die römischen Leser sofort an diese einzigen übertragenen Bedeutungen von κολοκύντη dachten und dass Seneca das erwartete. Vielmehr sollte nach der komischen Eigenwirkung des neuen, originellen Wortes die Vorstellung von Claudius' Verwandlung in einen Kürbis bei der Erinnerung an die zeremonielle *consecratio* um so grössere Heiterkeit erzeugen. Aber Seneca wusste sehr wohl, dass sich seinen Lesern die Frage "cur in cucurbitam?" aufdrängen werde. Eben dies lateinische Substantiv, das den Römern bei der Übersetzung des Titels in den Sinn kommen musste, bot denen, nach deren Ansicht Torheit eine der hervorstechendsten Eigenschaften des Claudius war, den Schlüssel zur Lösung der Frage; das waren wohl alle Leser am Hofe: Wir wissen von dem — oben zitierten — Wortspiel Neros und von der Reaktion der Zuhörer auf die lobende Erwähnung der *providentia* und *sapientia* des Claudius bei der *laudatio funebris:* nach Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.3.1, konnte niemand das Lachen unterdrücken. Seneca selbst hatte die *laudatio* verfasst; seine wahre Meinung zeigt er in unserer

[12] *Indogerm. Forschungen* 24 (1909) 140.

[13] Cf. auch E. Schwyzer-A. Debrunner, *Griech. Grammatik*, 2. Bd. (München 1950) 445.

[14] So bei Epicharm, fr. 154 Kaibel, und Sophron, fr. 34 Kaibel; ὑγιέστερος κολοκύντης bei Apostol. 17, 48 c, Photios, s.v. ὑγιέστερος ὄμφακος, Suda, s.v. ὑγιέστερος.

[15] Diphilos, fr. 98 Kock, Menander, fr. 934 Kock; Zenob. 4, 18, Diogenian (?) 5, 10.

Schrift sehr deutlich (cf. bes. 1.1; 4.1, v.2; 7.3; 8.3). Wie die meisten Interpreten richtig, aber ohne Einmütigkeit in den Folgerungen annehmen, erwartete und bezweckte er die Assoziation des Titels mit der übertragenen Bedeutung "Dummkopf", die das Wort cucurbita neben der eigentlichen im volkstümlichen Sprachgebrauch hatte[16]: Bei einer *ἀποκολοκύντωσις* würde Claudius die Gestalt der *cucurbita* erhalten, deren Name ihm wegen seiner Torheit schon vorher zukam — eine durchaus angemessene Metamorphose. Das war die Pointe des Titels.

Es lässt sich nun nicht entscheiden, ob der Leser die Lektüre mit der Erwartung begann, dass in der Schrift tatsächlich die Verwandlung des Claudius in einen Kürbis erzählt werden werde — eine Erwartung, für die der geistvolle Schluss der Satire das Gefühl der Enttäuschung gar nicht erst aufkommen liess —, oder ob er erkannte, dass "Apocolocyntosis" als Titel der Darstellung dieser Verwandlung ein Unikum wäre und eine Regel der Metamorphosenliteratur brechen würde, deren Kenntnis wir jedenfalls bei Seneca voraussetzen dürfen. Es war in der Antike nicht üblich, im Titel eines Werkes, das eine oder mehrere Verwandlungen schilderte, diese sowohl als Verwandlung(en) wie auch mit genauer Angabe der durch die Metamorphose(n) entstehenden Gestalt(en) anzukündigen. Die Titel "Ornithogonia", "Halcyones", "*Λούκιος ἢ ὄνος*" bilden keine Ausnahmen, weil sie nicht den Begriff der Verwandlung enthalten; dies gilt auch für "*Καταστερισμοί*": der Singular des Wortes bedeutet, wie Liddell-Scott-Jones angeben, "placing among the stars".

Seneca hat also das Wort Apocolocyntosis geprägt und als *inscriptio* gewählt, um schon mit diesem Titel im Leser verschiedene Wirkungen hervorzurufen, die ihn in die rechte Stimmung für die Lektüre der Satire versetzen und ihn erkennen lassen sollten, dass er eine gegen Claudius gerichtete Schrift, eine Parodie auf dessen Vergottung vor sich habe.

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[16] Schon O. Weinreich, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis* (Berlin 1923) 11 A. 2, verwies auf Apuleius, *Met.* 1, 15, 2, und Petron, 39, 13 (dazu cf. auch J. de Vreese, *Petron 39 u. die Astrologie* [Amsterdam 1927] 181 u. 191 f).

# *HEMINARIUM*: QUINTILIAN *INSTITUTIO ORATORIA* 6.3.52 AND *CIL* IV 10566

W. D. Lebek

THE word *heminarium* so far is attested only once, in Quintilian. Dealing with witticisms that are drawn from ambiguity (*amphibolia*), the rhetor points out, *Inst.* 6.3.52:

> in metalempsin quoque cadit eadem ratio dictorum, ut Fabius Maximus, incusans Augusti congiariorum quae amicis dabantur exiguitatem, heminaria esse dixit (nam congiarium commune liberalitatis atque mensurae) a mensura ducta imminutione rerum.
>
> heminariam *trad.* : *corr. Regius*

There can be no doubt about the general sense of Fabius Maximus'[1] remark. But what precisely does the expression *heminaria* mean and how is its use related to *metalempsis*? Turning to modern authorities we receive a rather uniform answer. The *TLL* (W. Ehlers 1938) explains s.v. *heminarium:* "ab *hemina* ad analogiam vocis q.e. *congiarium* iocose fictum. i.q. donum exiguitatem heminae habens." H. E. Butler in the Loeb edition of Quintilian's *institutio oratoria* II (1960) 466 n.2 is of the same opinion: "Fabius coined the word *heminarium*" etc. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1973) echoes the *TLL:* "Facet. word coined on the analogy of *congiarium.*" One could look up as well the entry in old Bonnell's *Lexicon Quintilianeum* (Leipzig 1834): "verbum jocose fictum." Indeed, at first sight it may seem a reasonable idea that a hapax legomenon used in a witticism is likely to be a neologism.

Now, in the last addition (suppl. 3 fasc. 4) to volume IV of the *CIL*, P. Ciprotti under no. 10566 has published a Latin graffito listing various Roman utensils. The editor's transcription reads as follows:

*First column*

1 Aquaria dua cum basis
2 Aqua in manus dua cum basis
3 Hamas duas cum basis
4 Aqua in manu cotidian CII
5 cum basis

[1] Ovid's friend Paullus Fabius Maximus *cos.* 11 B.C.

6 Urciolos duos
7 Candelabra quatuor
8 et Lucubratoriu(m) unum
9 Lucerna aenea
10 Hamula una
11 Pelvi(s) cum basim
12 et Lytrum
13 Gut(t)os tres
14 Scapheola dua
15 ferreas Strig(i)les (septem)
16 Haenas (!) quattuor.

*Second column*
1 Marmor cum basim
2 aenea
3 Fuminaria dua

It is fortunate that the facsimile of the graffito presents a certain control since the text quoted is unsatisfactory in several respects. To mention only one point, Ciprotti has not noted that probably all utensils that have no preposition should also be assumed to be in the accusative case.[2] Other corrections ought to be introduced, too:

*First column*
1 aquaria dua cum basis
2 aqua(ria) in manus dua cum basis
3 hamas duas cum basis
4 aqua(ria) in manu(m)[3] cotidian[[4]
5 cum basis
6 urciolos duos

[2] A variant of the so-called "Rezeptakkusativ" for which see J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (Munich 1965) 29; A. Szantyr, *Mus. Helv.* 23 (1966) 209–211; V. Väänänen, *Introduction au Latin vulgaire*[2] (Paris 1967) 123; A. Helttula, *Arctos* 8 (1974) 13–15. There is, of course, no absolute certainty that, for instance, *lucerna aenea* (9) has to be taken as accusative. But, on the other hand, wherever it is possible in our graffito to determine the case, it is the accusative. The other grammatical or morphological peculiarities of this inscription are features of vulgar Latin too well known to need any explanation (cf., e.g., Väänänen, passim).

[3] *manu(s)* is not impossible, either. Yet the graffito offers no other instance of omitted *S*, and plural and singular of *manus* are interchangeable; cf., e.g., *TLL* VIII 349.5–13.

[4] The number 102 obviously is too large to be correct. P. Ciprotti in his footnote proposes an alternative: "pro *cotidian CII* legi posse videtur et *cotidianu I.*" But it is unlikely that several bases (5) should have belonged to one *aquarium*. In the end of line 4, then, a small number is needed which, however, must be greater than one. Perhaps VI.

7 candelabra quatuor
8 et lucubratoriu(m) unum
9 lucerna(m) aenea(m)
10 hamula(m) una(m)
11 pelui(m) cum basim
12 et lytrum
13 gutos tres
14 scapheola dua
15 ferreas strigles VII
16 haenas[5] quattuor

*Second column*
1 marmor cum basim
2 aenea(m)[6]

I have deliberately omitted the last two words, *fuminaria dua*, because they need a stronger remedy. If we are to trust the *TLL*, *fuminar* (*-e*, *-ium*) occurs nowhere else in Latin literature. That absence of further attestation, however, would arouse no doubt were it not for the strange word formation. There does exist a noun *fum-arium* which belongs to a widespread class of Latin denominatives — yet what of the formation *fum-inar* (*-e*, *-ium*) which likewise ought to be connected with *fumus*? Examination of the facsimile solves the problem. The letter read as an *U* by P. Ciprotti (and already by M. della Corte, it seems) obviously is the upper part of an *E*, and the *F* — a sign of the form ⊢ in the inscription — may well be an *H* the right vertical stroke of which has disappeared. Gradenwitz' *Laterculi* happen to contain only two Latin

[5] "*haenas* pro *aeneas* scriptum esse putat Della Corte, sed verisimilius videtur pro *ahenas*" (P. Ciprotti). One wonders whether the original might not reveal the truth to be *et aenas*. In the latter case *aenas* should go with *strigles*. That is not necessary with the reading as printed above, though after the very specific vocabulary used in lines 1–15 to describe the various utensils, *aenas*, "bronze-vessels" (*TLL* I 2 1446.11f), would be surprisingly vague. For *strigilis aenea* cf. Symph. *Carm.* 88 (*Anth. Lat.* I 1.243, ed. Riese 1894).

[6] *aenea* is difficult to interpret. On the graffito the word is indented, as is line 5 of the first column. In the latter case the indentation seems to indicate that line 5 does not introduce a new item but continues line 4. One would think, therefore, that in the second column lines 2 and 1 likewise belong together. The expression *basis aenea* is well attested; cf. *TLL* I 2 1445.39ff. It must be said, however, that marble basins (or tables) normally did not have bronze bases. Erich Pernice, *Hellenistische Tische, Zisternenmündungen, Beckenuntersätze, Altäre und Truhen* (Berlin/Leipzig 1932) 38–54, lists no instance of a bronze base. On the other hand the very rarity of the combination "marble basin (table?) + bronze base" may be the motif for the additional qualification "*aenea(m)*." After all, the alternative interpretation of *aenea(m)* as a bronze vessel does not seem very attractive.

words of the type [.]*eminar* (*-e*, *-is*) or [.]*eminarius* (*-a*, *-um*): *seminarius* (*-a*, *-um*) and *heminarium*. That makes choice easy.

Other expressions in *CIL* IV 10566 may also arouse interest. For instance *lucubratorius* hitherto according to the dictionaries was only known from Suetonius *Aug.* 78.1: *a cena in lecticulam se lucubratoriam recipiebat*. The graffito presents us with a (*candelabrum*) *lucubratorium*. In spite of its being scarcely attested, *lucubratorius* at that time presumably was a fairly common adjective. Our sources contain a limited choice of the Latin vocabulary — a fact to keep in mind when one tries to assess the stylistic value of a word with the help of its frequency.

That brings us back to Quintilian *Inst.* 6.3.52. Speaking of a *heminarium*, Fabius Maximus did not coin a new word, but used the normal expression for a small vessel with the capacity of one *hemina*. Likewise a *congiarium* was not only an emperor's largess but also a big vessel holding a *congius*. The jurist Paulus mentions among the utensils of a tavern *urnae aereae et congiaria, sextaria et similia* (*Dig.* 33.7.13 pr.).[7] Possibly in Augustus' epoch the former meaning of *congiarium* did not yet prevail to the same degree as it might have in later times when the emperor's distribution of *congiaria* had become a well established custom. This hypothesis can explain why Quintilian, writing under Domitian, had to remind his readers of the double sense of *congiarium* — *commune liberalitatis atque mensurae*, a double sense Fabius Maximus could still take for granted.

The linguistic procedure used by Augustus' contemporary can be described as follows: from the secondary meaning of *congiarium*, "largess," he goes back to the original and proper use of *congiarium*, "vessel and measure of one *congius*"; he replaces this noun by another word in normal speech equally designating a vessel and measure (a much smaller one, however), and he employs this latter expression for "largess," analogous to the secondary meaning of *congiarium*. In other words, underlying the witty replacement of *congiarium* in the sense of *liberalitas* by *heminarium* is the (partial) identity of the proper meaning of *congiarium* and *heminarium*, both being *mensurae*.

The existence of a hidden identity connecting *congiarium* = *liberalitas* and the new metaphor *heminarium* = alleged *liberalitas* is exactly the reason why Fabius' witticism *in metalempsin . . . cadit*.[8] It will suffice to quote Quintilian's definition, *Inst.* 8.6.38:

[7] For further information see *TLL* IV 281.33–38. It is worth noticing that with the sole exception of Paulus' remark (the *TLL* writes erroneously "Ulp.") all attestations of *congiarium* in its original sense are explanations of that word.

[8] Giusto Monaco, in *Quintiliano. Il capitolo de risu* (*inst. or. VI 3*) (Palermo

est enim haec in metalempsi natura, ut inter id quod transfertur ⟨et id quo transfertur⟩ sit medius quidam gradus, nihil ipse significans sed praebens transitum: quem tropum magis adfectamus ut habere videamur quam ullo in loco desideramus. nam id eius frequentissimum exemplum est: 'cano canto', ⟨et 'canto⟩ dico', ita 'cano dico': interest medium illud 'canto'.[9]

It is easy to see now that the very nature of the *metalempsis* should have been enough to warn against interpreting Fabius Maximus' *heminarium* as a new coinage because in that case the *medius quidam gradus* would be fictitious.

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1967) 125f, is content to repeat Spalding's imprecise comment on *Inst.* 6.3.52: "Neque enim quidquam nisi species amphiboliae est metalepsis, cuius praesentissimum exemplum habe Hom. illud ubi ἐθόωσα ponitur pro ὤξυνα, Odyss. 9.327, quoniam θοὸς aliquo usu idem est τῷ ὀξεῖ. Pariter et hic, quoniam *congius* et *hemina* aliquatenus sunt coniuncta, Fabius, dictum captans, alieno etiam loco eadem reciprocavit."

[9] Quintilian's formula is somewhat special, but not incompatible with the concept of μετάληψις as it is found, for example, in Tryphon, *Rhet. Gr.* III 195 l.9–18 Sp. For recent remarks on this trope cf. *TLL* VIII 868.78–869.28; Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*[2] (Munich 1973) 295; W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: On Thucydides* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1975) 114.

# A PAPYRUS DICTIONARY OF METAMORPHOSES

TIMOTHY RENNER

P. Mich. inv. 1447 verso, here published for the first time, is part of a roll which preserves the ends of twenty-two lines from one column and the greater part of twenty-one lines from a second column of a rather unique mythological dictionary.[1] The hand, a practiced, informal capital with a number of cursive features, points to a date in the late second or early third century A.D.[2] This is corroborated in general by the writing of the text on the recto, a register of names and amounts of money. Both columns of the dictionary are incomplete at the top, and the medium-brown papyrus has been damaged considerably by holes, discoloration, and dislocation.[3]

In column II the five entries preserved all concern metamorphosed characters in Greek myth whose names begin with *alpha*. While the final part of the fifth entry is lost along with the next column, in each of the first four entries the brief telling of the story is concluded by a reference to a source. In the first and fourth entries (Actaeon, Alcyone) this is the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*. The second (the Chalcidian Arethusa) cites simply "Hesiod," and the third Aeschylus. Of the material attributed to Hesiod, the Actaeon entry provides the first decisive evidence for both the inclusion of the myth in the *Catalogue* and its treatment there in the version involving Actaeon's desire for

[1] The papyrus was first studied as part of my dissertation, *Literary Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms 1974). Thanks are therefore due to O. M. Pearl, the chairman of my doctoral committee, and H. C. Youtie, as well as to those who have since then given me advice and assistance.

[2] For similar hands see Seider, *Paläographie d. gr. Papyri* II, pap. 44 (second century A.D.); pap. 47 (third century); *P. Lit. Lond.* 192 (third century). However, the rambling and somewhat irregular effect of the Michigan hand begins to suggest Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, pap. 61 (second century) and Seider II, pap. 38 = *P. Gr. Berol.* 20 (first, second, or early third century), both subliterary texts like our dictionary.

[3] According to the records, the papyrus, before being acquired by the university in 1924, arrived for inventory at the British Museum crumpled into a ball together with five documentary fragments (third to fourth centuries A.D.) and some pieces of fiber, perhaps originally lamp wicks.

Semele. The Alcyone entry corroborates two previously known fragments of the *Catalogue*, but with the entry on Arethusa we are presented with a previously unattested story. Lastly, the citation of Aeschylus in connection with the little-known story of the Aethyiae includes the quotation from an unknown passage of the playwright of the word μισοκορῶν[οι], hitherto unattested in Greek.

The entries in this column, each set off from the adjacent ones by a space the height of a line of writing and by a large διπλῆ ὠβελισμένη or "forked paragraphus," proceed in the mixed alphabetical order Ἀκταίων, Ἀρέθουσα, Αἴθυιαι, Ἀλκυόνη, Ἀσκάλαφος. The fact that the items, or at least this sampling of them, are alphabetized by only the first letter makes the work a typical product of its age as regards arrangement.[4] Presumably, the partially preserved entries in column I also dealt with metamorphoses of characters in *alpha;* but we can do no more than speculate on their identity. Nor can the original height of the columns be judged, although their preserved height of 13.5 cm together with the lower margin of 4.5 cm shows that the roll was at least a moderately large one. There is to my knowledge no other preserved example from the Greco-Roman world of an alphabetized dictionary of metamorphoses. However, the existence of such a compilation should not be surprising, since transformation myths were certainly prominent enough in the literature and scholarship of the third century B.C. onward.[5] The only extant prose collection exclusively devoted to stories of this kind, the *Metamorphoseon Synagoge* of Antoninus Liberalis, is not alphabetical. Also Antoninus' work, which is in fact roughly contemporary with our text, takes its myths and legends nearly without exception from Hellenistic sources such as Nicander's *Heteroeumena* and the *Ornithogonia* ascribed to Boios or Boio; only occasionally does it make use of Hesiodic material. Since three out of four preserved citations of authorities in the papyrus refer to Hesiod (two of them specifically to the *Catalogue*), it is possible that the dictionary throughout relied frequently on that body of poetry. On the other hand, the citation of

[4] On the διπλῆ ὠβελισμένη see Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 14f. Alphabetization according to the first one or two letters of each lemma is the usual practice in lexica during this period. But by about A.D. 200 examples of full alphabetization begin to be attested. See L. W. Daly, *Contributions to a History of Alphabetization in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Brussels 1967) esp. 28ff; J. Keaney, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 415–423.

[5] On metamorphosis in the literature up to Ovid see G. Lafaye, *Études sur les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs* (Paris 1904), esp. 1–45. Cf. also M. Papathomopoulos, *Antoninus Liberalis: Les métamorphoses* (Paris 1968), introd.



Aeschylus suggests that the compiler drew on his knowledge of literature from a considerable range of sources. Stories of metamorphosis of course do not appear with great frequency in the known plays of Aeschylus. In the *Catalogue* and other Hesiodic works they were probably somewhat more common, but even so they could hardly account for a very high proportion of the myths treated.[6] If we had more of the Michigan papyrus, we might very likely find a fair number of authorities, including Hellenistic ones, occurring among the citations. As it is, there is no way of telling how extensive the dictionary was in terms of the number of metamorphosed characters covered. Several hundred such stories are known, the main bulk of them from Ovid and Antoninus. The section on characters with names in *alpha* could have been quite lengthy; Antoninus for example mentions twenty-two such figures and Ovid nearly thirty.

In addition to the specialized nature of the work, the use of the verso of a documentary roll and the somewhat sloppy format of the text suggest that it was written or copied for the use of a private individual.[7] The stories in the dictionary could have been taken by the summarizer directly from the sources to which they are attributed; texts of the *Catalogue* at least were certainly numerous in Roman Egypt. However, it is quite likely that the dictionary is a copy, perhaps condensed or excerpted, of an already existing compilation. There is no reason why this, or the core of it, could not go back to Hellenistic times. In particular, the obscure stories of the Chalcidian Arethusa and the Aethyiae suggest the Alexandrians' fondness for recondite local legends.

The orthography includes several mistakes and is fairly typical for a literary papyrus (see commentary); apparently the writer immediately corrected one of his errors in II.13. Also, it was presumably he who added an omitted letter supralinearly later in that line and similarly inserted a word or phrase in II.9. *Iota*-adscript is written consistently

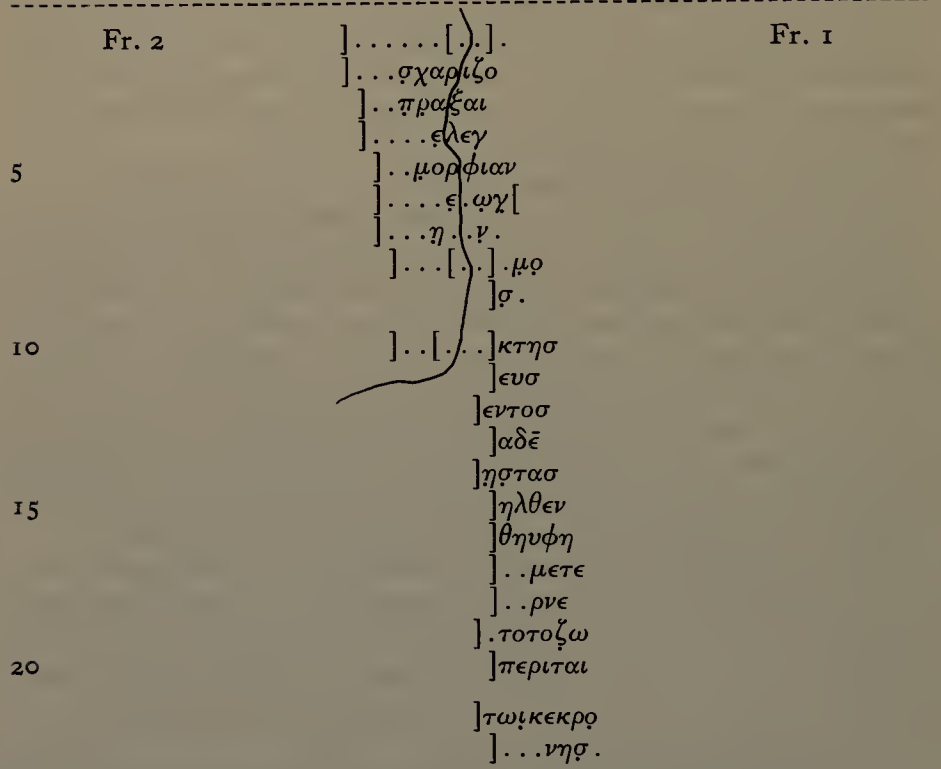
[6] On the possible use of Hesiod by Antoninus, cf. Papathomopoulos' edition, xiii–xiv. With Antoninus we do have the problem of deciding who may have added the source citations and whether we can in every case accept them as such. As far as stories in the *Catalogue* involving metamorphosis are concerned, a quick survey of the fragments in the edition of Merkelbach and West, *Fragmenta Hesiodea* (Oxford 1967), shows seven which appear to be definitely such: frr. 26, 33(a), 43(a), 124, 140, 163 (three examples; perhaps from the *Astronomia*), 205. The fragments of the other poems and the items listed by M-W in the "Fragmenta Dubia" section yield several more instances.

[7] The right edge of column I wanders markedly toward the right; consequently the interlinear is reduced from 1.8 cm at line 1 to next to nothing at the foot. See also II.1, note.

so far as can be verified with certainty. There are no accents, and only one example of a breathing; tremata are more often than not omitted from initial *iota* and *upsilon*. The only certain punctuation seems to be a low stop at the end of II.6.

*P. Mich. inv. 1447 verso; Provenance unknown; 16.5 × 18.0 cm (entire)*[8]

COLUMN I




Col. I 4. Perhaps ].τ̣ω.ε̣λεγ 6. ε̣: or θ̣; then ν, κ, λ, or α ϣχ[: or ϣπ[ 7. Perhaps ]. .τ̣η 8. μ̣ο: α, λ, κ, or μ prob. precedes 9. ]ϙ: or ]η; then a high stop or stray ink 10. ]. .[: α, δ, κ, λ, or ν fol. by η, θ, or ε 13. Below δ stray ink ε̄ may be ε(ν) [pap. has no other ex.]; above is a coarse (stray?) diagonal 14. ]η̣ϙ: less likely, ]π̣ο 18. Perhaps ].ηρνε 19. ζ̣: ξ̣ possible 21. ο̣: Stray (?) bits follow 22. First letter ρ or φ; before ν is η, μ, or π; after ϙ a (stray?) low dot

[8] These are also the dimensions of the main piece, fr. 1. Small additions to the text are provided by fr. 2 (2.2 × 6.2 cm); fr. 3 (2.4 × 2.4 cm), which must be repositioned at a slight distance from fr. 1; and fr. 4 (1.3 × 2.0 cm).

Column I 2. E.g., χαριζό-|[μενος.

3. Probably πρᾶξαι or a compound.

4. E.g., ἔλεγ-|[εν], τῶι ἐλεγ- | [είωι (for the syllabification, see Mayser/Schmoll, *Grammatik d. gr. Papyri aus. d. Ptolemäerzeit*, I.1$^2$. 221), or a form of ἐλέγχω / ἔλεγχος.

5. Probably ἀμορφίαν.

11. E.g., Z]εύς.

12. E.g., -θ]έντος, ] ἐντὸς.

15. ἦλθεν or a compound.

16. E.g., ]θη ὑφ' Ἡ-|[ρας. ὑφή or ὑφή-|[νας would be attractive if the entry (presumably including all of 10–20) discussed Arachne or Aedon (cf. Ant. Lib. 11), but that it did so seems questionable.

18. Possibly ἠρνε-|[ῖτο (on this type of incorrect word breaking, see Mayser/Schmoll I.1$^2$.220).

19. Perhaps -το τὸ ζῳ̃-|[ον. LSJ lists a rare τοξωτός and also several compounds in τοξο-; the papyrus could easily have ω in place of ο.

20. Possibly περιτ⟨τ⟩αί, although we expect the entry to end by giving a source or authority. Perhaps the entry continued into the "blank" line following (e.g., περὶ Ταί-|[ναρον); and with αι written for ε the possibilities would be multiplied considerably: περὶ τε-|[, περιτε-|[, or ὑ]πὲρ ιτε-|[.

21. Probably τῶι Κέκρο-|[πι, which suggests that 21ff may have discussed Aglauros, the daughter of Cecrops who was turned to stone (Ov. *Met.* 2.819–832).

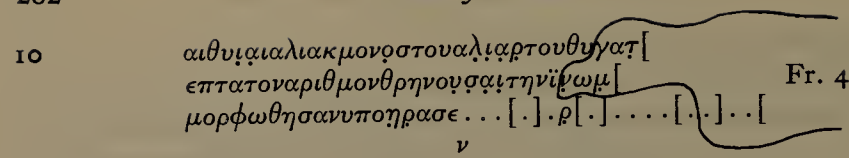
22. E.g., μνησ-|[τήρ, μνησ-|[τεύων, referring to Hermes?

## Column II

Fr. 1 ακταιωνοαριστει[.]υκαιαυ̣[
λησεφιεμενοσγαμωναυτ[
τοπροστουμητροπατορο[
φωθηει[.]ε̣λαφουδοκησινδιαβο̣[. .(. .]αρτε̣.[
5 δοσκα̣ι̣διεσπερασθηυποτωνε̣[.]υτ[.].κυνωνω[
φησινησιοδο̣σ̣ενγυναικωγκα[.]α̣λ̣[.]γωι̣.[ Fr. 3

. . . .

αρεθουσαθυγατηρμενυπερ[.]υ̣π[.].ε̣ι̣[
ελθου[.]ακατ.τονβοϊκονευρε̣ι̣πον[
εν.[. . . . . ]
ηλλαχηυπο̣[. . .]ηρα̣σ̣ωσησιοδοσιστορε̣[ Fr. 1



Fr. 4

αιθυι̣αιαλιακμονο̣στουαλι̣α̣ρτουθυγατ̣[
επτατοναριθμονθρηνου̣σ̣α̣ι̣τηνϊ̣̈ρωμ̣[
μορφωθησανυποη̣ρασε . . . [.] . ρ̣[.] . . . . [.] . . [
ν
παρα⟦σ⟧ισχυλωικαλουταιμισοκο̣ρων[
αλκυονηντηναιολουεγημ̣εκη̣[
ρουτ̣ο̣υαστεροσυϊ̈οσαμφωδησα[ . . . . . ]φα[
ληλωνδερασθεντ̣εση[ . . . . ] . α . [.] . [.]ρνα[
διακ̣α[.]ειαυτ̣ηνηρανπρο . η̣χ̣ο̣[ . . ]υενεφ[
σθει[.]οζ̣ευσμετεμορφω̣σ̣ε̣ι̣ν . . φοτερουσ[
νε[.]ω̣σησιοδοσενγυναικωνκαταλογωι[
ασκ̣α̣λ̣αφοσοαχ̣ε̣ροντ̣ο̣σκαιγοργυρησδη[
ευρ̣ο̣υσησταηνκορ . ν̣ . [ . ]υνθενηιτωιπλ̣[

Col. II 6. .[: apparently a low stop 7. *υγατη*: above, several cancelled or blotted letters 9. *χ*: or *τ* *υ̣*: extra vertical (cancellation?) stroke through center *π̣*: two uprights *ρ̣*: left side .[ supra lin.: perhaps *ζ*, *κ*, *ξ*, or *χ* ]*η*: or *κ*, *χ* 10. *αιθυι̣αι*: *ι̣* perhaps om. *θυγα*: over *α* possibly traces 12. *ε . . .* [: poss. *ει̣σ* fol. by *α*, *δ*, *λ*, or *μ* *ρ̣*[: or *φ*; perhaps no letter lost afterwards ] . . . . [: an upr., poss. a rounded letter, and *α*.[ or *ε*.[ ] . . [: perhaps *υτ* or .*υ* 15. ]*φ̣*: or *ρ* 16. ].*α*.[: before *α* possibly high ink (*η*, *κ*, or *υ*); after *α* top of an upr.? ].[: *ε*, *η*, or *κ*? 21. .[: high bits, top of an upr. *λ̣*[: or *α*

## Column II.1–6: Actaeon

*Ἀκταίων ὁ Ἀριστα̣ί[ο]υ καὶ Αὐ[τονόης, τῶν Σεμέ-]*
*λης ἐφιέμενος γάμων αυτ[* ca. 14 *]*
*το πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορο[ς* ca. 6 *μετεμορ-]*
*φώθη εἰ[ς] ἐλάφου δόκησιν διὰ βο[υλὴν] Ἀρτέμ[ι-]*
*δος καὶ διεσπαράσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἑ[α]υτ[οῦ] κυνῶν, ὥ[ς]*
*φησιν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Γυναικῶν Κα[τ]αλ[ό]γωι.*

Actaeon, the son of Aristaeus and Autonoe, desiring marriage with Semele, . . . his mother's father . . . [he] was transformed to the appearance of a stag through the design of Artemis and was torn apart by his own dogs, as Hesiod says in the *Catalogue of Women*.

The entry is of great interest as explicit testimony on a disputed point about the *Catalogue* and for the light which it sheds on the history of the myth in early Greek literature. The story is most familiar to us through

the later versions, in all of which Actaeon's destruction results solely from his having offended Artemis in some way. Often, as first in Callimachus *Lav. Pall.* 110ff (cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.131ff; Hyg. *F.* 181), he surprises her at her bath. In other variations he tries to rape her (Diod. Sic. 4.81.4; Hyg. *F.* 180) or boasts that he is a better hunter than she (Diod. Sic.; Eur. *Ba.* 337ff). In all of these authors, where the psychological and erotic interest often comes to the fore, the dismemberment by the dogs remains constant. But in an older version the dismemberment, while its immediate cause is the devising of Artemis, results from Zeus's anger at Actaeon's wooing of Semele. This version figured prominently in the literature of the archaic period and the early to middle fifth century; in fact it is the only one attested with certainty in the literature before Euripides. With only a part of the evidence available which we now have, L. Malten, *Kyrene* (Berlin 1911) 18ff, suggested that the *Catalogue* used the Zeus–Semele version. However, J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia* (Leiden 1960), was forced by the scanty evidence to conclude that the Hesiodic poem may have ignored the Actaeon story. The evidence for the literary treatment of the myth, Hesiodic and otherwise, during this early period may now be set out as follows:[9]

(a) The Michigan papyrus.

(b) Philodemus, *De Pietate* 60 Gomperz = Hesiod fr. 346 M-W (listed among the "Fragmenta Dubia"), can now, after a recent examination by A. Henrichs (cf. *GRBS* 13 [1972] 67 n.2), be read [1]ς Ἀκταίωνι καὶ | [2]γυν]αῖκα[{ι}] καθάπερ | [3]ἐν] Ἡοία[ι]ς. Line 2 may well refer to Semele. In any case, the mention of Actaeon in connection with the *Catalogue* is now confirmed by the Michigan papyrus.

(c) *POxy* 30.2509 (mid.-late second century A.D.), tentatively assigned by Lobel to the *Catalogue*, rejected in the edition of Merkelbach and West (cf. p. 27 and the remarks of West, *CR* n.s. 16 [1966] 22), and restudied fruitfully by A. Casanova ("Il mito di Atteone nel Catalogo Esiodeo," *RFIC* 97 [1969] 31–46), contains twenty-one hexameters which probably describe the aftermath of Actaeon's death. A goddess, perhaps Artemis, visits Actaeon's old tutor Chiron and tells him of the future adventures of Actaeon's dogs, which are destined to roam for a time with Dionysus. Before she departs, she removes the madness (λύσσα) from the dogs, which seem to realize their error and loudly lament their master. The madness and the lament have parallels in Apollodorus (below, [f]; cf. also [h]). There is also a verbal

[9] For complete references to the Hellenistic and Roman sources see *RE* I[1] 1209ff; Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon* I 214ff.

correspondence with Schol. Pind. *P.* 4.182 = Hesiod fr. 42 M-W. Casanova's interpretation of the passage and his argument for its Hesiodic origin are especially convincing in light of the Michigan papyrus.

(d) Apollodorus 3.4.4, immediately after the prose account of the myth, preserves ten to eleven hexameters, corrupt in many places, on the pursuit and rending of Actaeon; several dogs are named. The passage has been much discussed and emended. The apparent mention of the commands of Zeus, as well as other details, led Malten, *Kyrene* 23, to attribute the verses to the *Catalogue.* Casanova (39–43) concurred; cf. also C. Gallavotti, *Boll. class. lat. e greca* (Acc. Lincei) n.s. 17 (1969) 81–91. But they could be Hellenistic (J. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 71–72; A. Grilli, *PP* 26 [1971] 354–367).[10]

(e) Stesichorus fr. 236 Page (ap. Paus. 9.2.3), from an unknown poem, says of Actaeon that Artemis "cast a deerskin around him [ἐλάφου περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίωνι], contriving death for him from the dogs, so that he would not take Semele to wife."

(f) Acusilaus, *FGrH* I 2 F 33 (ap. Apollod. 3.4.4) gives Zeus's anger at Actaeon's wooing of Semele as the reason for the dismemberment. Apollod., after contrasting this with the version of οἱ πλείονες involving Artemis at her bath, discusses Actaeon's transformation by the goddess; his being devoured by the dogs which she has maddened (ἐμβαλεῖν λύσσαν); the dogs' lament and search for their master; and the end of their grief when Chiron makes a likeness of Actaeon. In the latter section there seem to be significant points of correspondence with *POxy* 2509 (above, [c]). On Acusilaus and Hesiod, cf. Schwartz, 181ff.

(g) Aeschylus in the *Toxotides* (frr. 417–424 Mette) dealt with the story of Actaeon, but the version of the myth used cannot be established with certainty. Aeschylus' *Semele* (frr. 354–362 Mette) contained part of a trimeter Ζεύς, ὃς κατέκτα τοῦτον (fr. 359). This may indicate that Actaeon was presented as having been Zeus's competitor for Semele; but the reference is not certain (*pace* Gallavotti 86).[11]

(h) An Attic red-figure bell-crater (Beazley, *ARV*² 1045; in Boston, MFA 00.346) datable to the third quarter of the fifth century shows

[10] A recently published papyrus (late second century A.D.; S. Daris, *Procs. Twelfth Intern. Congr. of Papyrology*, ed. D. Samuel [Toronto 1970] 97ff), includes a list of the dogs of Actaeon, a popular subject for cataloguing throughout much of antiquity.

[11] Three other tragedians are reported to have written plays entitled *Actaeon;* cf. Suda s.vv. Φρύνιχος, Ἰοφῶν, Κλεοφῶν. Speculation that the *Toxotides* used the Zeus–Semele version has been rather frequent, for example by Wilamowitz, *HD* II 23.

Actaeon being attacked by dogs in the presence of Zeus, Artemis, and a winged female labeled *ΛΥΣΑ*. The painting was probably inspired by drama, and the presence of Zeus and *Λύσ⟨σ⟩α* (cf. [c] and [f] above; Paus. 9.2.4) suggests the version involving the wooing of Semele.[12]

The *Catalogue* will have treated the story at some length, if *POxy* 2509 is in fact Hesiodic. We do possess the opening verses of the Ehoea of Cyrene (fr. 215 M-W); a statement by Servius on Hesiod's treatment of her son Aristaeus (fr. 216); and a papyrus fragment with verses mentioning Aristaeus (fr. 217). The last may have been followed by the story of Actaeon.[13] Of the other daughters of Cadmus, Ino at least appears to have been briefly discussed elsewhere in the poem in connection with Athamas (fr. 70.2ff; cf. fr. 91).

Of the literary treatments of Actaeon known to us, probably only Stesichorus' could have been written before that of the *Catalogue*. It is clear that the Zeus–Semele version of the story was at the height of its popularity during the sixth and early fifth centuries, the period when the *Catalogue* was put into its final form and when Acusilaus wrote.[14] The tragedians may indeed have made use of this version, but subsequent to Euripides it was employed by poets rarely, if at all.[15]

[12] Representations of Actaeon are numerous in Attic art and go back to the mid-sixth century; cf. P. Jacobsthal, *Marburger Jahrb. f. Kunstwiss.* 5 (1929) 1–23. However, most show only the dismemberment and Artemis and allow no substantial conclusions about the version of the myth that the artist had in mind. The Boston bell-crater has often been linked with the *Toxotides* (cf. above) or a revival of it; see Malten 21; Jacobsthal 9ff; T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Painter in Classical Athens* (London 1972) 47f; Webster and A. D. Trendall, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London 1971) 62. On *Λύσσα* cf. in addition Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, I 123ff; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* 173; J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos* (Heidelberg 1970) 84.

[13] For an attempt to reconstruct the Ehoea of Cyrene and its influence see Malten 1ff. For Cyrene's grandchild to be treated in her Ehoea would be in keeping with the practice of the *Catalogue* elsewhere as analyzed by Casanova, *RFIC* 95 (1967) 31ff.

[14] On the date of the *Catalogue* see Schwartz 487–495, 550–558; K. Stiewe, *Philologus* 106 (1962) 291–299, 107 (1963) 1–29. The popularity in poetry of the Zeus–Semele version during this period need not mean that the simpler story form with only Actaeon, Artemis, and the dogs was not well known or in fact even earlier as a stage in the development of the myth. For a recent discussion of the religious significance of the story, see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin/New York 1972) 127–130.

[15] Casanova, *RFIC* 97 (1969) 44, tries to detect a use of the version by a poet Deinarchus, who wrote in perhaps the late fourth century and according to Eusebius included Actaeon in his work on Dionysus. For the sources and problems surrounding this shadowy author, see *RE* IV$^2$ 2388; *FGrH* IIIB 399, 401d, and commentary.

Column II 1. *Ἀριστᾶι[ο]υ* (*αριστει[.]υ* pap.): for this type of spelling error in documentary papyri, see F. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Milan 1975) I 249f.

*Αὐ[τονόης υἱός, τῶν Σεμέ-*] would take the line end too far to the right, to judge from the certain supplements to lines 4, 5, 10, 11, 14, and 18. These show that as in column I (cf. n.7) the writer ended his lines successively further to the right; and in the supplements suggested for this column I have tried to allow for this fact.

2–3. *μητροπάτορο[ς* clearly refers to Cadmus, but his role in the story is not attested. Speculation is possible but certainty is not. E.g., *αὐτ[ίκα κατάρατος ἐγένε-]|το*, W. Burkert (a bit long for the lacuna); *αὐτ[ . . . . . κατηρᾶ-]|το πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορο[ς Κάδμου καὶ μετεμ.*, R. Merkelbach; *αὐτ[οῦ τηθίδος οὔσης διὰ] | τὸ πρὸς τοῦ μητροπάτορο[ς μηνυθῆναι μετεμ.* (again perhaps a bit too long in line 2).

4. *εἰς ἐλάφου δόκησιν*: Cf. Ov. *Met.* 3.250, *dilacerant falsi dominum* (sc. *Actaeona*) *sub imagine cervi*. The abstract *δόκησις* is first attested in Hdt. and is never particularly common. The meaning "appearance" occurs apparently no earlier than Philo and then only in philosophical contexts, for example, Plu. *E ap. Delph.* 18 (392a). In Eur. *Hel.* the word refers to the phantom likeness of Helen and human perception of it (36, 119, 121); cf. C. Segal, *TAPA* 102 (1971) 563. We do not know how the *Catalogue* itself described the transformation. Nor do we know how closely the compiler of our dictionary was following the Hesiodic narrative, which he may not after all have known first hand. One or more layers of rationalistic interpretation may well lie behind the statement that Actaeon was "changed to the appearance of a stag." The only other evidence for this specific aspect of the story to survive from the authors who used the Zeus–Semele version is Stesichorus fr. 236 Page (cf. above), which may reflect the actual wording of the poet.[16]

[16] G. Nagy, "On the Death of Actaeon," *HSCP* 77 (1973) 179f discusses possible metaphorical and nonmetaphorical interpretations of the words *ἐλάφου περιβαλεῖν δέρμα Ἀκταίωνι τὴν θεόν* in this fragment and concludes that the expression is a traditional one which is equivalent to saying that Artemis actually transformed Actaeon into a stag (as Ov. describes, 4.194ff). He also suggests that the scene of the dismemberment on the metope from Temple E at Selinus, which shows Actaeon wearing a stag skin and the dogs lunging at it, may be simply a visual metaphor used by the artist to portray a man transformed into a stag. However, that such expressions are ultimately not metaphorical is suggested by W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* 128, who discusses the relationship of the Actaeon myth to hunting rituals. A close structural parallel to the Actaeon myth is a passage from the *Bassarika* of Dionysius (fr. 9 in E. Heitsch, *D. gr. Dichterfragmente d. röm. Kaiserzeit* [Göttingen 1961]), where a human victim is dressed up in a stag's skin and then killed in a Dionysiac *σπαραγμός* as if he

5. διεσπαράσθη (διεσπ̣ερασθη pap.): For the spelling see Mayser/Schmoll I.1².35. The verb διασπαράσσω refers in Parth. 10.3 to the rending of a girl by hunting dogs. I can find only one other instance referring literally to a violent tearing apart, Aesch. *Pers.* 195 (of a chariot). Eur. *Ba.* 1220 has διασπαρακτός referring to Pentheus' dismembered body; for the gruesomeness implied cf. Ael. *NA* 12.7. The simplex σπαράσσω describes violent, brutal force applied to the human body in Eur. *Med.* 1217, Aristoph. *Ra.* 428, Eur. *Andr.* 1209. The verb διασπάω is used in Eur. *Ba.* 339 and Diod. Sic. 4.81.3 of Actaeon's dismemberment (cf. Apollod. 3.4.4 κατεβρώθη; Ov. *Met.* 3.250 *dilacerant;* Hyg. *F.* 181 *laceratus est*) and is the standard verb describing the Dionysiac σπαραγμός: Philod. *Piet.* p. 16.4 Gomperz (Henrichs, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 5 [1975] 34ff) = Orph. fr. 36 Kern (of Dionysus-Zagreus); Orig. *Cels.* 4.17.1 (of Zagreus); Apollod. 1.3.2 (of Orpheus). See also Plut. *Def. orac.* 14 (417c).

## Column II.7–9 Arethusa

Ἀρέθουσα θυγατὴρ μὲν Ὑπέρ[ο]υ, Π[οσ]ε̣ι̣[δῶνι δὲ συν-]
8 ελθοῦσ[α] κατὰ τὸν Βοϊκὸν Εὔριπον, [εἰς κρήνην]
ε̣ν.[ ca. 6 ]
ἠλλάγη ὑπὸ [τῆς] Ἥρας, ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἱστορε[ῖ.

Arethusa, daughter of Hyperos, [having had intercourse with Poseidon?] in the region of the Euboean Euripus, was transformed [to a spring?] by Hera, as Hesiod recounts.

The story, obviously of importance mainly as a local legend and perhaps originating in popular tradition at Chalcis, is not attested elsewhere. However, Arethusa was almost certainly transformed into the spring there (cf. *RE* II² 679 s.v. 1) which bore her name in antiquity, since the naming of it after her is mentioned by Porphyry ap. Eust. 281.41–44 (ad *Il.* 2.542; cf. 281.29–30). The supplements to lines 7–8 are based on the rather scanty information on her that is presented there and elsewhere. Even when the text has been supplemented, the summary given by our dictionary is still rather lacking in details, for

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were a stag. See now also P. Colon. inv. 5604 (Apollod., Περὶ θεῶν), ed. Merkelbach and Koenen, *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts Published in Honor of H. C. Youtie* (Bonn 1976; PTA Bd. 19), part 1, 4ff, col. II.12ff = C. Austin, *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta in papyris reperta* (Berlin 1973) fr. 85a (Epicharmus); cf. col. II.35ff and Schol. Tz. Lyc. 355.

example the reason for the transformation. Perhaps the particulars of the story as treated by Hesiod were not very extensive. The genealogy of Arethusa as daughter of Hyperes (on the name see 7, note) is given by Porphyry. She is there called ἡρωὶς γυνή and is said to have been wedded to Poseidon (also her paternal grandfather, her grandmother being Alcyone the daughter of Atlas), by whom she gave birth to Abas, a king of Euboea and eponym of the Abantes who inhabited the island. Aristocrates ap. St. Byz. s.v. Ἄβαντίς also gives Poseidon and Arethusa as the parents of Abas (cf. Schol. D Hom. *Il.* 2.536). The three likewise appear in Hyginus *F.* 157 where, however, her father's name is given as *Herilei* (unattested elsewhere but emended by Muncker to *Nerei*). Lastly, Ephorus ap. St. Byz. s.v. Ἀθῆναι = *FGrH* IIA 70 F 24 lists an Arethusa as a daughter of Abas.[17]

Although none of these sources speak of Arethusa's actual transformation, metamorphoses into fountains or springs are fairly frequent in ancient literature, especially in Ovid (see, e.g., Lafaye 208f, 248; Ant. Lib. 8). The most famous instance is of course that of the Elean nymph also named Arethusa who was pursued by the river god Alpheus and transformed into the well-known spring at Syracuse (Ov. *Met.* 5.574ff, etc.; *RE* s.v. 11). Several other springs as well as towns (*RE* II² 679–681) were called Arethusa, although of these only the obscure Ithacan spring has an attested legend explaining its naming (Schol. Hom. *Od.* 13.408; Eust. ad loc. 1746.52ff).

A possibility as to the context of the story of Chalcidian Arethusa in the *Catalogue* might exist in the scanty remains of fr. 244 M-W, where the poet mentions Poseidon and perhaps Abas and the Abantes. The story may have been told in another Hesiodic poem, however; note the vagueness of our source citation in the papyrus as compared with those in lines 6 and 19.[18]

7. Ὑπέρ[ο]υ̣: Ὑπέρητος, the standard genitive of Ὑπέρης (cf. Bekker, *An. Gr.* III 1189), cannot be fitted in here. But the nom. Ὕπερος is attested in Ath. 1.31c and Suda s.v. Ἀληθηφίας, a comparison of which

[17] For the different sources and traditions on Abas, see Jacoby's commentary ad loc.; *RE* I¹ 18 s.v. 3.

[18] Fr. 244.6 could have ended Ἐλεφ]ήνορα δῖον, referring to Abas' grandson as in Eust. 281.43 (ad *Il.* 2.542). Elephenor is briefly mentioned in fr. 204.52 with a genealogy which could be compatible with his being a descendant of Arethusa. However, in frr. 129.3 and 135.2 Abas appears as son of Lynceus and Hypermestra, a genealogy into which Arethusa could not be fitted. Aside from the *Catalogue*, fr. 296, attributed to the Hesiodic *Aegimius* by St. Byz., deals with Euboea (Ἄβαντίς) but hardly helps us further.

with Paus. 2.30.8 (cf. St. Byz. s.v. *Ἀνθηδών*) shows that the Hyperos and Hyperes discussed in those passages are the same person (Hyperos/Hyperes there is the son of Poseidon and Alcyone and in fact therefore also "related" to our Arethusa if we refer to Porphyry's genealogy as given above). For yet two more figures named Hyperes with widely varying genealogies, see St. Byz. s.v. *Ὑπερησία* and Schol. Pind. *P.* 4.221 = Pherecydes, *FGrH* I 3 F 101; both of these are interestingly the namesakes of springs in northern Greece.

8. *κατ[ὰ] τὸν Βοϊκὸν Εὔριπον* (*ευρειπον* pap.): The phrase is rather vague, but one cannot help thinking of Tyro's watery affair with Poseidon (*Od.* 11.235ff; Hes. frr. 30–31 M-W). The term *εὔριπος* was applied to a number of narrow straits with strong currents (LSJ s.v. B.1; *RE* VI² 1281ff); hence the role of the identifying adjective. The expression *Βοϊκὸς Εὔριπος* seems not to occur elsewhere, but *Βοϊκός* in the sense of "Boeotian" occurs in Gal. 12.127 (cf. Dsc. 1.65). For the association of the adj. with Io and the birth of Epaphus see Hes. fr. 296 M-W.

8–9. [*εἰς κρήνην*] | *ἠλλάγη* (W. Burkert) seems to fit the lacuna exactly. However, either *ἐξ*]*ηλλάγη* or *μετ*]*ηλλάγη* would be suitable in meaning also.

9. One can only speculate on the possible circumstances of Hera's involvement. Did Hera intervene to rescue Arethusa from pursuit or death in childbirth?

*εν.*[ supra lin: perhaps *ἐν X*[*αλκίδι*].

*ἱστορε*[*ῖ*: About six more letters would fit comfortably into the lacuna to the right. But probably the specific poem was not named. For *ἱστορεῖ* used in the citation of authorities, cf. especially the notices prefixed to the stories in Ant. Lib. On the phrase *ἡ ἱστορία παρά* in the "mythographical" D-Scholia to Homer, cf. M. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* (Leiden 1963) I 304ff; *PSI* X 1173.

## Column II.10–13: Aethyiae

10 *Αἴθυιαι Ἁλιάκμονος τοῦ Ἁλιάρτου θυγατ*[*έρες*]
*ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν θρηνοῦσαι τὴν Ἰνὼ μ*[*ετε-*]
*μορφώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἥρας εἰς .*[.].*ρ*[.]....[..]..[ca. 3]
*παρ' Αἰσχύλωι καλοῦνται μισοκόρων*[*οι.*

The Aethyiae, daughters of Haliacmon the son of Haliartus, seven in number, while lamenting Ino were transformed by Hera to (birds) ... are called by Aeschylus "hating crows" (?).

This entry contains several references to obscure or unknown persons or events. The story was presumably a local legend deriving from Boeotia or the Megarid, where Ino-Leucothea leapt into the sea with her young son Melicertes-Palaemon. In our text the Aethyiae have the same function as the women attendants (*Sidoniae comites, Ismenides*) who in Ovid *Met.* 4.543–562 lament her plunge and are as a consequence turned into rocks and seabirds by the vindictive Juno. Ovid's source, probably a poem or handbook on transformation, could have referred to the women as Aethyiae; but Ovid, in keeping with his frequent practice, limits his treatment of this aspect of the Ino story to a clinical description of the metamorphosis. Apparently there is no trace of the Aethyiae elsewhere under any name; and the same may be said of the Haliacmon whom the papyrus gives as their father. However, their grandfather, Haliartus, is attested in the sources as eponym of the Boeotian town that bore his name. Haliartus was the brother of Coronus, who gave his name to the neighboring Coroneia. Their father, Thersandrus, was related to Athamas (according to some authorities, he was his brother); hence a link between Athamas' wife Ino and the Aethyiae. For the various sources on the known persons see *RE*² X 2452 s.v. Thersandros 1; Roscher I.2, 1820 s.v. Haliartos.

The remains of line 12 following the mention of Hera in the papyrus cannot be supplemented with certainty. But the women must have been changed into the seabirds called *αἴθυιαι*; a correlation of this kind between humans and the birds which they become is common in Greek stories of bird transformation, for example those told by Boios and Nicander and summarized by Antoninus Liberalis. The plays and fragments of Aeschylus make no mention of *αἴθυιαι* as either birds or women of myth. Aeschylus did write an Athamas (frr. 10–14 Mette); but his allusion to the birds or the story may have occurred in a different play, for example in a choral passage.

The *αἴθυια* or shearwater is associated with Ino-Leucothea in the *Odyssey* (5.337, 353), where the goddess is described as *αἰθυίῃ εἰκυῖα*. *Αἴθυια* was a cult title of Athena, especially at Megara, which is probably significant. On the associations and lore of this bird, see D'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936), 27–29. Why Aeschylus referred to *αἴθυιαι* as "hating crows" (assuming that the Greek adjective really does mean that and not "hating Coronus" [*Κορωνός*] in reference to the great-uncle of the women) remains unexplained. However, it is worth noting that Athena (cf. above) like Apollo stands in a rather ambiguous relation to the crow and could in reference to several myths and popular beliefs among the Greeks be

characterized as "hating crows"; for the sources see especially Frazer, *Pausanias* (London 1913) ad 2.11.7.[19]

10. *Ἀλιάκμονος*: The name is applied to several other persons in myth, but this particular one is not attested elsewhere. As used here it may be significant for the bird-lore aspect of this story and the family (cf. above), since Hsch. s.v. *ἄκμων* says that that word may mean among other things a species of eagle.

12. After *εἰς* it might be possible to read *τὰ[ς] ὄρνιθας. [α]ὖτ[αι] | παρ' Αἰσχύλωι κτλ.*

13. *Αἰσχύλωι* (α⟦σ⟧ισχυλωι pap.): On the spelling error see Mayser/Schmoll, I.1². 83ff; Gignac, *Grammar* I 194.

*μισοκόρων[οι*: The compound is unattested elsewhere and constitutes a new fragment of Aeschylus.

## Column II.14–19: Alcyone

*Ἀλκυόνην τὴν Αἰόλου ἔγημε Κῆ[υξ ὁ Φωσφό-]*
*ρου τοῦ ἀστέρος υἱός. ἄμφω δ' ἦσα[ν ὑπερή]φα[νοι, ἀλ-]*
*λήλων δ' ἐρασθέντες η[. . . .] . ᾳ . [.] . [.]ρνα[ ca. 5 ]*
*Δία κα[λ]εῖ, αὐτὴν Ἥραν προσηγό[ρε]νεν· ἐφ' [ὧι ὀργι-]*
*σθεὶ[ς] ὁ Ζεὺς μετεμόρφωσεν ἀμφοτέρους [εἰς ὄρ-]*
*νε[α,] ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἐν Γυναικῶν Καταλόγωι.*

Alcyone, daughter of Aeolus: Ceyx, son of Phosphorus the star, married (her). And both were arrogant, and enamored of one another. She (?) . . . called him Zeus, herself Hera . . . On which account Zeus, angered, transformed both into birds, as Hesiod (says) in the *Catalogue of Women*.

The different major versions of the myth are conveniently analyzed by Brooks Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet*² (Cambridge 1970) 421ff. The entry in the papyrus emphasizes the variant in which the couple are punished for their insolence. There already exists testimonial evidence (fr. 15 M-W) that the *Catalogue* treated the story in this fashion; and a papyrus fragment attributed to the poem itself appears to contain the very end of their story (fr. 16 M-W). The summary in our dictionary closely resembles in many respects Schol. D(A) ad *Il.* 9.562 (cf. Apollod. 1.52; Eust. ad 9.558, p. 776): *Κῆυξ ὁ Φωσφόρου τοῦ ἀστέρος, γήμας*

[19] The *ἐνάλιαι κορῶναι* of *Od.* 5.66 are identified as *αἴθυιαι* by Schol. *Od.* 1.441, 5.66; Eust. p. 1524, ad *Od.* 5.66.

*Ἀλκυόνην τὴν Αἰόλου, μέγα φρονήσας ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ θεὸς ἐβούλετο νομίζεσθαι· διόπερ ἥ τε γαμετὴ διὰ παντὸς ἐκάλε Δία αὐτὸν κἀκεῖνος Ἥραν τὴν γυναῖκα. Ζεὺς δὲ ἀγανακτήσας μετέβαλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρνεα χωρὶς ἀλλήλων βιοῦντα· ἐκλήθη δὲ ἡ μὲν ἀλκυόνη, ὁ δὲ κῆυξ.* However, the syntax of part of the entry in the papyrus is somewhat unclear. One interesting detail is the statement that the couple were *ἐρασθέντες ἀλλήλων* (15–16), a turn of phrase which seems (if our compiler did not add the idea on his own, under Ovidian or other non-Hesiodic influence) to prefigure the love interest attached to the couple in later literary versions (see Otis; cf. especially Ov. *Met.* 11.444ff), where Alcyone shows extreme grief over her husband's death at sea and the two are transformed to be reunited. Otis in fact notes that two of the manuscripts of Schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 250 include both the motif of insolence before the gods and that of lovers parted by shipwreck. This may be a quite early literary version of the story, but we cannot verify that it corresponds to the handling of the theme in the *Catalogue*. Fr. 16.4–6 M-W apparently portrays Ceyx dwelling at sea and seeking Alcyone. This suggests the summary in the Homeric scholium, where the reuniting of the lovers after their transformation is expressly denied (the conclusion of the Hesiodic fragment passes on to a new subject and insures that the story has ended). Since the author of our dictionary says nothing about the couple after they became birds, the entry would be compatible with the picture that we get from elsewhere about the narrative in the *Catalogue*.[20]

15. *ἦσα[ν ὑπερή]φα[νοι*: The first lacuna seems a bit short for six letters, but the papyrus is badly contorted here. Cf. Apollod. 1.52 *οὗτοι δὲ δι' ὑπερηφάνειαν ἀπώλοντο.*

16. *ἡ[σέβη]σαν* W. Burkert. Also possible is *ἡ* [ (sc. *Ἀλκυόνη*) as subject of 17 *κα[λ]εῖ*. The latter solution in fact seems preferable in view of the need for a subject for this verb: for example, *ἡ . . . [αὐτὸν] | Δία κα[λ]εῖ* (cf. Schol. D(A) ad *Il.* 9.562). More difficult would be to assume both subject and pronoun object to have been lost at the end of 16: *[ἡ δὲ αὐτὸν] | Δία κα[λ]εῖ* (or even *[ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν] | Δία κα[λ]εῖ, αὐτὴν Ἥραν*).

[20] For an exhaustive list of the ancient sources dealing with Ceyx and Alcyone, see P. Lünstedt, *Untersuchungen zu den mythologischen Abschnitten der D-Scholien* (Diss. Hamburg 1961) 111. The different elements of the myth have recently been studied by G. K. Gresseth, *TAPA* 95 (1964) 88ff. The fragments of the Hesiodic *Κήυκος γάμος* give no indication that that poem dealt with the metamorphosis of the couple; see Merkelbach and West, *RhM* n.s. 108 (1965) 301ff.

17. προ̣ση̣γό̣[ρε]υεν W. Burkert. The change in tense would be unusual, but we can expect some inconsistencies and roughness.

## Column II.20–21: Ascalaphus

20 Ἀσκάλαφος ὁ Ἀχέροντος καὶ Γοργύρας, Δή[μητρος]
εὑρούσης τὴν Κόρην .[..]υνθενηι τῶι Πλ[ούτωνι]

Ascalaphus, the son of Acheron and Gorgyra, when Demeter had found the Maid . . . to (?) Pluto . . .

The most extensive and earliest known version of the story is in Ovid (*Met.* 5.533–550). Ascalaphus, son of Acheron and Orphne, an *Avernalis nympha*, observed Persephone pluck and eat a pomegranate. Because he revealed that she had done so, Demeter was unable to return her daughter to a permanent life on earth. Persephone punished Ascalaphus by turning him into an owl (ἀσκάλαφος). In Apollodorus (1.5.3; 2.5.12) Demeter punishes him by setting a rock on top of him; Heracles on his visit to the underworld rolled the rock away, and Ascalaphus then turned into an owl. Gorgyra as the name of his mother is given by Apollodorus. There remains some uncertainty about the Greek in line 21 of the papyrus. As the surviving lines seem to give only the preliminary part of the story, the entry probably continued into the next column and concluded with the citation of a source, perhaps a Hellenistic one rather than for example Hesiod.

A story also connected with Demeter's quest for her daughter and involving the punishment of the offender, who is turned into a lizard (ἀσκάλαβος) with the name which he bore as a human, is told in Antoninus Liberalis 24, where the chapter heading lists the authority for the myth as the *Heteroeumena* of Nicander (cf. *Ther.* 483–487). For other references to the two similar stories see *RE* II² 1607ff s.vv. On the Hellenistic sources (especially Nicander) of Ovid's Ceres-Proserpina narrative, see H. Herter, *RhM* 90 (1941) 236–268 = *Kl. Schr.* (1975) 466–492. Cf. *POxy* 45.3210, fr. 3, II.13 and Hom. *Il.* 2.512.

20. Γοργύρας (γοργυρησ pap.): On this "Ionic" spelling in the Koine, see Mayser/Schmoll I.1².11f.

21. μ[ην]υνθέν, ἦι W. Burkert: For the spelling of the verb see W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig 1903) 73. Alternatively there may be a corruption or omission in this part of the line.

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# AVIANIANA

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A TOLERABLE text of Avianus' fables has yet to appear. Five editions have been published during the last hundred years, to go back no further: by Baehrens (*Poetae Latini Minores*, 1883), Robinson Ellis (1887), J. W. and A. M. Duff (Loeb ed. 1934), A. Guaglianone (Paravia 1958), and L. Herrmann (Collection Latomus 96, 1968). All of these are alike in presenting many readings which no critical reader can swallow, whether produced by the carelessness of copyists or the wayward fancies of the editors. On the whole, the Loeb is the best, though too much influenced by Ellis. That scholar's commentary is characteristic both in its learning and its frequent illustration of what Housman meant by "the intellect of an idiot child."[1]

Praef. huius ergo materiae ducem nobis Aesopum noveris, qui responso Delphici Apollinis monitus ridicula orsus est ut *legenda* firmaret.

*legenda* ("moral maxims" the Duffs) is plainly wrong. Lachmann conjectured *sequenda*, which is in Baehrens' text (in app. crit. "*an leg.* formaret?"). Perhaps *docenda*.

3.1ff Curva retro cedens dum fert vestigia cancer,
hispida saxosis terga relisit aquis.
hunc genetrix facili cupiens procedere gressu
talibus alloquiis *premonuisse datur*.

*praemonuisse* "is suspicious, as the advice comes *after* the injury has been done" (Ellis). But *emonuisse* (Ellis, followed by the Duffs) is ἅπ. λεγ. except in Cic. *Fam.* 1.7.9, where *emoneo* is doubtless a copyist's error for *moneo*. The natural word here is *admonuisse*. So in 12.7.f a speech is introduced: *hunc fortuna . . . admonet. premonuisse* will have come from *praecedere* (so most MSS) just above.

6.7f nec se Paeonio iactat cessisse magistro,
quamvis perpetuos curet in *orbe* deos.

[1] "So it is perhaps less strange than might appear at first sight that scholars of the calibre of Lachmann and Robinson Ellis should have spent so much time and labour on so trivial a text" (R. Browning, *C.R.* 10 [1960] 42). Lachmann and Robinson Ellis!

The subject is a frog which sets herself up as a healer. *in orbe* has to be understood as *in orbem*, "in rotation." No parallel is quoted, and the sense is scarcely satisfactory. Why should the gods fall sick by numbers? Herrmann reads *perpetuo* (Cannegieter) and translates "sur la voûte éternelle."

This fable is in Babrius (120), who makes the frog say: ἰατρός εἰμι φαρμάκων ἐπιστήμων / οἷων τάχ' οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδ' ὁ Παιήων / ὃς Ὄλυμπον οἰκεῖ καὶ θεοὺς ἰατρεύει. This suggests that *orbe* has replaced a word signifying the gods' dwelling, perhaps *arce:* "the gods in heaven." In classical Latin *arx* in this sense is always accompanied by *caeli* vel sim. (so 22.2, *ab arce poli*), but cf. Dracont. *Laud. Dei* 2.557, *dexter in arce sedens*, and other passages in Vollmer's index. Withof conjectured *is arte.*

7.13ff tunc insultantem senior de plebe superbum
adgreditur tali *singula* voce movens:
infelix, *sqq.*

A vicious dog, whose master has tied a bell round his neck, takes this for an honor and despises his fellows. An older dog tells him of his error.

*singula* ("en détail," Herrmann) is impossible. The older dog has only one thing to say, and says it. Hence *sibila* (Lachmann), *paucula* (Froehner), *seria* (Schenkl), *voce severa* (or *sinistra*) (Baehrens), and Ellis' *tali cingula voce moves'*, as a question from the older dog ("What? so loud in shaking your collar?"). There are several objections to this last, but it is enough to point to 14.11, *hanc tamen ante alios rupit turpissima vocem*, and 15.10, *his tamen insultans vocibus usa datur. tali voce* must be introductory. *singula* appears to be a stopgap in replacement of a word that fell out of the text, perhaps *tristia. tali tristia* might easily be reduced to *talia.* Or possibly *singula* was suggested by *talistia* (= *tali scla*).

11.5ff dispar erat fragili et solidae concordia motus
incertumque *vagus* amnis *habebat* iter;
ne tamen *elisam* confringeret aerea *testam*,
iurabat *solitam* longius ire viam.

Two pots, one of bronze, the other of clay, are carried down a rushing river. Bronze Pot gives an assurance that it will keep well away, so as not to break Clay Pot in a collision.

*vagus* (most MSS) is retained by Baehrens, the Duffs, and Guaglianone. Ellis and Herrmann read *vagans* (B). I would read *incertumque*

*vagas amnis agebat iter* (*agebat*, several MSS). Cf. Sen. *Phoen.* 505, *te maria tot diversa, tot casus vagum / egere*, also Stat. *Theb.* 2.48, *pallentes devius umbras / trames agit.* It should be mentioned that *agebat* also occurs in line 2 (*insanis pariter flumen agebat aquis*); but this might pass even in certain classical poets; cf. my *Propertiana*, pp. 9, 73, 167, 247; Housman, *Lucanus* p. xxxiii.

In line 8 *solitam* makes no sense and *solidam* (Ellis, followed by the Duffs) could only refer to progress on land as opposed to water. Also Clay Pot should be distinctly mentioned to balance *aerea. sociae* (*sociam* Nevelet) meets that requirement. Thus: *ne tamen allisam* (Barth) *confringeret aerea testa* (Ellis and others, following several MSS), / *iurabat sociae longius ire viam* ("swore to her fellow that she would pursue her course at a distance"). *ire* = *se ituram esse*, a classical construction (*Thes.* 7(2).673.32).

12.1ff Rusticus impresso molitus vomere terram
thensaurum sulcis prosiluisse videt.
mox indigna animo properante reliquit aratra,
semina *compellens* ad meliora boves.

Line 4 is obelized in Ellis' text but explained in his commentary as "driving his oxen to a better feed." He also conjectured *stramina* and *vimina*, whereas the Duffs read Cannegieter's *gramina.* Herrmann produces *numina* ("il force ses boeufs à se diriger vers les divinités supérieures"). It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that *semina* refers to the buried treasure. When the farmer saw this unusual and valuable "seed" in the earth he had turned up with his plough, he stopped ploughing. As for the oxen, it is unlikely that his first thought would be to get them better feed or pasture than usual. He just checked them, made them pull up, *compescens;* cf. Colum. *R. R.* 7.6.9, *maxime strenuum pecus est capella . . . quae compesci debet ne procurrat, sed placide ac lente pabuletur. ad* as in Tac. *Hist.* 2.87.1, *ad omnis municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens.*

20.5ff "parce, precor," supplex lacrimis ita dixit obortis,
"nam quanta ex nostro corpore dona feres?"
*nunc me* saxosis genetrix fecunda sub antris
fudit et in propriis ludere iussit aquis.

The little fish asks the fisherman to return him to the water. *dona* in line 6 is Lachmann's certain conjecture for *dam(p)na.*

In line 7 *nunc* cannot legitimately be understood as "just now" (the Duffs), but that is the meaning required. *vix* (Baehrens) is palaeographically unlikely, and Herrmann's transposition of 7–8 to follow

9–10, though ingenious, is probably to be rejected because 7–8 follows naturally as an explanation of 5–6. The answer may be *me modo*. The loss of *m̊* would create a metrical gap which *nunc* might be brought in to stop.

24.1ff Certamen longa protractum lite gerebant
venator quondam nobilis atque leo.
hi, cum perpetuum *cuperent in* iurgia finem,
edita continuo fronte sepulchra vident.

*fronte* Ellis, *forte* codd., a doubtful point. I am here concerned with the preceding hexameter, in which we are told that the hunter and the lion wanted to put an end to their dispute. We have a right to learn in the sequel how they went about it and what was the result; but all the rest of the piece tells us is that they saw a picture or sculpture on the tomb representing a lion vanquished by a man. The hunter makes an insulting comment and the lion an effective retort. Nothing suggests that their future relations would be any the more harmonious. The prose version in *Fab. Aesop.* (Halm) 63 has nothing about ending the quarrel: ἐκαυχῶντο οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς λόγοις. Εὗρον δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πετρίνην στήλην κ.τ.λ.. I would therefore read *hi, cum perpetuum caperent non iurgia finem*, based on Virg. *Aen.* 10.106, *nec vestra capit discordia finem.*

28.15ff nimirum exemplum naturae derat iniquae,
qua fieri posset cum ratione nocens.

In this fable a farmer cuts the horns of a refractory ox and fastens its neck to an exceptionally large (5, *immenso*) plough, so that it could not reach him with its hind hooves. But the animal gets its revenge all the same; it kicks up the dust, which is blown by the wind into the farmer's face. His rueful comment in this final couplet has not been understood. *nimirum* is ironical: "I suppose a malicious nature needed a pattern in order to get the capacity to do mischief!" that is, "I was a fool not to realize that the ox would contrive to work out for himself a means to do me harm."

Baehrens, followed by the Duffs, reads *quis* for *cum*, perhaps rightly. But I should not like to guarantee that this author could not use *cum qua ratione* for *qua ratione*.[2] *possit* seems to have better manuscript

[2] Professor Henrichs takes *cum ratione* as "with *ratio*, methodically" (cf. Ellis), that is, like a human being which possesses the reason denied to animals. He also proposes *quo* (sc. *exemplo*) for *qua*, an attractive suggestion.

support than *posset*, and should perhaps be read, with *derit* in the hexameter.

29.7f quem simul aspiciens ruris miratur alumnus,
vimque homini tantam *protinus esse* pavet.

A satyr is surprised and appalled to observe that a chilled traveler warms his hands by breathing on them.

Ellis' objection to *protinus* as pointless and flat seems justified, though his conjecture *frontis* ("effrontery") *inesse* is evidently not the answer. Perhaps *prorsus* (with *pavet*) *inesse*. In the Greek prose version the satyr merely asks the traveler why he blows on his hands.

30.5f rursus in *excepti* deprensus crimine campi
perdidit indultae perfidus auris onus.

A pig breaks into a cornfield and damages the crops. The farmer cuts off one of his ears. The pig repeats the offense and loses the other ear.

*excepti* is glossed *vetiti* in one manuscript. Ellis explains that the field was "reserved," for example, for burial or for crops of a particular and valuable kind. There is nothing in the text to support these fantasies. Nor do I think that *excepti* could mean "put out of bounds" (to the pig); *crimine* would then be awkward. Baehrens and the two recent editors read *excerpti* (Guyet). Seed can be fished out (*excerpi*) of fruit, or particles out of food (*Thes.* 5(2).1227.54), but not crops from a field, much less the field itself. The Duffs prefer *ex(s)culpti*, conjectured by Lachmann and subsequently found in a manuscript. That word properly means "dig out," as of gouging out an eye. For *materia ex qua exsculpitur* as object the *Thesaurus* (ibid. 1832.42) offers only Rufin. *Clement.* 8. 54, *saxum artifex . . . ad libram suae artis exsculpens*, for the accompanying passages of Quintilian and Fronto do not belong. Further from the *ductus litterarum* but more satisfactory to Latinity and sense would be *excisi;* cf. Vell. 2.115.2, *excisis agris*, et sim. (*Thes.* ibid. 1244.60).

33.1ff Anser erat cuidam pretioso germine feta
ovaque quae nidis aurea saepe daret.
fixerat hanc volucri legem natura superbae,
ne liceat pariter munera ferre duo.
sed dominus *cupidum sperans vanescere votum*
non tulit exosas in sua lucra moras,
grande ratus pretium volucris de morte referre,
quae tam continuo munere dives erat.

In line 5 the Duffs render "anticipating the disappearance of his greedy expectation" with a note: "the golden harvest, he feared, was

too good to last." If the goose's owner feared that she would stop laying, slaughtering her was hardly the answer. His motive is purely acquisitive, as in the prose version: ἀθρόον πλοῦτον ἐλπίσας εὑρεῖν (see Ellis). Ellis obelizes and Herrmann reads Wopkens' conjecture, *cupidum sperans augescere votum*. Perhaps *cupido sperans sua crescere voto*, "hoping with greedy desire for his property to increase"; cf. 22.11, *spem sibi confidens alieno crescere voto* (*rem* Herrmann, *haud absurde*).

35.1ff Fama est quod geminum profundens simia partum
dividat in varias pignera nata vices.
namque unum caro genetrix educit amore
alterius⟨que⟩ odiis *exsaturata* tumet.
*coeperit* ut fetam gravior terrere tumultus,
dissimili natos condicione rapit.

*exsaturata* ("she rankled with superabundant hatred," the Duffs) is clearly wrong. *insaturata* (Cannegieter; cf. Avien. *Arat.* 183, *novercae / insaturatae odiis*) or *vix saturata* (Barth) would do instead, but the original is perhaps more likely to have been *ex(s)timulata;* cf. Liv. 42.29.2, *Eumenen cum vetus odium stimulabat tum recens ira* (sim. 2.35.7). The reading *exturata* in two of the manuscripts may show how the corruption proceeded. Or *exsti* may have been read as *exsa* (cf. Housman on Manil. 3.395, and *stilus* conjectured for *salus* in Salvian, *Gub. Dei* praef. 4 [*Harv. Theol. Rev.* 70: 3–4, 1977 (forthcoming)]).

The subjunctive *coeperit* after temporal *ut* seems to have passed without remark. It can be defended from *Löfstedt, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität* 1ff, but considerable doubt as to its legitimacy remains. Moreover, the absence of any connecting particle is suspicious, a point against the v. l. *c(o)eperat*. Perhaps *coepit at*. For postponed *at* cf. 17.9.

36.17ff est hominum sors ista magis felicibus ut mors
sit cita, cum miseros vita diurna *regat*.

Neither *regat* nor *negat* (the Duffs with one MS) make any sense, and *necat* (Ellis) is not much better. We are left with *terat* (Nodell), to which I would prefer *gravet*.

37.15 "vade" ait "et meritis nodum cervicibus infer
compensentque *tuam* vincula dura famem.
at mea cum vacuis libertas redditur antris,
quamvis ieiunus quaelibet arva peto."

A dog advises a lion to turn domestic; he will be chained up but well fed. The lion retorts.

All the editors read *tuam*, which is nonsense, except Baehrens, who prefers his conjecture *actam* (meaning what?) and Herrmann, who prints *tuum*, presumably by mistake. I thought at first of *meam*, which Guaglianone quotes from an eleventh-century manuscript: "let your harsh chains balance my hunger." But the absence of *tua* is a drawback, and *at mea* in the next verse suggests that the previous couplet should be concerned only with the dog. I suggest *compensent saturam:* "let harsh chains balance a full stomach." Claudian *Phoen.* (*Carm. min.* 27 [44]) 13 has *epulis saturare famem.*

38.5 non tulit expulsum patrio sub gurgite phoecis
verbaque *cum salibus* asperiora dedit.
"vana *laboratis* aufer mendacia dictis
quaeque refutari te quoque teste queant.
nam quis sit potior populo spectante probabo,
si pariter captos umida lina trahant.
tunc me nobilior magno mercabitur emptor,
te simul aere brevi *debile* vulgus emet."

A freshwater fish, washed into the sea, despises the marine fish. A sea fish (*phoecis* = *phycis*, φυκίς or φύκης) rebukes him.

Meter aside, *cum salibus* is clearly wrong, because there is nothing witty about the remarks (*superiora* in Herrmann's text seems to have got there by mistake). Hence a number of implausible conjectures. I would propose *tum salebris* ("rougher than the rough places in a road"). *salebra* and *salebrosus* are used of rough, ill-jointed speech. The implication here would be different, but not illegitimate.

*laboratis* is equally inappropriate. Some word expressing pride or contempt is needed (was that what Ellis meant with his "fortasse *vaporatis*"?). Possibly *sub inflatis.* For *sub* thus in late Latin cf., for example, Dracont. *Laud. Dei* 1. 470, *coniugis aures / adgreditur sub voce pia.*

For *debile* read *flebile*, comparing Tac. *Hist.* 2.92, *flebilis et egens nobilium turba.* Ellis notes: "In Stat. *Theb.* iii 563 *nos pravum ac debile uulgus Scrutari penitus superos*, the best MSS seem to give *flebile.*" The v. l. *debile*, read in old editions, is ignored by modern editors. "The unlikeness of *d* to *fl* is not always great enough to prevent the confusion of words which differ little in other respects" (Housman, *Classical Papers* 718).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

# THE CORRESPONDENCE OF ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF WITH WERNER JAEGER

William Musgrave Calder III

*Wolfgang Buchwald*
*septuagenario*

For the noisy bustling activity of so-called scholarship with all the journals, encyclopedias, and mass-meetings has been little more than the long shadow cast by a few towering scholars.

Werner Jaeger (*Essays* 62)

## INTRODUCTION

I FIRST heard the name Wilamowitz from my teacher Werner Jaeger. One day as a young student I tacked to the inside of the seminar door a large portrait of Wilamowitz that confronted the teacher when he closed it. The Mixed Constitution was forgotten. For two hours we heard only of Wilamowitz. I never forgot this *pietas* and all my life have sought to understand better the great teacher whom my teacher all his life revered. These new documents, carefully preserved by both men and their heirs, illuminate a friendship. Professor Jaeger once said to me that he wished to publish these letters. Now I am able to do this for him.

Werner Jaeger (July 30, 1888–October 19, 1961) has left two autobiographical documents,[1] a history of classical scholarship in Berlin[2] that is largely autobiographical, and a memorial of Wilamowitz.[3] Wolfgang Schadewaldt (1900–1974) has written an exemplary memoir[4] that places

[1] Werner Jaeger, "Entwürfe zu Lebenserinnerungen (Anfang)," *Five Essays*, trans. Adele M. Fiske, R.S.C.J. (Montreal 1966) 1–21 (henceforth: *Essays*), and *Scripta Minora* I (Rome 1960) ix–xxvii (henceforth: *SM*) = *Essays* 22–44.

[2] *Essays* 45–74 = *Studium Berolinense. Gedenkschrift zur 150. Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* (Berlin 1960) 459–485. Moriz Haupt (48) did not marry the nonexistent daughter of the celibate homosexual Lachmann but of Gottfried Hermann.

[3] "Gedächtnisrede auf Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff," *Die Antike* 8 (1932) 319–324 = *Humanistische Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin 1960) 215–221.

[4] Wolfgang Schadewaldt, *Gedenkrede auf Werner Jaeger 1888–1961* (Berlin

Jaeger into the context of Berlin 1907–1936. J. H. Finley has allowed use of his unpublished memoir, especially important for the American period. Sterling Dow has given me his careful notes of Jaeger's Harvard lecture on Wilamowitz of October 8, 1940. I have published several memories.[5] An edition is not a biography. I shall remark only on Jaeger and Wilamowitz. "Ein Schüler von Wilamowitz bin ich aus der Ferne geworden."[6] A schoolboy, Jaeger privately read the *Lesebuch* (1902). Aged 17, he asked for and received *Einleitung* and *Herakles*. "Eine neue Welt ging mir hier auf."[7] The erudition, the mastery of language, the colorful vision of Greek life captivated the boy. Later friendship never erased this first impression. In 1907 he entered the university of Marburg but soon transferred to Berlin. Wilamowitz was fifty-nine years old, Jaeger nineteen. "When as a student I first met him, he was a venerable old man with silver hair, dressed in an old-fashioned dark frock coat."[8] "He was an actor, a brilliant conferencier, a spectacular figure, enthusiastic, with a high tinny voice, that snapped when touched by pathos."[9] That Jaeger did not become a professor of philosophy was due to the teaching and personality of Wilamowitz.[10] Now began what he called the *Heroenkult*.[11] These letters document the adoration. Schadewaldt detects three abiding characteristics of Jaeger's work owed Wilamowitz:[12] (1) expert acquaintance with texts and manuscripts that early turned him into a brilliant textual critic, emendator, and editor; (2) the conviction that *Geistesgeschichte* must be built on concrete examples; (3) the conviction that *Philosophiegeschichte* can not be pursued in isolation but as part of what Jaeger's student Harald Patzer

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1963) = *Hellas und Hesperien* II², ed. Klaus Bartels, Reinhard Thurow, and Ernst Zinn (Zürich/Stuttgart 1970) 707–722 (henceforth: *HuH* II²). *Gedenkworte für Werner Jaeger*, *HuH* II² 722–730 adds little. I have learned nothing from H. Langerbeck, *Gnomon* 34 (1962) 101–105. See also F. Solmsen, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (Berlin 1974) 280–281, where (281), however, the Sather Lectures are held at Berkeley and not Stanford.

[5] W. M. Calder III, "Die Geschichte der klassischen Philologie in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 11 (1966) 234–235.

[6] *SM* I xii.

[7] Ibid.

[8] *Essays* 58. For Wilamowitz at this period see the portrait facing *GRBS* 11 (1970) 148. I should call him neither venerable nor old.

[9] S. Dow's notes: see n. 105 below.

[10] Schadewaldt, *Gedenkrede* 9 = *HuH* II² 711.

[11] *Die Antike* 8 (1932) 324; cf. Schadewaldt (above, n.10): "nach seinem eigenen Wort eine Art 'Heroenkult.'"

[12] Schadewaldt (above, n.10).



Werner Jaeger, Kiel c. 1920 (photograph courtesy of Mrs. Werner Jaeger).

called Wilamowitz' *Totalitätsideal.*[13] There were also great differences. Jaeger's philosophical bent was not shared by Wilamowitz.[14] We hear nothing in the letters of "the third humanism" nor of *Die Antike.*[15] Jaeger lacked the interest in *Realien.* He visited Greece only in old age and reluctantly ascended the acropolis. Wilamowitz had done so eagerly at age twenty-four.[16] Nor was Jaeger, of middle-class origin,[17] ever so politically engaged as Wilamowitz, whose brother was President of Posen and Kammerherr of the King.

Schadewaldt[18] distinguishes two types of great scholarly personality. "The expansive type" begins from some subject or other and masters ever new fields and methods to become an authority over an enormous range of material. Thus Wilamowitz. The other goes "with instinctive sureness" from intuition of a whole and in later life only more richly builds up his earlier insight. This, "the architectonic type," was Werner Jaeger. I should add that Jaeger's lifelong attention to *Jugenderziehung*[19] had Wilamowitzian roots. The *Lesebuch* is only the most obvious evidence. Also the obsession with continuity. Jaeger often recalled that Wilamowitz' history of Greek literature extended into the Empire. The correspondence with Mommsen reveals his notion of the unity of Greek and Roman culture. For four years Jaeger was Wilamowitz' student;

[13] Harald Patzer, "Wilamowitz und die klassische Philologie," in *Festschrift Franz Dornseiff*, ed. Horst Kusch (Leipzig 1953) 247; cf. Schadewaldt, *HuH* II² 725.

[14] "He loved Plato but avoided philosophy, in its narrow sense, realizing his own limitations. Philosophy in a pure form as in Aristotle was alien to him." Jaeger, *Essays* 61; cf *SM* I xiv.

[15] Wilamowitz disapproved the famous conference on "the classic" (Naumburg 1930): see *GRBS* 16 (1975) 454–457. Important for the opposition is Bruno Snell's famous review of *Paideia* I: *GGA* 197 (1935) 329–353 = *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen 1966) 32–54.

[16] W. M. Calder III, "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's First Visit to the Akropolis," *Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities: In Memoriam Otto J. Brendel*, ed. L. Bonfante and H. v. Heintze (Mainz 1976) 233–236.

[17] He told me once how at the Wednesday evening receptions at Eichenallee 12, Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff would enter late with Ernst Kapp and ignore him. Ulrich revealed no trace of such arrogance.

[18] Schadewaldt, *Gedenkrede* 7–8 = *HuH* II² 710. The citation "Umzulernen stets bereit!" is from Wilamowitz, *KS* 1.466 (the review of Schadewaldt's dissertation!). Wilamowitz has a remarkably similar distinction between the rational and intuitive scholar in his first letter to Bormann (1869): *GRBS* 11 (1970) 151 with n.58. I wonder whether Schadewaldt's source was not ultimately Wilamowitzian.

[19] Schadewaldt, *Gedenkrede* 19 = *HuH* II² 718.

for ten years he taught alongside him. Jaeger saw the crucial importance of Aristotle's apprenticeship to Plato.[20]

Twenty-three letters and cards (1913–1928) of Wilamowitz to Jaeger are in the Jaeger *Nachlass* in Houghton Library, Harvard University. They are all published here. Twenty-six letters (1911–1924) of Jaeger to Wilamowitz are in the Göttingen *Nachlass*. Seven of especial importance are fully published; others are summarized or cited in the commentary. The exchange is one of the few where both sides survive, and may be compared with the Mommsen and Usener letters. They reveal the genesis of two of Jaeger's greatest achievements, *Paideia* and the Gregory edition, the friendship of the two scholars, their reactions to World War I, Wilamowitz' critique of Mommsen, and his choice of successor. Indeed all the post–1914 documentation is valuable, for the *Erinnerungen* end at 1914. Occasional technical notes on Gregory or personal communications are retained rather than break the collection. Wilamowitz' encouragement of the deserving young is noteworthy. Eduard Fraenkel wrote to him at age nineteen,[21] Jaeger at age twenty-three.

I wish to express my gratitude to eight people who made publication possible. Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, the sole surviving child of Ulrich, has granted me permission to publish her father's letters. Mrs. Werner Jaeger has kindly done the same for her husband's. Mr. Rodney Dennis (Houghton Library) and Dr. K. Haenel (Göttingen Library) have granted their institutions' permission to publish and kindly allowed photocopies. Professor Albert Henrichs performed the onerous task of first transcribing the Wilamowitz letters. Jaeger himself had difficulty reading them.[22] His expert help and keen encouragement deserve special praise. His exegetical notes are identified throughout. Dr. Wolfgang Buchwald, who knows Wilamowitz' handwriting better than anyone, controlled the transcriptions and solved numerous *cruces*. His valuable exegetical notes are identified. Professor Ernst Badian and Mrs. Werner Jaeger have beneficially read my manuscript. Finally, Mrs. Luzie Mason has carefully transcribed the Jaeger letters, written in a large Gothic hand.

I have edited the documents in chronological order. The cards are

[20] The parallel would have struck Jaeger. Both pupils were c. forty years younger than their masters, both later their colleagues. Karl Marx chose Epicurus for his dissertation; for Marx felt toward Hegel as he thought Epicurus had toward Aristotle: see David McLellan, *Karl Marx: his Life and Thought* (London 1973) 35.

[21] *HSCP* 81 (1977) 278.

[22] "Wenn ich Ihre Schriftzüge richtig deute . . . " (September 22, 1920).

regularly dated by postmark, in which cases the date is bracketed. I have retained the orthography and punctuation of the originals. The intent of my commentary is to make the documents intelligible to the learned reader without frequent recourse to other volumes.

## The Letters

1. 21 IX [1913?][23]

Sehr geehrter Herr College

Norden[24] legt mir die beiliegenden 3 kleinen Gregorbriefe vor, die Pasquali als eine (sehr wenig zureichende) Probe seiner Ausgabe eingesandt hat; ich sollte sie ansehen und Sie auch. Ich habe vielerlei, für die par[25] Zeilen viel, notirt: entsetzt über die Notirung von ν εφελκ und die zwecklosen Zutaten, auch sonst wenig erbaut. Er bittet alles mit Ihren Bemerkungen nach Friedrichsroda bei Prof. Cichorius,[26] wo er vom 23–28 Sept. sein würde; später in seinem Hause erreichbar.

Diesen Text zu machen muss ein Spass sein, leicht und ergötzlich. Aber Pasquali scheint wenig Spass daran zu haben.

Mit ergebenstem Grusse

Ihr

UWilamowitz

2. 8 X [1913?][27]

Sehr geehrter Herr College

Pasquali wünscht, dass Norden und Sie diese weitere Probe noch mitansehen; Norden kommt erst am 19. zurück.[28] Ich habe das was mir

[23] Presumably 1913. Composition began before World War I. Pasquali read first proof in August 1914. He has sent Wilamowitz an early manuscript draft: see G. Pasquali, *Gregorii Nysseni Epistulae*[2] (Leiden 1959) lxxxix (A. Henrichs). Giorgio Pasquali (1885–1952): see *Per Giorgio Pasquali: Studie e Testimonianze*, ed. L. F. Caretti (Pisa 1972) esp. 16–17, 142–144 (E. Christian Kopff). Wilamowitz by 1931 thought little of him: see *HSCP* 81 (1977) 292–293 with nn.108, 109.

[24] Eduard Norden (1868–1941), Wilamowitz' younger Latin colleague: see F. W. Lenz, "Erinnerungen an Eduard Norden." *AuA* 7 (1958) 159–171 = *Opuscula Selecta*, ed. F. M. Ahl (Amsterdam 1972) 214–226, cf. 251–260 and Jaeger, *Essays* 62–65.

[25] Wilamowitz often prefers the archaic spelling.

[26] Conrad Cichorius, the Breslau and Bonn Latinist. Probably Wilamowitz ironically writes "Prof." because Pasquali had.

[27] The letter clearly follows no. 3 ("diese weitere Probe"). The tone is impatient, almost irritable. For Pasquali on Wilamowitz see Jaeger, *SM* II 132.

[28] In time for winter semester. Wilamowitz, therefore, sends the letters to Jaeger, who will direct them to Norden.

auffiel auf beiliegendem Blatte notirt; es ist nicht viel, und ich habe nichts dagegen, dass P. so die Edition macht. Ich sehe freilich, dass eine Durchsicht notwendig ist, und da er sich in einem Briefe an mich ziemlich widerborstig zeigt, wird es notwendig sein, dass ich auch das noch auf mich nehme.

Ich glaube, Sie können mit diesen 4 Briefen kurzen Prozess machen, IX überschlagen.

Mit allen guten Wünschen
Ihr
UWilamowitz

3. [XII 13/I 14][29]

Sehr geehrter Herr College

Eine Überraschung ist mir ja die Kunde Ihrer Verlobung nicht; aber sie ist doch nun erst am Tageshimmel erschienen, und so wünsche ich Ihnen zugleich für meine Frau all das Gute, was eine solche Kunde in sich schliessen mag. Weils doch ein unsicherer Wechsel auf die Zukunft ist, den Sie ziehen, brauchen Sie der guten Wünsche mehr. Aber zur Zeit unserer Grossväter, die besser war als das Heute,[30] zog man mit leichtem Herzen solche Wechsel, und es ist ihnen auch gut bekommen. Also wollen wir uns des Heute, wie es ist, freuen, und das Morgen soll halten, was es schuldig ist — oder das Übermorgen; es schadet nicht.

In aufrichtiger Ergebenheit
Ihr
UWilamowitz

4. 10 I 14

Lieber Herr College

es war ein übler Zufall, dass ich fort sein musste, als Sie mir Ihr Buch[31] brachten, das nun einen sehr viel einheitlicheren Eindruck macht als im Manuscript — vielleicht nur, weil man leichter vor und zurückblickt. Ich freue mich an der Jugendlichkeit, die Ihnen erlaubt immer auf das Ganze zu weisen, das Sie als Vollbild in der Seele

[29] Jaeger is habilitated (inaugural lecture: June 14, 1913). Wilamowitz acknowledges receipt of the announcement of engagement. The letter of January 10, 1914 (= no. 4), refers to *Ihrer Frl. Braut.* sc. not yet married. I date the letter December 1913 or early January 1914. *Unsicherer Wechsel* means "an uncovered check."

[30] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.45–48.

[31] W. Jaeger, *Nemesios von Emesa: Quellenforschungen zum Neuplatonismus und seinen Anfängen bei Poseidonios* (Berlin 1914): cf. K. Reinhardt, *RE* 43 (1953) 607.23ff (A. Henrichs) and Paul Shorey, *CP* 10 (1915) 483–486. This was his *Habilitationsschrift.*

tragen;[32] ärgern Sie sich nicht, wenn die Philister und alle die sich vor dem Ganzen scheuen, daran Anstoss nehmen werden.

Ich habe das Buch von Gronau[33] durchgesehen, das sehr gut zu Ihnen passt. Indem Sie auf den Genesiscommentar des Origenes weisen, geben Sie eine annehmbare Möglichkeit für die Bewertung der poseidonischen Gedankenreihen. Es ist so sehr befremdlich dass sein Commentar keine Spuren bei Proklos hinterlassen hat, also auch von Porphyrios nicht benutzt war. Das wird einigermassen begreiflich, wenn Origenes den Christen alles vermittelt. Denn Hippolytos war doch wohl zu dumm.

Dass Poseidonios ganz verschwunden ist, hat für vieles der Atticismus verschuldet; dazu aber das noch sehr ungeklärte Schicksal der Stoa.[34] Indem diese dem archaistischen Zuge folgend Chrysipp vorholt (den schon Epiktet interpostirt, *nicht* die Mittelstoa), gibt sie ihn auf, aber warum geht sie selbst im 3. Jahrh. ganz unter?

Pasquali werden Sie ohne Freude gesehen haben. Er ist selbst dieser kinderleichten Aufgabe nicht gewachsen.[35]

Mit der Bitte mich Ihrer Frl. Braut zu empfehlen und den schönsten Wünschen für Ihre Gegenwart und Zukunft

Ihr sehr ergebener

UWilamowitz

5. 19 V [1915][36]

Lieber Herr College

Hier haben Sie ein Gutachten über Meister;[37] Norden wird es

[32] Cf. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Theodor Mommsen. Warum hat er den vierten Band der römischen Geschichte nicht geschrieben?" *Internationale Monatsschrift* 12 (1918) 220 = *KS* 6.39: "Was er über die Kaisergeschichte zu sagen wusste, was er allein sagen konnte, das steht in der Fülle seiner Werke: da sollen wir es suchen. Finden werden wir es, wenn wir in die Einzeluntersuchungen über die verschiedensten Dinge tief genug eindringen, um des Vollbildes gewahr zu werden, das der in der Seele haben musste, der alle diese Einzelheiten immer als Teile eines Ganzen zu behandeln wusste" (A. Henrichs).

[33] Karl Gronau, *Poseidonios und die jüdisch-christliche Genesisexegese* (Berlin/Leipzig 1914) (A. Henrichs): see R. M. Jones, *CP* 12 (1917) 107–110. Gronau reviewed Jaeger at *BPhW* 35 (1915) 129–144.

[34] On the fate of the Stoa see Wilamowitz, "Die griechische Literatur des Altertums," in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* 1.8[3] (Leipzig/Berlin 1912) 312 (A. Henrichs).

[35] Wilamowitz refers to Pasquali's first attempts with Gregory's *Epistulae*.

[36] Jaeger's promotion to Kiel in 1915 provides the missing year. This letter was sent to Basel, where Pfuhl was his colleague (A. Henrichs). The subject is Jaeger's successor.

[37] Karl Meister (1880–1963): see V. Pöschl, *Jahrbuch 1963/64*, Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (1965) 49–50.

ergänzen. Hoffentlich tut es gute Dienste: dass an eine solche O (double zéro) wie Mess[38] gedacht werden kann, ist ein Skandal: das können Sie auch als meine Meinung sagen. Ich bin durch Noack[39] auch über die Lehrtätigkeit dieses Herrn informiert. Ich wünsche in der Tat dem trefflichen Meister die Befreiung — obwohl es für uns eine Calamität wird. Natürlich liegt mir auch Friedländer[40] auf dem Herzen.

Danken Sie, bitte, Pfuhl[41] mit schönem Grusse für seinen Brief und bestellen Sie auch Frau Pfuhl unsere Grüsse.

Ihnen aber sage ich für Ihre herzlichen Worte warmen Dank. Das sind im Grunde Dinge von denen man keine Worte macht noch machen soll. Das werden Sie wissen, dass ich herzlich Freude an Ihrem Aufsteigen habe und Ihnen gern auch aus der Ferne nahe stehe. Sie haben schon manche Sorge durchgemacht;[42] jetzt leuchtet mal die Sonne hell, und sie wird das weiter tun: dass Sie's ertragen, dazu wird die Zeit der Sorge auch das ihre beitragen. Sie haben hoffentlich nicht allzukurze Zeit der ruhigen Sammlung und des expansiven[43] Lernens durch die Vorlesungen. Es ist die Zeit, wo in Wahrheit die Blüten schon ansetzen; man weiss es oft selbst nicht; aber Jahrzehnte später merkt mans.

[38] *Nomen omen.* Adolf von Mess, a.o. professor at Tübingen, "Gräzist vor allem mit Aristot. Ath. Pol. beschäftigt (*RhM* 66 [1911] 356ff) und mit Fragen der griech. Biographie (*RhM* 70 [1915] 337ff; 71 [1916] 79ff)" (W. Buchwald). On these last two articles see Albrecht Dihle, "Studien zur griechischen Biographie," *Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen philol.-hist. Klasse* 3.37 (1956) 9 n.1, esp. "Diese sehr klugen Darlegungen." Mess also wrote "Caesar: Sein Leben, seine Zeit und seine Politik bis zur Begründung seiner Monarchie," *Das Erbe der Alten* 7 (Leipzig 1913). No more is heard of him.

[39] Ferdinand Noack (1865–1931), later (1916) ordinarius for archaeology at Berlin: see F. Matz, *Gnomon* 7 (1931) 670–672. Noack in 1915 was Mess' colleague and reported directly to Wilamowitz, his friend and former Göttingen teacher.

[40] Paul Friedländer (1882–1968), a doctoral student of Wilamowitz, who served as *Freiwilliger* in World War I and returned to an *Extraordinariat* at Berlin. In 1920 he became *Ordinarius* at Marburg: see W. Bühler, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 619–623.

[41] Ernst Pfuhl (1876–1940), since 1911 *Ordinarius* for archaeology at Basel and a former Wilamowitz student: see Karl Schefold, *Gnomon* 18 (1941) 47–48.

[42] Wilamowitz had arranged Jaeger's promotion, presumably aided by his student Felix Jacoby, since 1906 *Ordinarius* at Kiel. He destroyed Jaeger's letter of thanks ("Ihre herzlichen Worte"). "Manche Sorge" is exaggerated. Jaeger's career (doctorate at age twenty-three, *Ordinariat* at twenty-six, Kiel the next year) had been spectacular: see Schadewaldt, *HuH* II² 724.

[43] A. Henrichs recalls Schadewaldt, *Gedenkrede*, 78 = *HuH* II² 710.

Manchem sind das schwere Jahre, wie sie es mir waren:[44] mögen sie Ihnen sonnig und leicht sein.

Schöne Grüsse auch von meiner Frau und auch an die Ihre[45]

treulichst Ihr

UWilamowitz

6. 9 X [1915][46]

Lieber Herr College

ehe mich der Strudel der Geschäfte, die ich eigentlich verabscheue, erfasst, will ich Ihnen doch kurz für Ihren letzten Basler Brief danken. Ihr höchst erfreulicher Aufsatz über ἅρπαγμα gibt mir den Anstoss.[47] Ich verdiente sonst ein par letzte halkyonische Tage vor dem Sturm.[48]

Wendlands[49] Tod ist mir auch sehr nahe gegangen; man weiss wirklich nicht mehr, wie sich die Wissenschaft halten soll. Im Hermes ein Aufsatz wie der von Ziegler[50] — unerhört. Und des nichtigen und der nichtigen so sehr viel. Sie, die Generation der Zukunft, werden einen schweren Stand haben. Denn gewiss, die Fundamente aller Kultur sind erschüttert; E Meyer[51] denkt zuweilen, es wäre mit der europäischen Civilisation, mit der Herrschaft freier[52] Gedanken zu

[44] For Wilamowitz' difficulties at Greifswald see Ed. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften* I (Berlin 1938) 372.

[45] Jaeger married on March 28, 1914.

[46] Dated by Wendland's death September 10, 1915.

[47] Werner Jaeger, "Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie zum Philipperbrief," *Hermes* 50 (1915) 537–553 = *SM* I 163–179 (W. Buchwald).

[48] The *Rektorat*.

[49] Paul Wendland (1864–1915): see Max Pohlenz, "Paul Wendland," *Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum* 19 (1916) 57–75 (A. Henrichs).

[50] Konrat Ziegler (1884–1974): see L. Wickert, *Gnomon* 46 (1974) 636–640. The article is his "Das Genesiscitat in der Schrift *ΠΕΡΙ ΥΨΟΥΣ*," *Hermes* 50 (1915) 572–603, where Ziegler argued, after Portus, that *De Subl.* 9.9 was an interpolation: see Jaeger, *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (Oxford 1947) 214 n.58.

[51] Eduard Meyer (1855–1930), since 1902 the Berlin ancient historian, turned rabid chauvinist in 1914. He tore up his degrees from Chicago, Harvard, Oxford, Liverpool, and St. Andrews and wrote slanderous warbooks on England and North America: see Karl Christ, *Von Gibbon zu Rostovtzeff: Leben und Werk führender Althistoriker der Neuzeit* (Darmstadt 1974) 290–291. For Meyer's grotesque view of Woodrow Wilson see E. Fraenkel, "Das deutsche Wilsonbild," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 5 (1961) 100–101, a sober antidote to V. Ehrenberg.

[52] W. Buchwald compares Wilamowitz, "Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen," in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* 2.4.1[2] (Leipzig/Berlin 1923) 119: "Der Demos ist eben auch ein Tyrann, und wenn er die letzte Entscheidung hat, wird er auch — die Freiheit und den freien Gedanken wie der Tyrann ersticken, und nicht minder als ein bevorzugter Stand wird er die Individualität, die ihm zuwider ist, knicken oder brechen."

Ende. Wir Alten wissen ja, dass wir noch nicht einmal die neuen Ansätze erkennen werden, müssen aber alles tun, die Continuität,[53] so weit es irgend an geht, zu erhalten. Dazu sind wir noch da. Dass die, welche jetzt regieren, nicht das Zeug haben, wirklich zu führen, ist leider zutreffend. Aber in den Kreisen der Selbstverwaltung, auch derer, die grosse Organismen ausserhalb des Staates verwalten, sind doch die leistungsfähigsten Kräfte zu ziehen. Die Gefahr sehe ich jetzt und früher in den Mächten des Geldes: die Geldmacht, die hinter Industrie und Handel steht, ist etwas anderes als die Arbeit, die darin steckt.[54] Sie wird dem Staat ihre Rechnung praesentiren, und sie hat weder Ehre noch Gewissen — sie ist amerikanisch.[55]

Meine Tochter Hiller[56] arbeitet mit Hingebung und Erfolg für die Kriegerfrauen; die Erfahrungen sind sehr übel: Ansprüche, Betrügereien, Faulheit. Wie da wieder Zucht kommen soll, auch bei den Männern, sobald sie die Vorgesetzten los sind, ist nicht abzusehen. Und doch ist so viel Gehorsam in dem Volke, dass man nicht zu schwarz sehen darf. Das glaub' ich aber nicht, dass alle Kreise, zumal die Frauen, sehr viel mehr am πολιτεύεσθαι Teil nehmen müssen — wenn nur die Torheit zu beseitigen wäre, dass sie alle gleich den Staat regieren wollen, Politik treiben. Der Student ist schon nicht fähig, seine Selbstregierung zu üben, und da soll er im grössten Volksverbande mitraten.

Ich sehe ja nicht viel, aber die Gefahr des Katholicismus sehe ich; die wissen, wohin sie wollen, und ohne ihre Hilfe ginge ja nichts. Der wird Ihnen in Kiel fern liegen, aber von Hause werden Sie ihn kennen.[57] Was dort zu tun ist, ist gleich die Pflege der Beziehungen zu den Nordländern, Beseitigung der antidänischen Torheiten,[58] übrigens sicherlich auch Beziehungen zu Hamburg, wo Capelle[59] über ziemlich

[53] "Werner Jaegers grosse und ursprüngliche Begabung war der Sinn für Kontinuitäten." Schadewaldt, *HuH* II² 725; see further Jaeger, *Theology* 9. Jaeger knew the Wilamowitzian source: see *Die Antike* 8 (1932) 321: "Von Homer bis Nonnos sah Wilamowitz einen organischen Prozess der Sprach- und Kulturentwicklung, der in allen seinen Phasen zu erfassen war." The destruction of continuity in 1914–1918 caused Jaeger to learn its importance.

[54] Oddly Marxist.

[55] Contrast Goethe: "Amerika, Du hast es besser!" (*Xenien* 9).

[56] Dorothea Freifrau Hiller von Gaertringen, geb. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1879–1972).

[57] For Jaeger's protestant boyhood in Catholic Lobberich, A. Henrichs cites *Essays* 2ff.

[58] Wilamowitz knew how much Tycho owed Drachmann.

[59] Wilhelm Capelle (1871–1961), Ordinarius at Hamburg.

flaue Gesinnung klagt. Zur Zeit ist ja alles einerlei ausser dem ernst⟨e⟩-sten [?][60] Ziele, dem Siege.

Kehrhahns[61] Tod ist für mich persönlich schmerzlich; er begräbt meine Hoffnung für die Lyriker. Wegehaupts[62] Tod wird die Moralia Plutarchs zerstören. Wendlands Hippolyt ist fast fertig; es wird ihn hoffentlich Holl beenden.[63] Ihre Erasmiana,[64] mit denen wohl die Wilamowitz-Stiftung schliessen und anfangen wird, müssen auch bis zum Frieden schlafen. Und so tut es bald ziemlich alles. Aber wir lassen nicht vom Glauben, dass die lebendige Kraft in den Dingen steckt und sich selbst aufrüttelt. Und dann werden sich auch wieder kräftige neue Seelen finden, die neu anfangen, wo wirklich die Continuität abgebrochen ist. Und so können Sie, in Ihren Jahren, mit Ihren Kräften in dem Bewusstsein, wie verantwortungsvoll Ihre Aufgabe ist, doppelt das Gefühl haben in Werdelust schaffender Freude nah[65] zu sein.

Mit schönsten Grüssen
Ihr
UWilamowitz

6a. Kiel, den 24. VII. 17.
Adolfplatz 10

Eure Exzellenz! Hochverehrter Herr Geheimrat!
Seit lange[66] trage ich mich schon mit dem Wunsche herum, an Sie zu schreiben u. damit Zeugnis davon abzulegen, dass ich fortgesetzt in innerer Verbindung mit Ihnen u. Ihrem grossen, auch im Kriege bewundernswert fortschreitenden Lebenswerk stehe, auch wenn die Ungunst der Zeiten mir versagt, Sie einmal wieder in Ihrem Heim in Westend aufzusuchen. Ich gestehe, ich habe mehr als einmal Verlangen nach einer erfrischenden Unterhaltung mit Ihnen gehabt, aber zu

[60] Thus W. Buchwald.

[61] Traugott Kehrhahn, "who wrote i.a. 'Anakrontea,' *Hermes* 49 (1914) 481–507" (A. Henrichs). I have found no necrology.

[62] H. Wegehaupt: see *Erinnerungen*[2] 266: "Der treffliche und allgemein geliebte Mann, mir ein besonders werter Schüler, hat 1914 sein Leben in tapferstem Kampfe für das Vaterland hingegeben." *Plutarchi Moralia I* completed by Max Pohlenz appeared in Teubner, Leipzig, 1925.

[63] K. Holl: see *Erinnerungen*[2] 205: "Meinen Kollegen Holl . . . , einen von denen, die zu überleben ich als ungerecht halte."

[64] For Jaeger on Erasmus see *SM* II 64–74, 125–130. The reference must be to a larger project never fulfilled.

[65] Wolfgang Buchwald compares Goethe, *Faust* 1.789–790: " . . . in Werdelust / schaffender Freude nah."

[66] Surely letters on both sides have been lost since no. 6, almost two years before.

schriftlicher Äusserung schwang ich mich umso schwerer auf, je tiefer ich empfinde, was alles zu sagen u. zu fragen wäre. Von Woche zu Woche reisst dieser Krieg tiefer die Fundamente auf,[67] darauf das Leben bisher gebaut war, u. je prinzipieller u. quälender ich persönlich als junger Mensch die Probleme durchleben u. -kämpfen muss, je weniger ich irgendwo Festes um mich u. in mir gewahr werde, desto mehr verfalle ich dem Schweigen. Der Zweifel an allem, mir von Hause aus inwohnend, ist zeitweise so stark über die vor einigen Jahren zu schüchternen Flugversuchen ansetzende Schwungkraft Herr geworden, dass selbst die philologische Arbeit in Mitleidenschaft geriet.

Wenn ich hoffen darf, des inneren Widerstreits einmal glücklich mich entledigen durch eine feste Stellungnahme in der Welt, zu der ich mich durcharbeite, dann hoffe ich auch, in diesen Jahren des inneren Krieges u. des endlosen Lernens u. Belehrtwerdens etwas Nützliches erlebt zu haben. Geradezu endlos ist tatsächlich die Reihe neuer Einsichten, die das Einarbeiten in die akad. Lehrtätigkeit mir verschafft. Im verflossenen Semester las ich attische Literatur, nächstes Semester soll es Homer sein. Die Literaturgeschichte habe ich von Solon glücklich bis zum Ende des Reiches,[68] Aristophanes noch mit, aber unter Ausschluss der Prosaanfänge, soweit sie nicht für die Tragödie wichtig sind (Eurip. Agathon) — herabgeführt, natürlich alles frisch von neuem lesend u. durchdenkend, ohne zuviel gelehrte Literatur, und so habe ich mir zum ersten Mal versucht von der Kunst der Hauptindividuen u. ihrem Fortgang einen möglichst intensiven u. vollständigen Begriff zu bilden, also einmal im Sinne einer möglichst strengdurchdachten Form- u. Stilgeschichte, dann aber auch als Geistesgeschichte, richtiger: Geschichte der allmählichen Bereicherung u. Wandlung der seelischen Substanz.[69] Für letzteres ist noch viel zu wenig geschehen. Eine Gestalt wie Solon muss z. B. unbedingt vom Gesichtspunkt des attischen Geisteslebens aus erfasst werden, scheint mir, wenn man seiner histor. Bedeutung für die Literatur gerecht werden will:[70] die Formgeschichte kennt ihn nur als Grösse so u. sovielten Grades. Gerade von dem inneren, seelengeschichtlichen Zentrum her gesehen, glaube ich, tritt das eigtl. autochthon Attische so recht deutlich ans Licht. Genauso

[67] Here amid the tearing apart of his world Jaeger discovers the fundamental importance of continuity.

[68] W. Buchwald remarks: "So spricht der Wil. Schüler: vgl. *Aus Kydathen* (1880) 5 n.5, *Erinnerungen*[2] 192 n.1." I should note *Essays* 51–52.

[69] Here we see the beginning of *Paideia*.

[70] See "Solons Eunomie," *Sitz. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Klasse* XI (Berlin 1926) 69–85 = *SM* I 315–337 = *Essays* 75–99.

übrigens Sokrates, den die Philosophen in die eherne Kette der metaphysischen Schulsysteme als homogenes Glied einzuschalten pflegen. Und nicht am wenigsten der Grosse, Platon. Dass Sie an einem grossen Buch über ihn schreiben,[71] ist inzwischen auch an mein Ohr gedrungen: ich brauche nicht zu sagen, in was für Erwartungen ich schwebe. Erst wenn es vorliegt, will ich mein erstes Platokolleg lesen, u. werde also wohl auch Frl. Sachs' ungewöhnlich selbstständiges u. kluges Buch[72] sowie Hrn. Stenzel[73] bis dahin zurücklegen müssen. (Letzterer baut ja, wie er mir schrieb u. in dem beigedruckten Vortrag über den Phaidros sagt,[74] stark auf den Ideen über Plato auf, die ich gelegentlich meiner Metaphysikformuntersuchungen hingeworfen habe.) Frl. Sachs Pythagoreerhass hat nämlich so starke Konsequenzen, dass ich nicht wage an die Lektüre zu gehen, ohne die genügende Zeit zu eingehender Nachuntersuchung zur Verfügung zu haben. Einige Grundtatsachen der älteren Akademiegeschichte + Ansichten der ältesten Schüler Platos bleiben mir bisher noch unerklärt, wenn ich die aus flüchtiger Lektüre kennengelernten Thesen von Frl. S. über diesen Punkt annehme. Aber die Tendenz, die Einwirkung der Mathematik auf Platon zu erkennen, ist jedenfalls sehr fruchtbar.

Die eigene Produktion leidet schwer unter zwei Übelständen, vor allem unter dem seelischen Druck des Kriegserlebnisses u. der Unfähigkeit, mich zu sammeln, daneben aber auch unter dem Gefühl, die beiden dicken Bände Gregor im Pult liegen zu haben,[75] ohne dass die darinsteckende Arbeit Aussicht bietet, in absehbaren Jahren εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἄγεσθαι. Einiges Altchristliche fällt allerdings nebenher ab, so jetzt eine Diss.,[76] die ich angeregt habe: die Gestalt u. die Werke Severians von Gabala, des heissblütigen Gegners des Jo. Chrysost., aus den Spuria des Chrysost. wiedererstehen zu lassen, worunter viele Predigten des Severian verborgen liegen. Die Untersuchung ist hauptsächlich

[71] *Platon* 2 vols. (Berlin 1919).

[72] Eva Sachs, *Die fünf platonischen Körper: zur Geschichte der Mathematik und der Elementenlehre Platons und der Pythagoreer*, *PhilUnter* 24 (Berlin 1917), a Wilamowitz dissertation.

[73] Julius Stenzel (1883–1935): see W. Jaeger, *Gnomon* 12 (1936) 108–112 and remarks at *ICS* 2 (1977) 330–331. Stenzel became a friend of Jaeger and a frequent contributor to *Die Antike*.

[74] A reference to Julius Stenzel, *Studien zur Entwicklung der platonischen Dialektik von Sokrates zu Aristoteles*[3] (Darmstadt 1961) 123. The book was dedicated to Wilamowitz. Ten letters of Wilamowitz to him survive.

[75] For the great Gregory edition see *Essays* 167–171. Wilamowitz suggested it to Jaeger in 1911.

[76] W. Duerks, *De Seueriano Gabalitano* (Diss. Kiel 1917).

stilkritisch zu machen u. zeigt eine der des Chrys. diametral entgegengesetzte Individualität. Der betr. junge Mann hat tatsächlich einige bisher unerkannte Homilien des Sev. entdeckt u. streng als solche erwiesen. Ich selber habe hauptsächlich an den Tragikern gearbeitet u. Freude bekommen an dem Problem der Genesis des trag. Gehalts der Tragödie: wie wurde die Trag. tragisch? Dabei komme ich nicht vorbei an den Problemen der ἄτη, ἁμαρτία u. Verwandtem. Nach der jetzt geltenden Ableugnung jeder "Schuld" in dem bis vor kurzem üblichem philiströsen Sinne dieses Begriffs ist es wohl an der Zeit, die Verschuldung in Ethik u. Glauben u. im Recht d. Gr. auf breitester Basis neu zu untersuchen, namentlich den Zusammenhang von Schuld, Leid u. Verhängnis. Den aristot. ἁμάρτημα -Begriff finde ich auch noch reichlich unerforscht, obschon alle damit operieren, nicht weniger die ἄγνοια-Lehre. Aber auszugehen ist von Homer, Solon, u. den ältesten Quellen. Besonders wichtig scheint mir der Redner Antiphon, überhaupt die Sophistenzeit, für Euripides u. z. Tl. auch für Sophokles in dieser Hinsicht zu werden. Daneben habe ich mich mit der Andromache u. ihrem Problem (Chronologie & Aufführung) abgegeben und vielleicht einiges Brauchbare gefunden. Die Prometheusarbeiten habe ich seit damals, wo ich zuerst darüber zu Ihnen sprach, planmässig weitergeführt. Aber alles dies sind Gedanken, die ich jetzt keine Geduld habe wirklich auszuführen. Sie müssen auf bessere Zeiten warten, desgleichen meine "Akademiker."[77] Reinhards [*sic*] Misserfolg[78] mit dem grossen Parmenidesbuch lehrt doch wieder, dass man für solche grossen Aufgaben nicht nur Mut u. Gottvertrauen braucht, man kann dafür ruhig noch etwas Erfahrung sammeln u. reifer werden. Mir ist es nur selbst so wichtig gewesen, dass sich mir die Welt der Tragiker durch eigene Arbeit neu aufgeschlossen hat — discedunt moenia mundi[79] — dass ich es glaubte als einen grossen Gewinn buchen zu müssen. Dem etwas Fernerstehenden mag es den Anschein wecken, als habe ich sehr gefaulenzt. Vor allem habe ich begreifen gelernt, dass man vieles erkennen u. finden, aber weniges ausführen u. vor die Augen der Welt stellen kann. Grade diese Einsicht, so drückend sie zeitweilig wird, lässt einen zu innerer Entwicklung anderseits mehr Ruhe gewinnen.

[77] See *Essays* 35 = *SM* I xix.

[78] Karl Reinhardt, *Parmenides und die Geschichte der Philosophie* (Bonn 1916). Wilamowitz called Reinhardt "der stille Knabe" (Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff).

[79] Lucr. 3.16–17: *moenia mundi discedunt* (W. Buchwald). Jaeger cites the verse again in a similar context at *Essays* 26 = *SM* I.x.

Die Verhältnisse in der Fakultät hier lassen sehr zu wünschen übrig. Dies ist für mich, der zwischen Jacoby[80] + Bickel[81] als der gegebene Vermittler steht, häufig recht peinlich. Bickel gibt sich in letzter Zeit leider oft wirklich starke Blössen, indem er die allernotwendigsten Examensforderungen unterbietet u. damit die minderwertigen Studenten — die leider zahlreich sind — anzieht. Ich habe ihm wiederholt Vorhaltungen gemacht deswegen u. befürchte für die Zukunft noch manches Unangenehme davon. Mit Jacoby habe ich ein recht erfreuliches u. anregendes Verhältnis gewonnen. Dann ist hier Herr Prinz,[82] Schüler Ed. Meyers,[83] mehr Orientalist als Historiker der Griechen u. Römer bisher, aber ein recht frischer Mann, den ich im Lauf der Zeit noch ordentlich unter die Griechen bringen will. Leider haben diese jüngeren[84] Historiker keine Quellen mehr gelesen, nicht nur keine Dichter, sondern auch die Historiker u. Redner nicht wirklich gründlich. Philosophie, neuere Geschichte u. n. Philologie ist leider recht schwach hier vertreten, so dass wir mehr mit Juristen u. Nationalökonomen verkehren müssen.

Nun bitte ich Sie, lieber, hochverehrter Lehrer, recht um Entschuldigung, dass ich Ihre Zeit so lange mit nichtigen Einzelheiten von mir in Anspruch nehme. Empfangen Sie bitte diese Zeilen als Zeichen meiner herzlichen, unwandelbaren Dankesgesinnung gegen Sie u. Ihr Haus und als Ausdruck des Bedürfnisses, auch in dieser schweren Zeit mit Ihnen in Verbindung zu stehen, gleiches hoffend und ersehnend für das Land. Ich bitte mich und meine Frau Ihrer Frau Gemahlin empfehlen zu wollen und bin mit herzlichem Gruss

getreustens Ihr

Werner Jaeger

[80] Felix Jacoby (1879–1959): see W. Theiler, *Gnomon* 32 (1960) 387–391. Jaeger neither contributed nor subscribed to *Navicula Chiloniensis: Studia Philologa Felici Jacoby Professori Chiloniensi emerito octogenario oblata* (Leiden 1956).

[81] Ernst Bickel (1876–1961), later Bonn *ordinarius*, dedicated *Homer: Die Lösung der homerischen Frage* (Bonn 1949) to Werner Jaeger, "a swan among geese." He was *extraordinarius* for Latin at Kiel (1909–1921): see Hans Herter, *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 637–639, and H. Beumann, W. Schmid, H. Herter, R. Mehrlein, "In Memoriam Ernst Bickel," *Alma Mater: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Bonn* 12 (Bonn 1961) with portrait (E. Vogt).

[82] Hugo Prinz (1883–1934): see F. Volbehr, R. Weyl, R. Bülck, H.-J. Newiger, *Professoren und Dozenten der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel* (Kiel 1956) 159 no. 182 (E. Vogt).

[83] See n.51 above.

[84] Jaeger refers to the new generation of ancient historians.

7. 31 VII 17[85]

Lieber Herr College

es wäre freilich erspriesslicher, wenn wir unsere Unterhaltung mündlich führen könnten, aber ich habe doch auch an Ihrem Briefe meine Freude gehabt und danke, indem ich antworte — was mir schwer wird, den ich habe alle Correspondenz eingestellt, wie ich denn ziemlich Einsiedler bin.

Ich begreife vollkommen, das wer heute jung ist und zu Hause sitzen muss,[86] schon vor Ungeduld es kaum aushält. Denn vor ihm liegt eine Zukunft — oder besser, er muss sich oft fragen, ob das noch eine Zukunft wäre. Auf Momente kommt auch uns Alten der Gedanke, ob Deutschland nicht eine Episode der Weltgeschichte gewesen sein sollte, wenn die welche seine Geschicke bestimmen so vollkommen versagen. Aber dagegen hilft das Heer; das ist Deutschland, und da sitzen die Kräfte.[87] Auf die traue ich. Nur wer gehorchen gelernt hat, kann herrschen.[88] Und dann hat Platon recht, wenn er sich wundert, was ein Staat aushalten kann, ohne zu Grunde zu gehen.[89] Chaotisches wird folgen; wir Alten sterben drüber weg; aber hoffentlich mit der Zuversicht, dass das Vaterland lebendig bleibt.

Sie sind in der Zeit des unendlichen Lernens, wie es das Lehramt gibt, und dies ist doch an sich schön. Man weiss da gar nicht, wo und wann ein Keim in die Senke kommt, der später plötzlich hoch kommt.[90] Ich glaube wohl, dass die Aufregung von aussen dem hinderlicher ist, als wenn man sich an eine grosse ganze Arbeit setzt, wie ich es versuche.[91] Ob das Leben und die Kraft reicht, weiss ich nicht; immer häufiger kommen Zweifel. Sie wissen also, dass ich Platon den Menschen suche, nicht den Philosophen, wenn der in den paar Seiten Staat Theaetet Sophistes stecken soll, an die man sich jetzt hält, eigentlich auch Eva Sachs,[92] mit der ich mich, wie auch mit Frl. Reinhard,[93]

[85] Wilamowitz' reply to no. 6a.

[86] Frail health kept Jaeger from the armed services (J. H. Finley).

[87] See *Reden u. Vorträge* II[4] (Berlin 1926) 56ff, 73 (W. Buchwald).

[88] ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι (Solon *ap.* D. L. 1.60).

[89] E.g., *Rep.* 6.497d8.

[90] Mark 4.1ff; cf. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *In wieweit befriedigen die Schlüsse der erhaltenen griechischen Trauerspiele? Ein ästhetischer Versuch*, ed. William M. Calder III (Leiden 1974) 25–26 (henceforth: *Trauerspiele*).

[91] *Sc.* the composition of *Platon*.

[92] A brilliant Jewess, Assistentin to Wilamowitz, she helped much for *Platon* (see *Platon* I[2] v). She was in love with Wilamowitz. Forbidden by Marie Mommsen to enter the house, she dared not even dedicate her book to him, as male students did. "Zu eigen ist dieses Buch, auch ohne Widmung, meinen Lehrer Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff" (*Körper* viii). She was ugly and

förderlich bespreche. Die letztere hat das Sprachgefühl, auf das ich nun einmal besonderen Wert lege. Pythagoras und Pythagoreer sind ein Gebiet, das erst noch zu erobern ist; es geht schon, aber jetzt liegt ein Bann darauf. Ich glaube nicht, dass echte Wissenschaft bei ihnen steckt, aber eine ἀγωγή und ein Glaube.

Es trifft zu, was Sie sagen, dass die Wandlung der attischen Psyche von Solon bis Menander verfolgt werden sollten [*sic*], also der innere Stilwandel. Geistesgeschichte. Ich durfte darauf in der Skizze der Litt. Gesch.[94] nicht eingehen, weil die Philosophie abgetrennt war. Es geht aber nur, wenn man die bildende Kunst stark hinzunimmt, in der die Continuität[95] sich sehr viel reicher verfolgen lässt. Wir sind ja gezwungen von Solon zu Aischylos zu springen.

Ihr Gregor kann, sobald wieder Bücher erscheinen können, sofort ans Licht kommen; dazu ist das Geld noch da.[96] Es freut mich, dass Sie mit Jacoby auskommen, dessen Entwickelung ungünstig ist, aber er hat doch Kenntnisse. Bickel beurteilte ich früher günstiger; jetzt gebe ich ihn auf. Diese Philologie ist wirklich in cadente domo.

Ich gehe im September zu Vorträgen für die Akademiker an die makedonische Front, Prilep.[97] Es soll sehr anstrengend sein, aber ich denke, ich halte es aus, und die Strapatze[98] reizt mich, nicht die Vorträge. Sie soll mich von der Müdigkeit erlösen, denn mit Müssiggang auszuspannen verstehe ich nicht. Die Änderung der Ferien und des Semesters ist nicht bloss unbequem; ich fürchte, das Ende wird eine Beschneidung der Arbeitszeit, die zu der Herabdrückung der

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went mad, ending in an insane asylum, speaking ancient Greek and believing "she could save Sokrates if she got there in time." I owe this information to her cousin, Professor Vera Lachmann.

[93] "Fräulein Luise Reinhard, vornehmlich an der platonische Sprache interessiert, hat mir auf diesem Gebiete mit ihrer Kritik beigestanden und mit hingebender Selbstverleugnung die Last der Korrekturen mitgetragen" (*Platon* I[2] v). Her dissertation was *Observationes criticae in Platonem* (Diss. Berlin 1916). She wrote also *Die Anakoluthe bei Platon*, *PhilolUnter* 25 (Berlin 1926).

[94] Wilamowitz (above, n.34) I 8[3] 1–318.

[95] See n.53 above.

[96] Wilamowitz thinks of the sixtieth Birthday Fund of 1908.

[97] Where he celebrated (September 9, 1917) the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from Schulpforte: see *Trauerspiele* 156 with n.10. For the *Vortragskurse in Mazedonien* see *Bibliographie* no. 556, and *Erinnerungen*[2] 276–278. In Bulgaria he rode a horse for the last time: *Erinnerungen*[2] 59. By October 2, 1917, he had returned to Berlin and delivered the Seventieth Birthday Speech in the Philharmonie for Hindenburg: see *Bibliographie* n. 555.

[98] "Ältere dt. Orthogr., zur Wiedergabe des italien. strapazzare" (W. Buchwald).

Universitäten passt, die ich für unvermeidlich halte, nicht an sich, aber unter unserem Regimente.

Nun leben Sie wohl und seien Sie wenigstens zuversichtlich: denn das muss die Jugend sein, damit wir eine Zukunft haben.

Mit allen guten Wünschen
Ihr ganz ergebener
UWilamowitz

8. [XII 17][99]

Lieber Herr College

wie verdriesst es mich, dass ich keinen Abzug meines Mommsen Artikels aus der Internationalen Monatsschrift habe; ich habe viel zu wenig besorgt. Es schickte sich, dass ich damit auf den Ihren[100] antwortete, der mich sehr interessiert. Ich glaube, Sie legen der politischen Stellung Mommsens viel zu viel Gewicht bei.[101] Natürlich hat er die Stimmung des 48ers bewahrt, wie er immer die Formen seiner Jugendverse[102] beibehielt. Er war für alle wirtschaftlichen und eigentlich auch alle sozialen Dinge unempfänglich, hatte nur ein altes Credo. In der Praxis verleugnete er die Caesarnatur[103] nicht, ging sehr ungern andere als Umwege, kannte keine Achtung vor dem Gesetze und respectirte die Personen nicht. Er octroyirte gern, nicht so brutal wie Virchow, aber er tat es.[104] Das contrastirt mit dem 'Juristen', der er immer gewesen ist; aber das Leben lehrt uns, dass dieser Contrast nicht mal selten ist.[105]

[99] The content proves that this letter precedes no. 8a, dated December 9, 1917. The commemorative address (see n.106 below) was held at the Institute on November 30, 1917. For a bibliography of Wilamowitz' published views on Mommsen see *KS* 6.382 *ad* pp. 11ff, and n.110 below.

[100] That is, "your article in the *Tag*": see n.111 below.

[101] Not dissimilar is the view of A. Heuss (below, n.110) 220–224.

[102] W. Buchwald cites Lothar Wickert, *Theodor Mommsen* I (Frankfurt/Main 1959) 199ff, esp. 246ff.

[103] In his politics at least Heuss denies the *Caesarnatur;* see Heuss (below, n.110) 281. W. Buchwald observes: "'Ging sehr ungern andere als Umwege': dass passt aber kaum zu der 'Caesarnatur.' Sollte Wilamowitz durch die doppelte Verneinung einen Fehler begangen haben, statt 'ging sehr ungern Umwege'? Vgl. zu solchen Irrtümern z.B. Hofmann-Szantyr, *Lat. Syntax u. Stilistik* (1965) 806 Absatz B. Aber der Caesar *vor* dem Jahre 49 ging wirklich gern Umwege."

[104] "He liked laying down the law, not so brutally as Virchow, but he did it." Cf. *Erinnerungen*[2] 187.

[105] Wilamowitz is blunt in a letter to one whom he trusted. A public commemorative address to students was something else. Schwester Hildegard recalls her father saying: "I could not say everything about Mommsen in the

Meine Ansprache im Institut sollen Sie aber bekommen.[106]

Ihre Aristotelesconjecturen[107] habe ich zwar nur zum Teil mit dem Texte nachgelesen, und erst dann kann man urteilen; aber was ich gesehen habe, hat mich ganz überaus gefreut. Und eine rechte Textkritik[108] ist doch für mich ziemlich das reizvollste "man sieht doch, wo und wie."[109]

Mit schönsten Grüssen εὖ πράττειν
Ihr
UWilamowitz

8a. Kiel, d. 9. 12. 17.
Adolfplatz 10

Ew. Exzellenz!
Lieber, hochverehrter Herr Geheimrat!
Wider Erwarten, doch zu meiner grössten Freude traf heute doch noch ein Abzug Ihres Artikels[110] in der Intern. Mon. hier ein. Nehmen Sie

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*Erinnerungen;* for his children are still alive." Jaeger writes (*SM* II 145): "Wilamowitz hat wohl zu Freunden geklagt, dass Mommsens Herz ihm entfremdet sei. Mommsen wandte sich bewundernd dem aufsteigenden Stern Adolf Harnacks zu, vielleicht gebietet die Gerechtigkeit zu sagen, dass auch abgesehen von dem persönlich Bestrickenden an Harnack dessen wissenschaftlicher Typus Mommsen mehr lag als der Wilamowitzsche. Die Schule Mommsens hat Wilamowitz niemals als einen der ihrigen betrachtet, doch auch Mommsen selbst muss Wilamowitz' wissenschaftichen Bestrebungen in dieser Zeit weniger Anerkennung entgegengebracht haben, als dieser zu verdienen glaubte. Wilamowitz hat in der Vorlesung später das Lob Mommsens erheblich eingeschränkt und es im engeren Kreise gelegentlich als eine Pflicht des künftigen Biographen bezeichnet, offen auszusprechen, dass der Heros der Altertumsforschung in seinem höheren Alter durch seinen Eigenwillen den Fortschritt der Wissenschaft mitunter gehemmt hat." In his 1940 Wilamowitz lecture Jaeger observed: "Mommsen preferred Harnack. Harnack and Wilamowitz, competing for Mommsen's favor, never liked each other" (S. Dow). This letter does not surprise me.

[106] *Sokrates* 6 (1918) 1–10 = *KS* 6.18–28.

[107] Wilamowitz refers to *Hermes* 52 (1917) 481–519 = *SM* I 213–251.

[108] W. Buchwald compares *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921) ix.

[109] W. Buchwald cites Goethe, *Faust* 1.2036–2037:

Schüler: Das sieht schon besser aus!
Man sieht doch, wo und wie.

[110] Offprints used to be called "preprints." Jaeger has received "Theodor Mommsen: Warum hat er den vierten Band der Römischen Geschichte nicht geschrieben?" *Internat. Monatsschrift* 12 (1918) 205–220 = *KS* 6.29–39. For the history of the problem see A. Heuss, *Theodor Mommsen und das 19. Jahrhundert* (Kiel 1956) 253–256.

für die Zusendung sowie für Ihre gütigen Zeilen meinen herzlichen Dank.

Es war mir bewusst, als ich den Aufsatz[111] an den "Tag" schickte, wie kühn es von mir wäre, über Mommsen zu sprechen. Hinterher habe ich das Gefühl gehabt, wie schon öfter, wenn ich solche allgemeineren Fragen öffentlich aufnahm, als hätte unbemerkt in mir der Trieb der eignen Beschäftigung mit dem Gegenstand, und der Selbstklärung, über die Hemmungen des wissenschaftlichen Verantwortungsbewusstseins gesiegt. Sonst hätte ich mich nicht herangetraut. Aber ich habe wirklich gelernt, u. der eigne Artikel ist mir schon darum nicht leid, weil er mir den Ihrigen als ἀντίδοσις (oder ἀντίδοτον?) eingetragen hat. Neben Ihrem lebensvollen Versuch, der an einer Einzelfrage[112] den Gesamtcharakter realistisch und mitreissend schildert, bin ich mir erst zu meiner Beschämung bewusst geworden, dass es kein πάρεργον sei, eine wissenschaftliche Gestalt wie Mommsen als Ganzes zu erfassen. Leider versagen die literarischen Hilfsmittel bisher noch ganz, wenn auch eine Biographie[113] vielleicht noch verfrüht wäre. So konnte ich nur auf den τύπος ausgehen. Hier im Seminar habe ich den Studenten eine Ansprache gehalten u. ein Bild von Mommsen aufgehängt. Dabei merkte ich, dass es den Studenten neu war, wie ein Historiker soviel philologische 'Interessen' haben könne. Nachdem die Epigraphiker Mommsenscher Schule ganz in Editionen u. Textarbeit aufgegangen waren, machen die Ed. Meyer-Schüler nun wieder 'grosse Geschichtswissenschaft' ohne Philologie. Vielleicht wirkt es günstig, wenn die Erlasse für die Staatsprüfung den 'Althistorikern' das Griechische ganz erlassen, so dass nur noch Altphilologen für alte Geschichte in Betracht kommen.

Ihre Worte über meine Textkritik[114] waren mir eine starke Ermunterung, die einem in der philologischen Einöde hier doppelt erfrischend ist. Niemals soll es mir leidtun, Jahre auf diese Art der Forschung zu wenden. Eine gute Interpretation u. Emendation ist mir künstlerisch und methodisch einfach höchstes Bedürfnis,[115] Philologie ist Intensitäts-

[111] Mommsen's hundredth birthday was widely celebrated. Jaeger had contributed an article to the popular press. It is not listed in any of his three published bibliographies.

[112] *Sc.* why hadn't Mommsen written his fourth volume?

[113] See now Lothar Wickert, *Theodor Mommsen: Eine Biographie*, 3 vols. (Frankfurt/Main 1959, 1964, 1969) with the critical review of A. Heuss, *Gnomon* 43 (1971) 772–801.

[114] Cf n.107 above.

[115] An echo of Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* I (Berlin 1893) vi: "Denn die schönste aufgabe der philologie ist das interpretieren. ein document voll verstanden ist mehr wert als alle aperçus und alle stoffsammlungen."

wissenschaft. Leider hält Intensität nur so sehr auf, daher die Einseitigkeit. Ich hoffe aber in absehbarer Zeit mit diesen Studien Schluss zu machen. Augenblicklich interpretiere ich im Kolleg die Patroklie der Ilias und lese Ihr Homerbuch[116] dabei von Stunde zu Stunde in zweiter u. dritter Lesung u. mit stets steigender wissenschaftlicher u. menschlicher Genugtuung. Wie einfach wirkt Bethe,[117] wenn man zu lesen beginnt, aber leider, *zu* einfach, weil ohne Stilgefühl. Sein 'Erbauer' der Ilias ist doch gar zu buntscheckig in seinen Stilen.

Mit nochmaligem, herzlichstem Dank und Gruss bin ich
Ihr getreulich ergebener
W. Jaeger

9. 26 XI 18[118]

Hochgeehrter Herr College

Ihr Brief war mir und nicht nur mir durch die Wahrheit der Schilderung ein Dokument von höchstem Werte. Ich habe nicht früher

[116] Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916).

[117] Erich Bethe (1863–1940), an early and devoted Wilamowitz pupil: see Otto Kern, *Gnomon* 17 (1941) 142–144.

[118] On November 4, 1918, Jaeger writes to Wilamowitz an eyewitness account of the *Novemberrevolution* of the day before at Kiel, which would topple the Emperor a week later: see A. J. Ryder, *The German Revolution of 1918* (Cambridge 1967). He concludes: "Die Zukunft ist dunkel. Ich bin in meiner Meinung bestärkt: Schluss, sofortigen Schluss! Die österreich. Kapitulation gibt uns den Rest." On November 6 in the Hochschule für Musik, Charlottenburg, Wilamowitz delivered a roaring speech reported in *Tägliche Rundschau* 571 (November 7, 1918) 3 col. 1: "Die erste Rede hielt Geheimrat Dr. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf [*sic*], der unsere Lage behandelte. "Volk in Not" heisst es jetzt. Wir sind bereit, jede Regierung zu unterstützen, so sie nur nicht Bedingungen eingeht, die gegen unsere nationale Ehre verstossen. Sonst wollen wir verzweifelten Widerstand leisten und besonders nicht zugeben, dass die Feinde in die Grenzen unserer Heimat dringen. Die Ostmark darf nicht weg von uns! Der Entschluss eines grossen Volkes, sein Letztes zu wagen, hat auch beim Feinde immer noch tiefen Eindruck gemacht. Dem Mutigen gehört die Zukunft! Wir wollen alle Frieden — aber keine Schande! (Stürmischer Beifall)" See *Bibliographie* no 579. I owe Professor Dr. Joachim Wohlleben (F.U. Berlin) the citation. The next day the Kaiser fell. Wilamowitz could never accept what he thought a betrayal. The first sentence of *Erinnerungen*[2] (11), written a decade later, is: "Über meine Kindheit wäre wenig zu sagen, wenn ich nicht von meiner Heimat sprechen wollte, die durch die Schuld der Deutschen, schliesslich den schmählichen Verrat der Novembermänner preisgegeben ist." He could not bear to extend his memoirs beyond 1914. His son had fallen in vain. On November 26 he writes Jaeger in Kiel.

gedankt, weil ich der ungeöffneten Zustellung durch die Post nicht traute,[119] und dazu konnte es für Sie peinliche Folgen haben.

Hier haben wir bisher persönlich nicht zu leiden gehabt; aber die Lage gilt dauernd für sehr bedenklich; wenn Kohlen und Nahrungsmittel versagen, ist Plünderung zu erwarten. In unserem Vorort versuchen wir die Soldaten zum Schutze zu bestechen, oder zu bezahlen, wie man's nimmt. Die Akademie ist von der Bande am ersten Tage gestürmt und so grässlich verwüstet, dass wir noch gar nicht in ihr tagen können. In der Studentenschaft machen sich die Bolschewisten, Juden, besonders österreichische, an der Spitze, sehr fühlbar. Spitzel controlliren die Vorlesungen.[120] Übrigens sind auch die A. O. Prof. und Privatdozenten sofort auf dem Plan erschienen und fordern wie die Arbeiter.[121] In ihren Kreisen waren die üblen Elemente immer oben an. Was sich an Charakterlosigkeit und Feigheit bei den Collegen zeigt, ist entsetzlich. 1806.[122]

Diels[123] hält sich vornehm aufrecht, imponierend, da seine Frau der Lage hilflos gegenübersteht, und nur wer beständig mit allen Mitteln darauf aus ist, hat zu essen. Norden[124] leidet auch, aber auch er steht aufrecht.

Band I meines Platon ist fertig; II zur Hälfte, noch geht der Druck. Ich flüchte mich in die reinen Höhen der Wissenschaft, eklipsire mich sonst, so viel ich kann.[125] Nur den heimkehrenden Studenten will ich, wollen wir, mit allen Kräften helfen.

Vaterland, Staat, nationale Ehre ist verloren. Und doch müssen Sie, die Sie das Leben vor sich haben, auch in dieser Zukunft wirken: in Ihre Hand ist eine schwere Aufgabe gelegt, aber das muss und wird Ihnen Kraft geben. Wir sterben ab: aber das Ewige, für das wir gelebt haben, fordert immer seine Priester, seine Kämpfer. Brennend über-

[119] Niebuhr already complains of his letters being read: see Bunsen, Brandis, and Loebell, *The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr* 2 (London 1852) 31, 44.

[120] "Spies check the lectures." Another modern note.

[121] A remarkably similar division occurred during the West German Reforms of 1967–1974.

[122] Napoleon and Jena: see *Essays by the Late Mark Pattison*, ed. H. Nettleship 1 (Oxford 1889) 402–403.

[123] Hermann Diels (1848–1922), Wilamowitz' *collega proximus:* see *KS* 6.71–74 and Walter Burkert, in Hermann Diels, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (Darmstadt 1969) vii–xiii.

[124] Eduard Norden: see n.24 above.

[125] There is similar gloom in the letter of Christmas Eve 1918 to the Rector of Pforte (*Trauerspiele* 157–158 no. 6); cf. *Platon* I² vi and *Trauerspiele* 24 n.51.

geben wir Ihnen diese Fackel — und wir vertrauen, dass Sie sie nicht werden verlöschen lassen.

αἴλινον αἴλινον[126]

Ihr

UWilamowitz

9a. Kiel den 26. 12. 18[127]

Adolfplatz 10

Hochverehrter lieber Herr Geheimrat!

Erst jetzt, wo ich von einem erfrischenden Landaufenthalt auf einem der holsteinischen Rittergüter am Westersee[128] zurück bin, komme ich dazu, Ihnen die einzige Nummer meines Festaufsatzes[129] in der Norddeutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung zu senden, die ich habe. Ich würde mir Vorwürfe machen über dieses Nachhinken, wäre ich nicht sicher, dass Sie von anderer Seit bereits den Aufsatz erhalten haben, der im Drang der letzten Semestertage vor den Ferien nachts zwischen 1–3$^{h}$ entstanden, auch noch durch den törichtsten Druckfehler (furchbar st. fruchtbar — einseitig) entstellt ist. Nehmen Sie meine Worte mit Nachsicht auf. Ich habe bisher nur Capelle in den Hamb. Nachr. u. Arnim in der Voss. Ztg. zu Gesicht bekommen u. hoffe zu Gott, dass andere weniger kümmerlich u. geistlos Ihrer gedacht haben.[130] Die Produkte der Gehirne lassen den Mangel an Fettgehalt in unserer Ernährung leider stärker als wünschenswert erkennen. Es war mir ein Schmerz, an dem Geburtstage[131] nicht persönlich kommen zu können und Ihnen meine wahren Gefühle zu zeigen.

Ich war die Nacht der Wintersonnenwende auf den Waldhöhen am Westersee mit 60–70 Wandervögeln,[132] darunter auch manch famoser Student, um das grosse Feuer zu entzünden. 27 Kränze für 27 gefallene Kameraden wurden in die Glut geworfen u. dazu eine rhapsodische Feier mit Ansprache u. Gesängen gehalten, dann haben wir einen

[126] A. *Ag.* 139, 159, repeated in the same context at *GrTr* IV 301–302; cf. *Trauerspiele* 14.

[127] The seventieth birthday greeting is a remarkable document of the *Heroenkult:* see n. 11 above.

[128] "Jaeger schreibt offenbar n; aber auf den Karten sehe ich nur Westersee; -n- wäre sprachwidrig. Etwas 10 Km westlich von Kiel" (W. Buchwald).

[129] Listed at *Essays* 146 s.v. 1918 as "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* 58 no. 648. I have not read it.

[130] W. Capelle and Hans von Arnim had written accounts of Wilamowitz in the popular press.

[131] December 22, 1918.

[132] A bit more than a hiking club: see H. Blüher, *Wandervogel: Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung*, 6th ed. (Prien 1922) (E. Vogt).

grossen Tannenbaum im Wald mit Lichtern besteckt u. Weihnacht gefeiert, so gross u. feierlich wie ich nie erlebt habe. Spontan u. tiefinnerlich brach geistiger Glauben u. Seelenkraft aus den Gemütern hervor u. man lernte wieder vertrauen, dass diese Jugend die Kraft haben wird, die Götter aufzurufen u. das Starre u. Hohle in unserer Kultur zu wandeln. In dieser Nacht ist beim Feuer u. nachher noch auf Schloss Deutsch Nienhof viel von Ihnen gesprochen worden: so habe ich doch auch Ihren Geburtstag gefeiert, in einer Umgebung, wo man höherer Gedanken fähig war. Möge Ihnen beschieden sein, bei dem neuen Aufbau, der kommt, noch lange als Führer voranzugehen.[133]
In treuer und dankbarer Verehrung

stets Ihr
W. Jaeger

9b. Kiel d. 21. 12. 1919[134]
Adolfplatz 10

Lieber und hochverehrter Meister,[135]
zur Begrüssung an Ihrem Geburtstage, wo unsere Herzen Ihnen nahe sind, bitte ich Sie, diesen Ausdruck wählen zu durfen, der über alle Schranken der Würde hinweg die unmittelbare Verbindung bezeichnet, die der Geist der Werdenden zu dem der Vollendeten sucht. Ihr 'Platon' hat ja so recht wieder gezeigt, dass man niemals aufhört, Ihr Schüler zu sein. Einmal durch die Fülle des Neuen, das er lehrt, dann aber auch durch den Trieb, den er erweckt, nun den Philosophen in Platon mit der Lebendigkeit zu erfassen, zu der Sie erst unser Sehvermögen erzogen haben, indem Sie den Menschen Platon der Welt zurückgegeben haben.[136] Ich habe diesen guten Dämon als σύνοικος bei mir u. er begleitet mich ständig in Gedanken.

Gratulieren möchte ich Ihnen zu Ihrem Geburtstag nicht, wem kann man Glück wünschen, der das Ende des deutschen Glückes in der Geschichte u. den Kampf der geistigen Bildung, den wir erleben, mitansehen muss, aber dem Troste möchte ich Ausdruck geben, der für mich in Ihrer Parusie liegt, und wohl für alle, die im Geist an Ihnen

[133] If Wilamowitz replied to this romantic adulation, the reply is lost.

[134] The next preserved letter is Jaeger's seventy-first birthday greeting. We read the reception of *Platon*, the financing of Gregory, and the announcement of *Aristoteles*.

[135] I have never seen Wilamowitz so addressed elsewhere.

[136] A noble formulation, purposely recalling Wilamowitz' earlier description of his book (see p. 318 above). *Platon* may be read as a cryptoautobiography: see M. Isnardi Parente, *AnnPisa* ns 33.1 (1973) 153–154.

Teil haben. Ausser der aus Erkenntnis reifenden Ehrfurcht vor der inneren Notwendigkeit aller Geschichte, auch der Geschichte, deren Augenzeugen wir sein müssen, gibt es nur einen Trost für mich: die Gewissheit, dass es weder Politik noch Wissenschaft, weder Glaube noch Unglaube sind, die uns wieder ans Licht heraufführen werden, sondern einzig die *sicheren*[137] Geister, deren wir so wenige haben, u. deren Gedanken schon in der Zukunft sind.

Ich habe gedacht Ihnen zu Ihrem Geburtstage eine Freude zu bereiten, indem ich das Projekt Ihres 60. Geburtstagsfestes, die Kirchenväterausgabe, etwas näher an die Verwirklichung heranführe.[138] Fertig liegen die zwei Bände gegen Eunomios ja seit etwa 1915/6, doch der Druck scheiterte an der Höhe des Zuschusses, der zu leisten ist. Da nun die Kosten immer weiter steigen, so bin ich, was mich betrifft, zu der Überzeugung gelangt, dass ein immer weiteres Hinausschieben, wie es in der Hoffnung auf ein gutes Ende des Krieges als die richtige Lösung erschien, unter den inzwischen eingetretenen Umständen so viel wie ein Aufgeben der Ausgabe bedeuten würde. Da die Wilamowitzstiftung[139] alles hergegeben hat für die Vorbereitung der Edition u. der Rest ihres Kapitals zur alleinigen Deckung der Druckkosten nicht mehr reichen dürfte, so mache ich zur Erreichung unseres Zieles folgende Vorschläge.

Als der Editor, der schon durch seine Arbeit an der Ausgabe nächstbeteiligt ist, der aber auch tiefen Dank für die ihm durch die Stiftung gewährte Hülfe während seiner kritischsten Lebensjahre der Stiftung u. dem Stifter schuldet, fühle ich mich berechtigt, zur Drucklegung ein Teil beizutragen u. stelle zunächst 3000 M dazu zur Verfügung, welche mir anlässlich meiner Ablehnung des Rufs nach Hamburg von der Regierung für meine wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten, besonders zur Unterstützung meiner Publikationen, bewilligt worden sind. Weidmann veranschlagt, wie Sie aus den beiliegenden Papieren ersehen, die auf uns entfallende Summe auf 11 100 M. 3000–4000 M werde ich gegen Ende 1920 von der hiesigen Hänelstiftung, die reiche Mittel besitzt, erhalten können, mein Antrag wird mit an erster Stelle berücksichtigt werden. Die verbleibende Differenz von 5000–6000 M — opulent gerechnet — wird m. E. durch den Beitrag der Wilamowitzstiftung zum guten Teil gedeckt u. sollte ein Rest sich ergeben, so bin ich bereit, ihn

[137] Jaeger first wrote *wenigen*, crossed it out, wrote and underlined *sicheren*.

[138] In fact Gregory would not appear until 1921. What follows well illustrates the financial difficulties of post World War I German scholarship: see Wilamowitz' letter of June 5, 1920, to W. A. Oldfather at *CJ* 72 (1976/77) 121–127.

[139] The fund was founded in 1908 to honor Wilamowitz' sixtieth birthday.

durch mein Honorar aus dem Aristotelesbuch, das Herbst 1920 etwa druckfertig werden wird, bezw. durch weiteren privaten Zuschuss zu decken.[140] Dass Schwierigkeiten wegen der Kosten entstehen, scheint also ausgeschlossen.

Ich bin überzeugt, dass es Ihrer μεγαλοπρέπεια kein Opfer sein darf, von mir dieses Anerbieten anzunehmen, da es ja meine Sache ist, der ich zugleich diesen Dienst erweise. Zudem muss man ja in der Not dieser Zeit immer das praktisch Mögliche im Auge behalten. Wenn Sie Ihre Zustimmung geben, werde ich gern mit Weidmann die Verhandlungen zu Ende führen. Selbstverständlich erscheint die Ausgabe unter den Auspicien der Wilamowitzstiftung, was an hervorragender Stelle sichtbar zum Ausdruck gebracht werden muss.

Mein Buch über Aristoteles[141] gedeiht immer weiter, es führt mich tiefer als ich beabsichtigte, u. das Mass von Methode u. Form, das ich gegen Schluss erreicht habe, ist erst *der* Art, dass ich mich befriedigt fühlen darf. Jetzt arbeite ich die vorderen Teile daraufhin um. Das Buch wird schwer u. gelehrt, da ich die Methode, wodurch ich die Dokumente gewinne, dem Leser vorführen muss. Da fehlten bisher fast alle Vorarbeiten. Am Schluss fasse ich dann die Ergebnisse in einem umfangreicheren Kapitel historisch zusammen. Die Entwicklung, die ich analysiere, ist die des spekulativen Philosophen Aristoteles, der in eine ganz andre Beleuchtung rückt als bisher. Doch gruppiert sich von da aus auch die Entwicklung des Forschers u. Gelehrten Aristoteles leicht.[142]

Ich wünsche Ihnen u. den verehrten Ihrigen ein stilles Fest und ein neues Jahr unter den Auspicien des Aufstiegs unsres Volkes. Er kann nur von innen, vom Geiste her beginnen, und vielleicht kommt das Besinnen rascher als man denkt. ῥοαὶ δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι.[143]

In herzlicher Verehrung und Dankbarkeit bin ich alle Zeit

Ihr

Werner Jaeger

NB: Die beiden Einlagen erbitte ich zurück.

10. 26 XII 19[144]

Lieber Herr College,

Ihr Brief ist mir eine schöne Festfreude, oder doch ein Trost, denn

[140] Not that unusual. A. E. Housman paid for *Manilius*.

[141] *Aristoteles: Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung* (Berlin 1923) 438.

[142] The letter that began with thanks for Wilamowitz' *Platon* ends with the fanfare of Jaeger's *Aristoteles*.

[143] Pi. *O.* 2.37 (W. Buchwald).

[144] Wilamowitz' reply to no. 9b.

Freude gibt es für mich nicht mehr, wo ich an meinem Volke und Vaterlande verzweifeln muss.

Das Schönste ist, dass Sie mit Ihrem Aristoteles fertig sind, denn da stecken Sie ganz darin; die alte Akademie wird im wesentlich⟨en⟩ wohl nebenbei abgetan, sonst kann sie warten, obwohl es mir so schien, als liesse sich für Xenokrates[145] mehr haben als Heinze[146] getan hat.

Mit Gregor hoffen Norden und ich auch das nötige für den Druck zu schaffen, freilich indem der Kieler Fonds und Ihre 3000 verwandt werden, und die Buchhandlung schiesst 2000 zu. Unsicher ist noch, ob Pasquali die Briefe fertig macht.[147] Ich lege darauf im wissenschaftlich-politischen Interesse hohen Wert;[148] aber Honorar können wir nicht zahlen. Pasquali hat Geld.

In der Schweiz[149] habe ich, und zwar nicht nur in Basel,[150] die Leute ernsthaft für Ihre Arbeiten interessiert gefunden. Wissenschaftliches Leben ist nur in Basel stark, aber die Studenten sind auch sonst tüchtig und stehen ihren Mann. Howald[151] Zürich war mir ganz unbekannt, ist aber persönlich eine Potenz.

[145] See Wilamowitz, *Platon* I² 707ff; *Glaube* II² 276–277; and H. Dörrie, *RE* 9A (1967) 1512–1528.

[146] Richard Heinze, *Xenokrates: Darstellung der Lehre und Sammlung der Fragmente* (Leipzig 1892).

[147] See n.23 above.

[148] Wilamowitz was eager to reestablish international cooperation after World War I: see *CJ* 72 (1976/77) 121–127.

[149] After 1919, because of financial difficulties, Wilamowitz often traveled abroad.

[150] Where Peter von der Mühll (1885–1970) was already *Ordinarius*. Von der Mühll had befriended Tycho von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff at Göttingen (they both wrote dissertations under Eduard Schwartz), and through Tycho had met his father: see B. Wyss, in Peter von der Mühll, "Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften," *Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 12 (Basel 1975) vii.

[151] Ernst Howald (April 20, 1887–January 8, 1967), *Ordinarius* at Zürich 1918–1952. Walter Burkert writes (June 27, 1977): "Howald did not feel comfortable as a philologist and academic teacher . . . He retired at the earliest possible date and withdrew from classical philology, to deal exclusively with modern literature. Emil Staiger was a friend and admirer of Howald, as he has frequently told me." See O. Gigon, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 319–320; H. Haffter, *Schweizer Monatshefte* 47 (1967) 683–93; F. Stoessl, *Erasmus* 19 (1967) 129–135; F. Wehrli, *Jahresbericht der Universität Zürich* (1966/67) 101–103; F. Wehrli, "Ernst Howald zum 70. Geburtstag," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 1150, April 21, 1957 = *Theoria und Humanitas: Gesammelte Schriften zur Antiken Gedankenwelt* (Zürich/München 1972) 295–298. There is an autobiographical statement, "Bin ich ein Essayist" in *Bestand und Versuch: Schweizer Schrifttum der Gegenwart*, ed. B. Mariacher and F. Witz (Zürich 1964) 382–386. Emil Staiger contributed a memoir to *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* 144, January 13, 1967. I owe the above to Walter Burkert and Heinz Haffter. For Howald on Wilamowitz see E. Howald, *Humanismus und Europäertum* (Zürich/Stuttgart 1957) 76–79.

Sie werden sich ja Ihren guten Mut schon durch die erfolgreiche Arbeit erhalten, und dass die Studenten brav sind, merke ich auch hier. Diels[152] ist gesünder und energischer als die letzten Jahre, mir eine herzliche Freude. Ich ringe vergeblich, mit metrischen Dingen — die tausende von Observationen zu einem verständlichen Ganzen zu bringen scheint über den Rest meiner Kraft zu gehen.[153] Und doch ist seit Hermann nur oberflächliche Arbeit getan, denn nur wer das ganze Material überschaut und sich immer um den Text kümmert, kann sich vor billigem Systematisieren hüten. Eigentlich müsste man erst alle Dichter herausgeben.

Sie haben sicherlich ein frohes Fest gefeiert; ich kenne keine Feste mehr. Aber ich wünsche Ihnen Glück und Freude zu dem nächsten und allen folgenden Jahren.

Ihr

UWilamowitz

11. [13. I. 20][154]

Lieber Herr College Ich sehe Norden übermorgen und besprechen ist besser als schreiben, daher dies nur als mein Urteil. Vertrag ist so annehmbar. Druckprobe auch. Druck von Pasquali unabhängig. Es kann aiso bald losgehen.

Wollen Sie ausser §§ noch Kapitel? Ich meine, je kürzer die Citate sein können, um so besser. Ob Sie schon in Manuscript § setzen stehe dahin; ich würde es tun, spart immer Satzcorrecturkosten.

Dass ich die Bogen lese, halte ich für selbstverständlich;[155] ich mache so was auch rasch. Norden möchte ich nicht damit belästigen; wenn

[152] See n. 123 above.

[153] *Griechische Verskunst* appeared in 1921.

[154] On January 12, 1920, Jaeger writes from Kiel about the Gregory edition. He wishes Wilamowitz' opinion on Dr. Vollert's *Vertragsentwurf*. There is trouble with Pasquali, who delays "ad Kal. gr." and the press will not accept his manuscript. Jaeger will restore the original bookorder of *C. Eun.* He concludes: "Ihr Brief vom 26. Dezember [= no. 10 above] hat mir eine grosse Freude bereitet, wie ich wohl nicht zu sagen brauche, und mich mit neuem Mut erfüllt. τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν ist jetzt der Weg zum Aufbau einer neuen δικαιοσύνη, die in das Chaos Licht bringt. An die Heilkraft des völligen Zusammenbruchs, den manche vorher wünschen, glaube ich nicht, sondern jeder muss an seiner Stelle die übermenschlichsten Anstrengungen machen u. zwar Jahre lang, bis Erleichterung wird." On January 23, 1920, Jaeger writes a note on paragraph division in *C. Eun.* There will be a new enumeration ("etwas hohe Hausnummern") with Migne numbers in the margin. In this postcard Wilamowitz, always attentive to practical details, replies.

[155] Jaeger had only said that he would ask Norden and "Falls er streikt" Maas.

Sie Maas[156] zuziehen mögen, es für wünschenswert und erspriesslich halten, ist es mir recht. Die Probe des ersten Bogens ist vor allem wichtig. Gregor wird doch schwerlich jemals wieder gedruckt.

Auffällig ist mir die hohe Ziffer der Exemplare, aber das geht die Verleger an.

So kommt, denk ich, dies wenigstens zu Stande, und dies ist eine Arbeit für diese Zeit — wo mir das Denkvermögen immer mehr eintrocknet.

Mit schönsten Grüssen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

12. [27 I 20][157]

Lieber Herr College Ich denke, die Menschen werden sich daran nicht stossen, wenn wir III 725 citieren statt III 28, 14, denn praktisch werden wir immer ein Komma und oft eine Zahl sparen. Aber eins zu bedenken: die Setzer bekommen meines Wissens (oder sind es die Drucker) für die Seite bezahlt und die Breite wird zu Grunde gelegt; dabei gilt der Rand, an dem manchmal ein par Zeichen stehen für voll. Also verteuert es den Satz, wenn man beide Ränder belegt. Eine Zählung können wir oben unterbringen *IV 10* (*p. 75 Par.*). Ist Migne nötig? d.h. gibt er nicht die Seiten der alten Ausgabe an?[158]

εὖ πράττειν

Ihr

UWilam.

13. 16 II 20[159]

Lieber College

Jäger schickt die einliegende Druckprobe; ich mag nicht entscheiden ohne Ihren Rat, da Sie so schön auf sauberen Druck halten. Ich billige

[156] Paul Maas (1880–1964): see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 57 (1965) 219–221.

[157] In this postcard, really an addendum to no. 11, Wilamowitz approves the new enumeration.

[158] Jaeger replied (February 12, 1920): "Die Migneseiten sind nicht zu entbehren, da M. die allein oder fast allein gebrauchte Ausg ist und er keine Angabe der Par. hat." The Migne numbers, therefore, were included.

[159] On February 12, 1920, Jaeger sent specimen page proofs of *C. Eun.* to Wilamowitz with a covering letter which Wilamowitz annotated and returned through Norden to Jaeger. It is today at Harvard, not Göttingen. The letter concerns details of layout and enumeration. Where Jaeger notes: "Da V(aticanus) und v(ulgata) nebeneinander vorkommen, wäre es wohl zweckmässig, letzteres kursiv zu setzen," Wilamowitz adds: "Wenn das im Mscpt nicht angegeben ist,

so ziemlich alles; habe ein wenig gleich auf dem Briefe notiert. Bitte tun Sie erst einen Blick darauf, und dann kann der Brief selbst mit der Probe gleich an Jäger gehen, falls Sie nicht noch an mich eine Rückfrage haben. Sie sind nun einmal mit der Sache belastet, da müssen ⟨Sie⟩ auch dies auf Sich nehmen.

Hoffentlich tut Ihnen der verfrühte Frühling gut.

εὖ πράττειν

Ihr

UWilamowitz[160]

14. [I IV 20][161]

Lieber Herr College Ihren Schüler[162] werden wir gern aufnehmen, mag er nur seine Bewerbungsschrift rechtzeitig an das Institut für

macht die Correctur zu viele Mühe und Kosten, an sich hat es etwas für sich, aber viel kommt nicht darauf an. Wil." On February 16 Wilamowitz sends the proof on to Norden with this covering letter. One sees how quickly and efficiently things were done and how closely Wilamowitz worked with his younger colleague. For Norden on Wilamowitz, "princeps philologorum, aquila in nubibus," see Ed. Norden, *Kleine Schriften zum klassischen Altertum*, ed. B. Kytzler (Berlin 1966) 664–668.

[160] Norden on February 17 adds a note to Jaeger on the bottom of Wilamowitz' letter, which he sends on with the proof to Jaeger in Kiel: "L. Fr. Ich habe nichts hinzuzufügen, es sieht alles gut aus. Eine Differenzierung von V und v halt ich nicht für nötig. Hoffentl. haben Sie die Grippe gut überstanden. Ihr. Fehlen in Lpz. war bedauerlich, aber unvermeidlich. In Eile herzl. grüssend Ihr EN."

[161] On March 7, 1920, Jaeger sends the first *Bogen* with remarks on the authenticity of the κεφάλαια to *C. Eun.* 1 and the need to set commas before participial clauses in Gregory's unwieldly sentences. He identifies the *sigla* to help Wilamowitz' reading. He commends (Mar. 30) Richard Harder, his *Senior*, collating the Parisina of 1638, to Wilamowitz: "Harder macht seine Sache ausgezeichnet. Ich schicke ihn zum Sommer nach Berlin, damit er Sie höre, vielleicht kann er ins Seminar, er würde eine hervorragend kluge Arbeit über die Entwicklung der φρόνησις bei Platon (bis zur Nikomachischen Ethik) zur Bewerbung einreichen. Ich erwarte Grosses von ihm, obgleich er noch junges Semester ist. Vielleicht darf ich Ihnen diesen jungen Friesen und Pastorssohn, der nicht nur scharfsinnig ist, sondern ein stark bewegter philosophischer u. künstlerischer Kopf, bei dieser Gelegenheit warm ans Herz legen. Ich möchte ihn der Philologie, der ich ihn gewonnen habe, erhalten." No. 14 is the postcard that replies to this second letter.

[162] Richard Harder (1896–1957), later Plotinus translator and long editor of *Gnomon* (1925–45): see W. Schadewaldt, *Gnomon* 30 (1958) 73–76 = *HuH* II² 739–743, who does not tell all. Harder (like many famous Jaeger students) was attracted to National Socialism and after 1945 was dismissed from his chair and editorship: see E. R. Dodds, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography* (Oxford 1977) 186. For Harder on Wilamowitz see Richard Harder, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Marg (Munich 1960) 466–470 = *Gnomon* 7 (1931) 557–560.

Altert. senden; wenn er bei Ihnen im Seminar war, dies hervorheben; vita wird gewünscht.

πλεοναζόντων τῶν λόγων gefällt mir wegen der vielen Genetive nicht,[163] auch hiesse das "mehr ἔλεγχοι als λόγοι." τοῦ καιροῦ würde man erwarten, also eher [τὸν λόγον], wenn solche Glosseme vorkommen, oder ⟨κατὰ⟩ τὸν; Auslassungen kommen vor. Ich kann die Stelle ja nicht einsehen, da ich keinen Text habe. 2 Correctur wünsche ich nicht, aber wenn Sie ein überflüssiges Exemplar der Druckbogen haben, würde ich gern auf früheres zurücksehen können, denn Sie geben Verweisungen. *Jeder* Abzug, trotz Druckfehlern, ist genügend.

Hoffentlich leiden Sie nicht persönlich unter den verzweifelten Verhältnissen. Ich bin hier auf das Äusserste gefasst.

Mit schönsten Grüssen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

15. 24 IX 20[164]

Lieber Herr College

Es scheint mir durchaus richtig, dass die Bände gleich stark gemacht werden, also die Prolegomena in II stehen.[165] Ihnen ist das ja auch lieber.

Wann ich in Upsala spreche, ist noch nicht bestimmt, aber wahrscheinlich nach dem 8., dem Termin für Stockholm. Wir werden uns

[163] The passage is Greg. *C. Eun.* 1.26 (30.9–11 Jaeger²). Jaeger wrote (March 30th): "In der Stelle § 26 des 2. Bogens bemerken Sie mit Recht, dass es bedenklich ist, πλεονάζειν transitiv zu nehmen. Gr. will nicht alle Worte des Gegners zitieren u. kommentieren, denn welches Volumen gäbe das, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν τῆς ψευδολογίας ἐλέγχων πλεοναζόντων τὸν λόγον. Sie Streichen τὸν λόγον, ich schlage vor, τῶν λόγων zu schreiben: Die Widerlegung würde ein 'Übermass von Worten' erzeugen." W. Buchwald notes "aber transitives πλεονάζειν ist gut bezeugt" and of the genitive plural "verstehe ich nicht." Jaeger printed without comment: τῶν τῆς ψευδολογίας ἐλέγχων πλεοναζόντων τὸν λόγον.

[164] Proofreading continues. Several Wilamowitz letters are lost. In a Latin letter of May 19, 1920, Jaeger discusses various *cruces* and apologizes for an unconvincing excision: "Mscr. meum ante hos quinque annos condidi quo ex tempore iudicio quoque, non tantum aetate provectus sum." Jaeger's next preserved letter (September 22, 1920) begins "Euer Exzellenz" for the first time since November 4, 1918. The title had been abolished by the new government (W. Buchwald). The publication schedule is discussed and their forthcoming Swedish lectures. Postcard no. 15 is Wilamowitz' reply.

[165] Jaeger had suggested putting the prolegomena in volume 2 rather than holding up the whole until they are written. Wilamowitz agrees.

also ablösen; schade, dass wir uns nicht treffen,[166] denn das könnte ja nur förderlich sein, und erfreulich wäre es immer.

Glück zur Reise

mit allen guten Wünschen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

16. 11 XII 20[167]

Lieber Herr College

Ich bin mit allem was Sie vorhaben einverstanden, habe sofort die praefatio[168] entworfen, die Sie wünschen und für diese und alles Nordens Zustimmung eingeholt. Das weitere fällt Ihnen zu, und ich

[166] Jaeger learned (in a lost letter) that Wilamowitz was to lecture in Upsala and feared their paths would cross. He wrote: "Falls Sie in Upsala sprechen, wäre ich Ihnen dankbar für Angabe des Tages, damit ich mich in respektvoller Entfernung halten kann."

[167] After his Scandinavian tour, Jaeger on November 6, 1920, writes Wilamowitz. He discusses five *cruces* in *C. Eun.* 1 (274.24; 276.3; 280.3; 281.8; 288.26). He concludes:

In Schweden wandelte ich auf Ihrer Spur, und Ihr Name erfüllte noch die Gegenden, durch die ich kam. Es war ein schöner Erfolg für unsere Wissenschaft u. die deutsche Sache, zu dem ich Sie von Herzen beglückwünsche. Ich bin froh, mit der nordischen Forschung Fühlung gewonnen zu haben, denn was dort gemacht wird, ist z. Tl. bedeutend; abgesehen von Kopenhagen, das ja ein Höhepunkt ist, hat mir Lund am meisten Eindruck hinterlassen. In Upsala ist die Philologie etwas einseitig geworden, wie es scheint. Doch fand ich für meinen Vortrag über die Griechen als Erzieher (gemeint sind Dichter u. Denker) bereitwilliges Ohr u. wurde sogar gebeten, einen weiteren Vortrag speziellerer Art zu improvisieren, was ich gern getan habe.

On December 8, 1920, he writes again requesting a *praefatio* for the whole edition. He is undecided on how to thank contributors and how to title the whole edition. By December 11 Wilamowitz mails the preface with covering letter no. 16.

[168] Wilamowitz wrote the preface within two days: see W. Jaeger, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera I Contra Eunomium Libros I–II continens. Pars Prior*$^2$ *Liber* I et II (vulgo I et XIIB) (Leiden 1960) x–xi. The *praefatio* "fehlt in der Bibliographie (nur unter 'MA' zu 1921 ist Jaegers Edition verzeichnet)" (W. Buchwald). The aid of the Wilamowitz Fund is noted. Ed. Norden is thanked. The general plan for editing the Fathers is recalled (Vienna Latin; Berlin Greek). Gregory is praised above his brother Basil. It ends on a melancholy note. "Poteram multa addere, veniam petere, quia opere vixdum coepto desisto, laudare eos qui olim labores nostros adiuverunt, litterarum qui fuit statum cum eo qui nunc est comparare. verum dedecet in publico plorare. nec despero. divinus est veri cognoscendi cupido. quo qui inflammati sunt communionem horum sacrorum fideliumque ecclesiam aliquando restituent." Although he wrote the preface December 10, 1920, he dates it "Dabam 22 XII 1920," his seventy-second birthday.

habe helle Freude daran, dass Sie Sich zutrauen, den Gregor zu vollenden. Vielleicht darf ich dann noch weitere Bogen lesen. Im ganzen weiss ich wohl, dass ich mit dem Geschenke[169] nicht gut gewirtschaftet habe, hätte besser getan, etwas zu nehmen, das ich übersah und verstand.

Machen Sie es besser.

ὑγιαίνειν Ihr

UWilamowitz

17. [11 III 21][170]

Lieber Herr College Vielen Dank für Brief und Band; dass Sie Sich für den Gregor geopfert haben und weiter opfern wollen, ist mir nicht nur persönlich eine Freude und ein Trost. Das Geld der Spende von 08[171] ist z.T. nicht gut angewandt; hoffentlich gelingt es mit der DW Spende[172] besser. Nun wollen wir sehen, ob Gregor einige Leser findet, auch solche, die für die Veränderung des Textes ein Auge haben. Ihre Arbeit kommt ja den Philologen, die nur auf Emendationen sehen, wenig zum Bewusstsein.

Mit Bd II gehts so schnell, dass er Sie an eigener Arbeit wohl stört, aber vielleicht kommt ihr die Verzögerung zu Gute, denn ich wenigstens habe solche Erfahrungen öfter gemacht. Jetzt ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶι bin ich freilich auch schon darin verändert, dass ich zu hastig abschliesse[173] — mein nächstes Buch[174] leidet darunter.

Und nochmals Dank und Gruss

Ihr

UWilamowitz

[169] "Der Geldspende zum 60. Geburtstag (22.12.1908)" (W. Buchwald).

[170] On December 15, 1920, Jaeger acknowledges the *praefatio*. The arrangement of the title page is still uncertain. He submits his preface for Wilamowitz' approval: "Ich bitte Sie zu verzeihen, dass ich Ihnen eine Präfatio vorlege, in der Sie mit Dank erwähnt werden." On March 8, 1921, he sends the first volume of *C. Eun.* with a covering letter: "Ihnen gebührt das erste: Sie haben mich zu der Aufgabe berufen, als ich nach meinem Doktorexamen zunächst ratlos stand, und meiner philologischen Ausbildung dadurch einen wichtigen Stein hinzugefügt, Sie haben mich beim Satz und bei der Korrektur treu beraten und mir Ihre umfassende philologische Erfahrung zur Verfügung gestellt, mich dadurch oftmals vor Irrtum bewahrt oder auf andere Wege geführt." No. 17 is Wilamowitz' reply. Things worked rapidly. Gregory was published. The day after Wilamowitz' letter, Jaeger is offered the Berlin chair (no. 17a). There has been no word in the correspondence. Wilamowitz was not a man to betray confidentiality. But he had arranged it.

[171] See n.169 above.

[172] The Diels-Wilamowitz Fund to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of their doctorates: see Wilamowitz' letter to Edward Fitch of October 29, 1920,

17a. Berlin W 8, den 12. März 1921.[175]
Wilhelmstr. 68

Herrn
Professor Dr. W. Jaeger
Kiel
Adolfplatz 10.

Hochgeehrter Herr Professor.

Dem Auftrage meines Herrn Ministers[176] entsprechend beehre ich mich, Ihnen die Nachfolge des Herrn Geheimrats von Wilamowitz von der hiesigen Universität mit dem Ausdruck meiner aufrichtigen Glückwünsche ganz ergebenst anzubieten.[177] Es würde dem Ministerium eine besondere Freude sein, wenn es mit Ihrer grundsätzlichen Geneigtheit, diesem Ruf zu folgen, rechnen dürfte. Zunächst wäre ich Ihnen sehr verbunden, wenn Sie die Freundlichkeit hätten, mich wissen zu lassen, dass Sie uns Gelegenheit zu näheren Verhandlungen geben möchten. In diesem Fall darf ich wohl vorschlagen, dass wir das Nähere einer mündlichen Besprechung überlassen, für deren Bestimmung ich Ihre weitere Mitteilung abwarten möchte.

In ausgezeichneter Verehrung
stets Ihr ergebener
Wendt[178]
Geheimer Regierungsrat.

17b. Kiel d. 15. 3. 21.[179]

Lieber Herr Geheimrat!

Das Ministerium hat mich auf den Berliner Lehrstuhl der Philologie

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*HSCP* 83 (forthcoming) and F. Bertolini, *Quaderni di storia* 4 (1976) 50–51.

[173] See *GRBS* 16 (1975) 453.

[174] *Pindaros* (Berlin 1922). See L. E. Rossi, *AnnPisa* n.s. 3.3 (1973) 119–138. As in the letters to Mommsen, Wilamowitz rarely writes of his own work: see *HSCP* 81 (1977) 282 (of Leo): "Er pflegte von seinen Arbeiten eben so wenig zu reden wie ich."

[175] Jaeger never discarded this letter and placed it with his Wilamowitziana. He meant it to be known.

[176] Carl Heinrich Becker (1876–1933), orientalist and Prussian Minister of Education (A. Henrichs): see further H. P. Bleuel, *Deutschlands Bekenner: Professoren zwischen Kaiserreich und Diktatur* (Bern/Munich/Vienna 1968) 135ff (P. L. Schmidt) and Adolf Grimme, *NDB* 1 (1953) 711.

[177] Although Wilamowitz would continue to teach for a decade, the sentence marks the end of the most glorious era of classical philology in Germany.

[178] Or *Wenk* (E. Vogt).

[179] After replying to the Ministry, Jaeger immediately writes Wilamowitz.

berufen, den Sie bis zum Inkrafttreten des Pensionsgesetzes verwaltet haben und mich unterrichtet,[180] dass ich nach Schwartz[181] u. Arnim[182] sowie Boll[183] an dritter Stelle genannt worden sei.

Ich will nicht diese Gelegenheit dazu benutzen, um mich über den Widersinn aufzuhalten, der in Ihrem Fall in der strikten Anwendung der Gesetzesnorm für jeden vernünftigen Menschen liegt, da Sie in der Kraft eines Heros noch wirken und leben.[184] Trotzdem Ihre Stellung in der Welt u. an der Universität wahrlich nicht an dem Amte hängt, bleibt ja die Tatsache bestehen, dass Sie ihm diesen Glanz gegeben haben, und dass es ein berechtigter Schmerz wäre, wenn Sie es nur widerstrebend aufgäben, nachdem Sie es so lange ruhmvoll innegehabt haben. Niemand versteht die Gefühle, die sich in Ihnen regen müssen, tiefer als ich, obgleich ich für den Durchschnitt der akademischen Lehrer irgendeine Normalgrenze für wünschenswert halte. Aber ich soll nun heute von den vorliegenden Tatsachen ausgehen und darf da folgendes bekennen:

Ich danke Ihnen und der Fakultät, dass Sie mir die Ehre u. das Vertrauen erwiesen haben, mich unmittelbar nach Schwartz u. Arnim, deren Lebenswerk in aller Welt bekannt ist, u. einem so scharfsinnigen Gelehrten wie Boll zu nennen, von denen mich Jahrzehnte trennen.[185]

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The list, submitted by the Faculty, had been (1) Ed. Schwartz, (2) H. von Arnim or F. Boll, (3) Jaeger. The minister had preferred Jaeger. Jaeger will learn if he owed his post to a politician's whim or was really wanted by his colleagues. His youth (thirty-three) makes the choice all the more extraordinary. This letter and Wilamowitz' reply provide for the first time details of the succession.

[180] Not in no. 17a. Presumably Jaeger had telephoned Berlin.

[181] Eduard Schwartz (1858–1940), long a close friend of Wilamowitz, was sixty-three: see A. Rehm, "Eduard Schwartz' wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk," *SitzBayerAkadWiss* (1942) no. 4, and Ed. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften* II (Berlin 1956) 1–21 (memoir).

[182] Hans von Arnim (1859–1931), one of Wilamowitz' oldest doctoral students, was promoted at Greifswald in 1882: see Richard Meister, "Hans von Arnim," *BiogJahr* 241 (1933) 56–79. We now know the reason for Arnim's sustained (1924–1931) polemic against Jaeger (documented at Meister 68–71). Arnim thought that he deserved the Berlin post.

[183] Franz Boll (1867–1924), *Ordinarius* at Heidelberg: see Viktor Stegemann, in Franz Boll, *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (Leipzig 1950) xi-xxiv; and Albert Rehm, "Franz Boll," *BiogJahr* 214 (1927) 13–43 (cf. 111). For the invitation to Berlin in 1921 as the successor of H. Diels see Rehm 26–27.

[184] Again the *Heroenkult*. Wilamowitz always thought his *Zwangsemeritierung* unfair. This is clear in his reply to Jaeger (no. 18).

[185] Even Boll was twenty-one years older than Jaeger.

Sie mussten eine Generation lebender Forscher überschlagen, um mich mitzunennen. Ich setze voraus, dass meiner Ansicht nach ein Nachfolger für Sie überhaupt nicht zu finden ist, auch nicht in der Person der vor mir genannten Herren. Darüber besteht wohl allgemeines Einverständnis. Ich halte mich deshalb nur an die augenblicklich gegebene Situation.

Da sprechen nun für mich gegen die Übernahme der Professur in Berlin sehr ernste Bedenken. Ich kann es bis zu einem gewissen Grade würdigen, wenn die Regierung die erstgenannten beiden Herren für relativ zu alt hält. Aber Sie hätten sie doch nicht genannt, wenn Sie sie nicht gewünscht hätten; die Regierung hätte sie entweder ernsthaft fragen müssen oder von vornherein erklären können, sie kämen nicht in Frage. Indem sie sie übergeht, gewinnt es den Schein, als verdanke ich den Ruf nur einem unvorhergesehenen u. nicht gewünschten Willkürakt des Ministeriums. Ich werde mich in dieser Frage auch noch persönlich an die beiden Herren wenden, die mit Recht gekränkt sein werden, dass man sie einfach ausschliesst.

Abgesehen von dieser Schwierigkeit ist meine Berufung nach Berlin eine Frühgeburt, die kaum glücklich für das Kind ablaufen wird: seine Entwicklung wird dadurch gehemmt werden, statt in der Stille weiterzugehen.[186] Ich sträube mich mit Hand und Fuss dagegen, mit Fingern auf mich als auf den 'Nachfolger' von Wilamowitz zeigen zu lassen u. mich dauernd an diesem mir fremdartigen Massstabe gemessen zu sehen. Gerechter wäre es zweifellos, wenn erst einmal 20–30 Jahre die Vertreter der mittleren Generation vor allem Volke ihre Künste vormachen dürften.

Schliesslich bin ich, im vollen Vertrauen muss ich es Ihnen aussprechen, skeptisch in Betreff der Möglichkeit eines gemeinsamen Aufbaus in Berlin. Boll wäre der Mann, aber auch der einzige (dies bitte ich Sie niemandem sagen zu wollen), mit dem ich es wagen würde. Aber meine Hoffnung, dass er kommt, ist fast gleich null.[187]

Ich brauche nicht zu sagen, wie sehr ich mich freuen würde, zusammen mit Ihnen und Diels manches Jahr arbeiten zu können u. mich Ihres Rates zu erfreuen; wie schön die Arbeit auf einem so hervorragend eingerichteten Institut wie dem Ihrigen sein muss, weiss ich ja von früher genau genug. Aber über allem steht doch für mich die grosse

[186] Wilamowitz was forty-eight when in 1897 he reluctantly went to Berlin: see *Erinnerungen*[2] 239. The situation was similar to Jaeger's. The minister, Althoff, was prepared to appoint Wilamowitz, who insisted: "Ich käme niemals anders als auf einen Ruf durch die Fakultät."

[187] Boll had been invited to Berlin and had not yet finally refused.

Frage, ob ich in der dortigen Atmosphäre gedeihen und atmen kann,[188] das aber ist sicher nicht der Fall, wenn schon die Berufung nicht auf dem normalen Wege vor sich ginge. Hierüber möchte ich Ihr unumwundenes Urteil erbitten, welches der Welt gegenüber alle Möglichkeiten einer Missdeutung meiner Berufung ausschliesst. Auch ohnedies wird es unter den Übergangenen Kritiker und Neider genug geben. Aber die würden mich nicht weiter stören, wenn ich selbst im Klaren bin. Ich fürchte aber fast, dass die Sache wirklich nicht so ganz klar und nach dem Wunsch der Fakultät sein wird.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen und verehrungsvollem Dank für das Vertrauen, das Sie in mich setzen, bin ich

Stets Ihr treu ergebener
Jaeger

PS. Der Regierung habe ich geschrieben, ich wolle mich mit ihr besprechen, habe aber gleichzeitig meine Bedenken wie oben ausgesprochen.

18. 17 III 21[189]

Lieber Herr College

Umgehend beantworte ich Ihren Brief, der ganz so ist, wie ich ihn von Ihnen erwartete. Die Aufklärung, die Sie wünschen, gebe ich zunächst. Unser Wunsch ging dahin, dass einer von den beiden Alten, also Arnim, da an Schwartz[190] praktisch nicht zu denken war, und Sie berufen würden. Darin liegt, dass Sie uns willkommen sind, aber keiner der mittleren Generation uns voll genügt. Wir wollten dabei auch für den Fall vorsorgen, dass, wie zu erwarten, nur eine Stelle bis zum Sommer besetzt wird,[191] damit das Urteil des Zutretenden bei neuen Vorschlägen mitwirken könnte. Boll, so gern wir ihn hätten, schien auch uns kaum erreichbar, weil er schwerlich fortgeht.[192] So wird es dann wohl werden, und dann sehen wir gemeinsam weiter. Denn so sehr ich

[188] Cf. *Erinnerungen*[2] 239: "Es war bitter, die eigene Neigung zu opfern, in die Grossstadt zu ziehen, vor deren Getriebe mir graute, und damit auf den vertrauten Verkehr mit den Studenten verzichten zu müssen."

[189] Wilamowitz immediately replies to no. 17b. He explains the circumstances of the *Ruf* to Jaeger's advantage but does not hide his anger at Becker. The letter is a biographical document of highest importance.

[190] Schwartz was put at the top *honoris causa*.

[191] There were two chairs to fill, Diels' and Wilamowitz'. Boll was first asked so that he could share in choosing the second man.

[192] "Because he does not want to leave": see V. Stegemann (above, n.183) xx: "Unvergesslich bleibt den Teilnehmern am Platokolleg vom Sommer 1921 die erste Stunde, in der Boll, für die Begrüssung durch seine älteren Schüler

Ihnen selbst gewünscht hätte, dass Sie noch einige Jahre in grösserer Ruhe und ohne die Qualen des Berliner Lebens lehren und arbeiten könnten, ist doch keine Frage, das Sie annehmen müssen. Böckh ist auch so jung hier eingetreten.[193]

Dass Becker[194] mich vor allem los sein will, ist mir keine Überraschung. Ich bin in der Fakultät gar nicht tätig, aber meine politische Stellung ist zu bekannt, als dass er mich nicht beseitigen wollte. Natürlich betrachte ich es als das was es sein soll und setze meine Vorlesungen fort, halte aber keine Übungen, um das Seminar nicht zu schädigen. Ich halte auch an meiner Stunde fest. Dass für das Seminar ein Jüngerer es besser machen wird, ist mir auch wahrscheinlich, obgleich es gerade jetzt wieder gut ging. Eine Altersgrenze habe ich selbst vertreten; nur der Termin sollte 70 sein, und die jetzige Form war ja von feindlicher Gesinnung gegen die Selbstverwaltung allein diktiert.

Wir haben beide nicht erwartet, dass wir als Collegen zusammenleben sollten, aber nun wollen wir's in vollem Vertrauen und in unserer guten Freundschaft tun. Daran kann uns niemand hindern und ich hoffe, wir werden Freude daran haben.

Nur noch eins: kommen können Sie erst wenn Sie eine Wohnung haben, und da dürfen Sie Sich nicht in ein Loch sperren lassen.[195]

Treulichst

Ihr

UWilamowitz

18a. Kiel den 12. 4. 1921[196]

Hochverehrter, lieber Herr Geheimrat!

Dieser Tage ging mir durch Ihre Güte Ihr neues grosses Werk, griechische Verskunst, zu. Dass Sie es in dieser Zeit und unmittelbar nach

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dankend, vor seinen Zuhörern seine Ablehnung des Rufes nach Berlin mit der Liebe zu Heidelberg und der Verpflichtung gegenüber seinen Schülern begründete . . ." He died of a stroke in 1924.

[193] August Böckh (1785–1867) became *Ordinarius* at Berlin in 1811, aged twenty-six. Jaeger was thirty-three.

[194] See n.176 above.

[195] W. Buchwald observes that Wilamowitz may have been thinking of his own arrival in Berlin: see *Erinnerungen*[2] 245.

[196] Jaeger pauses to thank Wilamowitz for the gift of *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin 1921). He has not read the book with care. Contrast Ed. Fraenkel's corrections to *Lysistrate* and *Glaube* I: see *HSCP* 81 (1977) 285 (no. 8), 294 n.120. For an important and informed evaluation of *GrVers* see L. E. Rossi, *AnnPisa* n.s. 3.3 (1973) 138–145.

den beiden Auflagen der beiden Platobände vollenden konnten, ist schon rein dem Umfang der geleisteten äusseren Arbeit nach etwas geradezu Gewaltiges, ich stehe staunend vor diesen Beweisen von Arbeitskraft. Es ist sehr erfreulich, dass man jetzt Ihre Ansicht über die Entwicklung der griechischen Metrik in organischem Lebenszusammenhang mit der Wurzel, aus der sie erwachsen ist, den Formen der gebundenen Rede, im Überblick besitzt, wie die ersten Kapitel es durchführen. Aber weit schöner noch finde ich es, dass Sie dem Vergraben der bedeutendsten Abhandlungen, wie den Commentariola Metrica[197] und den 'choriambischen Dimeter,'[198] in den üblichen Opusculabänden zuvorkommen, indem Sie sie in den Zusammenhang Ihrer metrischen Lebensarbeit hineinstellen, und sie anderseits dadurch wirksamer machen, dass nun andere Geschlechter daneben gestellt und in ihrer Entwicklung verfolgt werden. Diese neuen grossen Strecken habe ich natürlich noch nicht durchwandern können, ich freue mich aber darauf schon und danke es Ihnen, dass Sie, indem Sie dieses Bild Ihrer werdenden metrischen Erkenntnisse als biographische Einheit gefasst haben, doch auch zugleich sachlich ein ἕν geben, insofern sie die Gesamtheit der metrischen Erscheinungen der griechischen Literatur stofflich umspannen. Es ist durch dies Ausgehen von den Texten dem Aussenstehenden möglich, sich langsam hineinzuleben, was bei einem System nicht ginge. Wir sind ja aber auch von einem solchen noch weit entfernt, und wo man glaubt, ein Allheilmittel zu haben, wird gerade Ihr Buch dazu helfen, die Aporien offen zu halten, und vor voreiliger Konstruktion uns schützen.

Nehmen Sie meine besten Glückwünsche zur Vollendung des Buches entgegen und gleichzeitig den aufrichtigen Dank für die Ehre der Übersendung. Ich stehe noch in Verhandlung mit dem Ministerium wegen Erhöhung des Etats des Instituts, die ich aber kaum durchsetzen werde, wenigstens nicht für dauernd. Ob Boll annimmt, ist ja auch recht zweifelhaft, wie mir scheint.[199] Hoffentlich ist man für das Sommersemester schon an Sie herangetreten, damit es nicht erst im letzten Augenblick geschieht.[200] Mit den besten Grüssen bin ich

In steter Verehrung
Ihr
W. Jaeger

[197] = *GrVers* 154–209.
[198] = *GrVers* 210–244.
[199] He would shortly decline: see n.192 above.
[200] Wilamowitz was asked and taught Aristophanes and Cicero, *De legibus* (*Bibliographie* 82).

18b. Kiel, den 30. 4. 21[201]

Lieber, hochverehrter Herr Geheimrat,

wie ich neulich berichtete, hat das Ministerium die Absicht, bald eine neue Liste von der Fakultät einzuholen.[202] Ich habe für diesen Fall dem Ministerium nunmehr meinen prinzipiellen Entschluss mitgeteilt, dem Ruf nach Berlin zu folgen. Wenn die Kommission daher an die Ausarbeitung ihrer Vorschläge herantritt, darf sie mit der Tatsache meiner Annahme rechnen. Es ist mir aber nicht lieb, dass dies in die Öffentlichkeit dringt, da ich noch nicht ganz mit den Verhandlungen zu Ende bin. Obgleich sie bald zu einem Abschluss kommen können, hängt die Sache noch beim Finanzministerium, wie ich Ihnen vertraulich mitteilen möchte, damit Sie ganz klar sehen. Nach Ansicht des Referenten im Kultusministerium ist an der Erledigung durch den Finanzminister keinerlei Zweifel, nur möchte ich nicht, dass dessen Entschlüsse durch vorgreifende Zeitungsnotizen beeinflusst werden.

Anderseits liegt mir sehr daran, dass Sie und Diels selbst die Sache leiten, und da Sie zur Zeit unbestritten Sitz und Stimme in der Fakultät haben, so wäre mir die baldige Inangriffnahme der neuen Liste sehr erwünscht. Ihre Mitwirkung in voller Funktion ist mir, wie ich schon früher[203] aussprach, wichtiger, als selbst eigene Mitwirkung es mir sein würde, da ich ja in der Fakultät Neuling bin und bei Ihnen die Sache am sichersten aufgehoben ist. Naturlich bin ich aber stets bereit, auch meine Meinung zu Ihren Kandidaturen zu sagen, mag auch meine Anstellung erst ab 1. Okt. dieses Jahres datieren. Nach unserer Besprechung[204] von neulich wird es kaum noch Neues zu sagen geben.

Mit herzlichem Gruss bin ich
Stets Ihr
Werner Jaeger

P.S. Die Frage meiner Nachfolge[205] wird hier erst in Angriff genommen, wenn die Berliner Frage geklärt ist, auch die Nachfolge Meisters in Königsberg wird, wie ich im Ministerium erfuhr, von dort von der

[201] The last preserved Jaeger letter provides a final glimpse into details of the appointment.

[202] Boll had declined; a new list of candidates would have to be drawn up. Not until 1927 did Ludwig Deubner (1877–1946) come to Berlin: see M. P. Nilsson, *Gnomon* 21 (1949) 87–88, Jaeger, *Essays* 71, and O. Regenbogen, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. F. Dirlmeier (Munich 1961) 572–573.

[203] See letter no. 17b above.

[204] Jaeger had visited the Ministerium in Berlin and spoken to Wilamowitz while there.

[205] Jacoby took Jaeger's Greek chair. Ed. Fraenkel succeeded Jacoby as Kiel Latinist (1922–1928) (E. Vogt).

Regierung erst im Zusammenhang mit dieser Angelegenheit geregelt werden.

19. Westend 21 VII 24[206]

Lieber College,

Sie scheinen zu wissen,[207] weshalb wir ins Ministerium gingen, also dass die *Fakultät* eine Commission entsandt hat, ganz aussergewöhnlich und ohne Praejudiz, um zu erklären, dass Sie hier gehalten werden *müssten.* Die Schätzung der Fakultät muss Ihnen doch erfreulich sein; ich füge hinzu, dass die Naturwissenschaftler sehr viel Teilnahme gezeigt haben. Ich habe im Ministerium gesagt, Sie schickten heute Nachmittag eine Arbeit[208] zu mir, daher habe ich übernommen, Ihnen mitzuteilen, dass *das Ministerium*, wenn Sie jetzt gleich a limine ablehnen,[209] *die Sache so behandeln wird, als hätten Sie den Ruf erhalten.* Dass darin ausser Gehaltzulage die Zusicherung von Umzugkosten liegt, wissen Sie wohl schon. Auf Zuteilung einer Wohnung hat das Minist. keinen Einfluss, vertraut darauf, es in Jahresfrist zu haben. Über die Chancen eine Wohnung zu bekommen, scheint Norden was zu wissen.

Nun waren wir aber alle der Ansicht, Sie täten gut kurzerhand in Heidelberg ein Ende zu machen, zu erklären, Sie würden einen Ruf nicht annehmen. Dann sind Sie das Denken los, Ihre Gattin auch, das beruhigt. Den Heidelbergern wird es auch möglich, jemand zum Winter zu finden; übrigens hat sich Meister[210] schon bei mir erkundigt, rechnet also damit, dass der Wunsch, Sie zu erhalten, sich nicht erfüllt. Ich hoffe Sie tun den befreienden Schritt. Bei den Verhandlungen können Sie, glaub' ich, für das Institut noch etwas erreichen.

Es sollte mich sehr freuen, wenn es nun fertig würde, denn die Ungewissheit musste auf Ihnen lasten. Die Einstimmigkeit der

[206] Franz Boll died July 3, 1924; and Heidelberg intended to invite Jaeger to succeed him. Aged seventy-six, Wilamowitz again defended Jaeger and convinced the Ministerium not only to keep him in Berlin but also to anticipate Heidelberg's offer. A suitable apartment was required and moving costs to be provided. Wilamowitz' emphasis on faculty cooperation and the fact that a second Hellenist had not yet been found suggest that Jaeger was not entirely happy.

[207] The negotiations were confidential; and Wilamowitz would never have discussed them with Jaeger, if he had not already known of them. Because Wilamowitz detested his telephone, we have this letter.

[208] An excuse to contact Jaeger on behalf of the Ministerium; no specific work is intended.

[209] Namely, the invitation to Heidelberg.

[210] See n.37 above.

Collegen war wieder ein Zeichen, dass sie in Berlin doch andere als in Heidelberg sind. Es bleibt dann nur, dass Sie hier oben oder am Abhang (Kaiserdamm) auch am Lie⟨t⟩zensee[211] oder Dernburgstr. Unterschlupf finden. Wir würden die Nachbarschaft gewiss gerne pflegen, also vorwärts auf dem guten Wege.[212]

Mittlerweile vergifte ich mich an dem Iologen.[213]

Mit schönstem Grusse
Ihr
UWilamowitz

20. [17 IX 24][214]

Lieber Herr College. Auch ich hatte über den Einfall,[215] der mir neulich plötzlich kam, nachgedacht und eingesehen, dass der Einfall gut war. Wir müssen das durchführen. Kiesslings[216] Name kann verschwinden,[217] er war immer ornamental,[218] meiner mag es nun werden. Es ist richtig, dass Sie bald ein Heft schreiben müssen, um Besitz zu ergreifen. Auch ist wünschenswert, dass einer, der nicht bloss Anfänger ist, neben die Erstlingsarbeiten tritt, die nicht vorwiegen dürfen.[219] Harders Arbeit[220] wird Schwergewicht genug haben; Schadewaldts kaum.[221] Ich will,

[211] *Lietzenufer* is not impossible. In fact the street is called *Lietzenseeufer*. They are all places in Charlottenburg.

[212] The enthusiasm for a colleague forty years younger is remarkable.

[213] W. Buchwald suggests "Anspielung auf die Arbeit an der *Hellenist. Dichtung* I (Berlin 1924) 226?" esp. Nikander.

[214] The postcard is Wilamowitz' agreement to end *Philologische Untersuchungen*, 30 vols. (1880–1922). Jaeger soon begins *Neue philologische Untersuchungen*, 11 vols. (1926–1937): see *Essays* 69. The card is sent to Jaeger at Berlin W 50, Kurfürsten Damm 241.

[215] The "sudden idea" to transfer the series to Jaeger's editorship.

[216] See *Erinnerungen*[2] 191: "Kiessling, eine männlich schöne Erscheinung von gewinnendem Wesen, reichbegabt, weit interessiert, war doch über Gebühr leichtsinnig, um die Folgen seiner Worte und Handlungen zu wenig besorgt, unfähig bei einer Sache auszudauern; so hat er sein Leben nicht zu dem gelangen lassen, was seine Freunde hoffen durften."

[217] "Auf dem Titel der 'Philolog. Untersuchungen'" (W. Buchwald).

[218] See *Erinnerungen*[2] 191: "Den Gedanken der Philologischen Untersuchungen griff er lebhaft auf, aber getan hat er für sie nichts als seinen kleinen Beitrag geliefert. Weder an der Korrektur noch an der Annahme der Beiträge hat er sich beteiligt. Aber ich habe seinen Namen auf dem Titel immer mitgeführt in Erinnerung an die 7½ Jahre treuer Kameradschaft."

[219] Jaeger never published in the series but used it for his students' dissertations and books.

[220] Richard Harder, "Ocellus Lucanus: Text und Kommentar," *NeuePhilol-Unter* 1 (Berlin 1926; rpt. Zürich/Dublin 1966).

[221] Wolfgang Schadewaldt, "Monolog und Selbstgespräch: Untersuchungen

wenn ich in einiger Zeit zu Vollert[222] gehe, die Sache einleiten; ich denke, er wird zufrieden sein.[223] Und so fortan[224]

Mit schönsten Grüssen auch Ihrer Gattin

Ihr

UWilamowitz

21. [21 VIII 26][225]

Lieber Herr College

Sehr freundlich, dass Sie mir den Xenophon gleich schicken, der mir bei Ihnen aus der Tasche gerutscht sein muss; er hätte warten können.

Und meine Frau dankt vielmals für die Rosen,[226] ich kannte sie wieder und habe bereits eine Beschreibung Ihres Schlosses geliefert, das mir gewaltig imponiert hat.

Hoffentlich zu gutem Wiedersehen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

22. [21 XI 26][227]

Lieber Herr College

Es scheint mir alles sehr gut zu passen; wenn Sie eine hippokratische

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zur Formgeschichte der griechischen Tragödie," *NeuePhilolUnter* 2 (Berlin 1926; rpt. Berlin/Zürich/Dublin 1966). Wilamowitz' later opinion was far more positive: see *KS* 1.464–466 and my remarks at *GRBS* 16 (1975) 453.

[222] Dr. Ernst Vollert owned Weidmann (A. Henrichs). Wilamowitz' mother-in-law was a Reimer and so there had been a long family association with the publishing house: see *Erinnerungen*[2] 196 and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in Ed. Fraenkel et al. "250 Jahre Weidmannsche Buchhandlung," *Monatschrift für höhere Schulen*, no. 4 (suppl.) (1930) 8–9.

[223] He was: see the remarks of W. Jaeger, in R. Harder (above, n.220) "Vorwort des Herausgebers."

[224] "Briefschlussformel des alten Goethe" (W. Buchwald).

[225] The postcard is addressed to Jaeger at Kaiser Wilhelmstr. 11, Steglitz. He had his new residence. Wilamowitz had visited him and left a book there. In spring 1927 J. H. Finley visited the Jaeger home. "In the Berlin years he and the tall, beautiful first Mrs. Jaeger . . . with their two sons and a daughter inhabited a square, high-ceilinged, mansard-roofed, tree-surrounded house in the suburb Steglitz. Its resemblance to certain houses on older back-streets of Cambridge suggests that German tastes accompanied German academic standards to Mr. Eliot's Harvard. I was kindly included in a Sunday-afternoon party for students which nobly stretched from tea well past dinner. The others all wore frock coats; I thought myself lucky in a fairly new blue serge suit."

[226] Wilamowitz was an avid gardener and would have noticed the roses: see Schwester Hildegard von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in *Trauerspiele* 159–160.

[227] The postcard concerns courses for spring 1927.

Schrift[228] nehmen wollten, würde ich das ganz besonders begrüssen; auf die Notwendigkeit ihn zu lesen, habe ich gerade sehr energisch hingewiesen. Ob ich nicht schliesslich das Lesen aufstecke, ist mir noch unsicher. Angezeigt habe ich aber Kultur des römischen Kaiserreiches,[229] was sich ja gut einfügen würde. Ich möchte eben die Trennung der Sprachen und Litteraturen überwinden.

Mit schönsten Grüssen

Ihr

UWilamowitz

23. 15 XII 28[230]

Verehrter[231] lieber Herr College

Schönsten Dank für Ihren Beitrag zu F. u. F.,[232] die ja das Ausland vornehmlich informieren soll. Es ist so was keine erfreuliche Pflicht, zumal eines nahestehenden Kollegen, und es wäre besser, wenn man über die Lebensarbeit eines Gelehrten erst am hundertsten Geburtstag urteilte, wo sich's erst etwas schätzen lässt.[233]

Einen Einwand muss ich machen. Mommsens Rufin[234] ist überhaupt keine Leistung und hat den Euseb zwecklos verteuernd,[235] weil Mommsen darauf bestand, den Text neben den griechischen zu setzen. Mommsens Pabstbuch [*sic*][236] ist auch nichts. Aber Schwartz hatte ja schon lange vorher Athenagoras und Tatian ediert;[237] dass Theophilus

[228] Jaeger had assumed directorship of the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*. Hippocrates was natural: see W. Jaeger, *Paideia: Die Formung des griechischen Menschen* II (Berlin 1944) 11–58, "Die griechische Medizin als Paideia."

[229] In summer semester 1927 he gave "Kultur der römischen Kaiserzeit" (*Bibliographie* 83). In winter semester 1927/28 for the first time he did not teach.

[230] Wilamowitz' last preserved letter to Jaeger, written one week before his eightieth birthday.

[231] "Erstmals dies" (W. Buchwald).

[232] W. Jaeger, "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 4 (1928) 374–375 (a note to honor the octogenarian).

[233] A theory Wilamowitz practiced: see *KS* 6.18–28, 66–67. For Schadewaldt's words on Wilamowitz' hundredth birthday see *HuH* I² 698–699.

[234] Eusebius, *Werke* II: *Die Kirchengeschichte* hrsg. im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. von Eduard Schwartz und Die latein. Übersetzung im gleichen Auftrage von. Th. Mommsen I (Leipzig 1903); II (Leipzig 1908); III (Leipzig 1909) (W. Buchwald).

[235] "Kontamination aus 'war . . . verteuernd" und "hat . . . verteuert" (W. Buchwald).

[236] For *Papstbuch: Gestorum pontificum Romanorum* I: *Liber pontificalis P. Pars* I, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin 1898) (A. Henrichs).

[237] *Tatiani Oratio ad Graecos*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, Texte u. Untersuchungen 4.1 (Leipzig 1888); *Athenagorae Libellus pro Christianis*, Texte u. Untersuchungen 4.2 (Leipzig 1891).

fehlt, ist ärgerlich: er hätte ihn gleich machen können.[238] Und was besagt der Rufin neben dem Eusebius von Schwartz?[239] Mommsen ist lediglich von Harnack vor dessen Wagen gespannt.[240] Er hat gerade das Christentum ignoriert.

Mit schönstem Dank und Gruss
Ihr
UWilamowitz

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO[241]

[238] For Wilamowitz' work on the Church Fathers see Jürgen Dummer, "Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff und die Kirchenväterkommission der Berliner Akademie," *Studia Byzantina* 2 (1973) 351–387.

[239] See n.234 above.

[240] "Harnack simply pressed Mommsen into Schwartz' service": see n.105

[241] I am grateful to the hospitality of the Fondation Hardt for the leisure in which I have composed this paper.

# SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

MARCIA DUNBAR-SOULE DOBSON — *Oracular Language: Its Style and Intent in the Delphic Oracles and in Aeschylus'* Oresteia

The dissertation has two objectives — to define oracular style by isolating stylistic elements most common to the Delphic oracles, and to examine correlations between them and the style of Aeschylus. The hypothesis, sustained by close examination of the *Oresteia*, is that oracular style occurs in Aeschylus at moments of highest poetic intensity, when characters are grappling with possible solutions to problems posed by the contradictory laws of the cosmos. Such problems, when clearly visualized, take the form of oracular responses, even when they are not given by an oracle.

In order to make a valid comparison between such outwardly different modes of expression as exist in the oracles and in Aeschylus, the first section of the thesis deals at some length with the composition of oracles themselves, examining parallels between them and the traditional poetry of which they are a part. Serious consideration is given to the most recent scholarly view which suggests that the extant epigraphical responses of the early fifth and fourth centuries show no signs of the riddling and ambiguous style commonly seen in the traditional responses preserved in Greek literature and that, therefore, the epigraphical responses are the only examples of authentic oracles — that is, the only oracles ever given on a specific occasion in response to a specific question. From examination of the epigraphical and the traditional oracles, it appears that there is much more correspondence between them than is commonly believed. The inscriptions may be the result of gradual refinements and simplification of what in early times were proverbial and riddling responses in meter.

Balanced phrasing within the paratactic structure is common to traditional poetry and characteristic of Greek language in general. Nevertheless, the degree to which oracular responses are dependent upon dualities and oppositions suggests that such phrasing was regarded

as particularly pertinent in expressing ambiguous and uncertain communication with the gods. There is also the strong possibility that dualities, oppositions, tricola, heavily spondaic hexameter, and other characteristics of oracular language occur most regularly in those passages of traditional poetry dealing with sacred or prophetic themes. Confirmation of this hypothesis, however, requires further research.

In the second part of the dissertation, it is shown that Aeschylus uses elements of oracular style (as defined in part 1) to express the characters' own sense of uncertainty and anxiety when faced with the arbitrary laws of the cosmos. The scope of inquiry is here extended to treat other magical and religious components of Aeschylean language. In the *Agamemnon*, for example, curses, invocations, incantations, and the working out of verbal contests between the chorus and Clytemnestra actually effect a transformation in the chorus' thought, so that they are finally able to state their comprehension of the conflict in oracular form. Because they themselves have "given" the oracle, they are able to move toward control of the conflict it presents, as is seen in the *Eumenides*, in Orestes' trial. In this last play, the language has become simpler — metaphor is less dense, gnomic language sparser, and oracular style has been transformed into legal formulae — much as the oracles themselves evolved historically from ambiguous and enigmatic sayings to statements of simple alternatives. This change in language appears to reflect the degree to which man has come to see himself in charge of laws which were formerly the arbitrary prerogative of the gods.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Classical Philology 1976

CARMELA VIRCILLO FRANKLIN — *The Ecclesiae Atinatis Historia of Marcantonio Palombo*

This thesis is a critical edition, with introduction, commentary, and two appendices, of an unpublished Latin history of Atina, an ancient town north of Cassino, written by a local historian, Marcantonio Palombo (A.D. 1640). The original autograph, damaged by the events surrounding the battle of Cassino in 1943–44, was deposited in the Vatican Library after its discovery by Herbert Bloch in Atina. For the first and second volumes of the Historia this autograph and photographs of it served as the basis of the present text; the original of the third volume was in such bad condition that a typewritten copy of it prepared early in this century by Giovanni Mancini of Atina has been used

for this edition. The first appendix consists of archival documents which bear on Palombo's history; the second is an unfinished seventeenth century family chronicle of Atina whose unnamed author is easily identified as Nicola Simone, a contemporary and friend of Marcantonio Palombo.

Two concerns called forth an edition of these volumes. First, Palombo's history incorporates materials from the classical and medieval periods which have survived nowhere else. Furthermore, through its detailed accounts of contemporary events, the Historia paints a unique picture of the civil and religious milieu of a provincial town in the Kingdom of Naples in the era of the Catholic Reformation.

Originally, the Ecclesiae Atinatis Historia consisted of seven volumes: the three containing the history of Atina and four more made up of the sources which the author had gathered in preparation for his writing. The first of these source volumes contains the literary treatments of Atina's saints and is of particular importance, for it is the only one of the four which has survived in its entirety, and it sheds new light on the forgeries of the brilliant twelfth-century archivist-historian of Monte Cassino, Peter the Deacon. Exiled from the abbey from 1128 to 1130 by the deposition of Oderisius II, Peter took refuge in Atina, where he composed the Passio SS. Marci, Passicratis, Nicandri, et Marciani. This, his first work, began an entire cycle on Atina's saints and bishops which had been presumed lost. Erich Caspar, in his pioneering work on Peter the Deacon (1909), had revealed the involvement of the monk in the writing or editing under assumed names of a few hagiographical pieces on Atina published in Ughelli's *Italia Sacra* (1642). Unknown to Caspar, the bulk of Peter the Deacon's Atina dossier remained buried along with the unpublished history of Palombo, who had copied it from a Beneventan manuscript kept in the archives of Atina's principal church.

The second volume of sources contained copies of documents pertaining to Atina's church. Among these were two inventories of ecclesiastical possessions prepared in the middle of the twelfth century, various papal privileges and grants of indulgences, and documents originating from the centuries of struggle between Atina's church and neighboring bishops.

The third volume consisted of documents regarding the town itself: privileges from feudal lords, agreements with surrounding towns.

The final volume of sources included several unpublished local chronicles from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries — one by Peter the Deacon — and the Latin inscriptions of Atina. While the second

and third source volumes may have perished soon after the author's death, the first and fourth were still in Atina in 1876 when Mommsen visited the town on his travels while gathering materials for the tenth volume of *CIL*. Mommsen made extensive use of the epigraphical evidence collected by Palombo and gave a succinct but invaluable description of the five then surviving volumes of the Historia. The fourth volume disappeared in 1943–44.

These losses are considerable. Yet the sources can be reconstructed to a certain extent from the text of the Historia in which many of the more important documents are quoted verbatim and others paraphrased or described at great length. Furthermore, several of the documents from the town archives have come down to us independently. (These form appendix A of the dissertation.)

The three volumes which narrate the history of the church of Atina are divided into five books. The first treats pre-Christian Atina from its foundation, fabricated by Peter the Deacon. Most of these pages are concerned with the controversy surrounding the site of Vergil's "Atina potens." We are thus provided with a lively picture of the antiquarian interests which dominated the learned debates in Atina. The second and third books recount the legends of Atina's saints and bishops from A.D. 44, when St. Peter consecrated Mark of Galilee, to the death of Bishop John in 1098. These books are based largely on Peter the Deacon's works, which Palombo accepted as genuine in the spirit of the Catholic Reformation. The inconsistencies within the works of Peter the Deacon and the witness of a recently discovered bull of Paschal II (1110) make it clear that the episcopal period of Atina's church is the imaginative creation of Peter the Deacon.

The fourth and fifth books cover the history of the church of Atina as a *praepositura nullius dioecesis*, that is, a church segregated from any diocese and outside the jurisdiction of any bishop. Palombo concentrated especially upon the protracted struggles which the *praepositura* had to undertake to maintain its independence from the encroachments of regional bishops. The author, a fervent believer in the liberties of his church, maintained that the rights and privileges of the *praepositura* were justified by Atina's episcopal past. But evidence which he himself preserved is liable to a different explanation. Early in the twelfth century the church of Atina came under the protection of Monte Cassino amid obscure circumstances. The abbey's interest in Atina is further established by the identification of one of the earliest *praepositi* (1145–1155) with the monk Albericus. When the emperor Frederick II detached Atina from the abbatial possessions nearly a century later,

the *praepositura* undertook the successful struggle to remain outside episcopal jurisdiction. Peter the Deacon's forgeries served as the cornerstone of Atina's prerogatives.

While Palombo thus failed in his chief objective to substantiate Atina's claim to ecclesiastical independence, his work remains important because of the insight it provides into the life in the decades following the Council of Trent. Ironically, it was its author's learning, which led him to write his Historia in Latin, that prevented its publication in the seventeenth century.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Medieval Latin 1977

MICHAEL STEVEN KAPLAN — *Greeks and the Imperial Court, from Tiberius to Nero*

The study of Graeco-Roman relations has advanced greatly in the last two decades. One well-defined period which has not been the focus of the attention it deserves has been chosen for study in this thesis, namely the period of about fifty years from Tiberius to Nero. The primary orientation of the study is toward intellectual and cultural aspects of Graeco-Roman society, and it proceeds along two levels: first, the presence of learned Greeks — imperial tutors and advisers, astrologers, physicians and medical writers, and littérateurs — in Rome and the role they played there; second, the personal response of the emperors to these Greeks and to Hellenism generally.

In chapter 1 the types of individuals who served as tutors for the children of the emperors and the influence which they exerted on their pupils are examined. To take two examples, considerable attention is devoted to Tiberius' rhetorical style; from a study of various facets of the rhetorical theory and practice of his teacher, Theodorus of Gadara, and his followers it is suggested that a direct line of stylistic influence exists. Secondly, Germanicus' tutor, generally known as Cassius Salanus, is scrutinized; it appears that he was in all likelihood from Syro-Palestine, and that his name should be Silanus, not Salanus. This emendation, previously suggested for passages in Ovid and the elder Pliny, is now confirmed from a variety of epigraphical sources which relate to both the tutor and his nephew Zenodorus. The tutors of the other emperors are studied with similar results.

Chapter 2 is limited to a study of the two most important astrologers of the Roman court, Thrasyllus and Balbillus. The so-called unitarian

approach is accepted, and several points in the careers of these two men are studied anew with the object of strengthening the unitarian view.

The function of physicians and medical writers as learned companions both at court and in private service is discussed in chapter 3. Of particular interest are Stertinius Xenophon, Scribonius Largus, Servilius Damocrates, and Dioscurides Pedianus. Xenophon is studied in detail; he has not been the subject of an intensive study since Herzog's time. An examination of the inscriptional evidence together with the pertinent passage in the elder Pliny reveals that his putative brother Q. Stertinius is fictitious, and the text of Pliny must be emended. Also, Xenophon's position as *archiater* is discussed in terms of its Hellenistic antecedents; this matter is misrepresented in at least one standard work of reference. In appendix 1 the inscriptions pertaining to Xenophon and his family, which have been published in scattered places, are presented in tabular form. Dioscurides' life and career are reviewed, and a new date is offered for his *Materia Medica*. In addition to these men, numerous other physicians are discussed under the specific headings of philosophic medicine, medical fashions, malpractice, and philanthropy.

A discussion of Greek literary figures (in a broad sense) who resided or worked in Rome in this period follows. They are discussed under the rubrics of Alexandrians in Rome, imperial freedmen (with particular attention being given to the question of Phaedrus' "patrons" and the Claudian freedman and historian Ti. Claudius Herma), Homeric studies, Roman studies, rhetoricians and declaimers, poets of the Greek Anthology (the importance of Philip's antiphilological poems as a clue to a date under Gaius is emphasized), Roman patrons, and the Stoic opposition.

The second half of the thesis is taken up with an examination of the emperors' reaction to the culture of the East. In the case of Tiberius, this involves primarily the question of his philological interests and intellectual companions; indeed, a major portion of this chapter concerns the identity of his *convictores Graeci*. As a part of this study a list of those persons who were visitors to Tiberian Capri has been assembled; the material is synthesized and presented as appendix 2. Also included in this chapter is a discussion of Antonia Minor and Germanicus in their roles as patrons of Greek culture. Germanicus' career is considered under two rubrics, his literary interests and his relationships with the East. His behavior in Egypt is subjected to scrutiny, particularly in regard to his adoption of Greek dress there (the subject of appendix 3) and the possibility that his itinerary in Egypt may have been influenced by Strabo.

Gaius is discussed briefly. The importance of Egyptian influences on his behavior is noted, as is the example of an autocratic government set for him by his royal companions from the East.

Claudius, the subject of chapter 7, marks the midpoint in the thematic development of imperial Hellenism under the Julio-Claudians, and he is a point of equilibrium prior to the accession of Nero. His reign marked a return to the philological interests of Tiberius, and the overall increase in literary activity is noted. A second topic considered here is the political and economic consolidation of the East. His interest in the extension of the franchise is observed, and the general evidence is substantiated with an examination of two specific cases, Ti. Claudius Brasidas (in relation to Spartan politics and the dynastic family of the Euryclids) and Ti. Claudius Novius, the Athenian magnate.

Finally, Nero's reign forms the natural conclusion to this study. His early contacts with the East are surveyed, but it is his artistic and athletic endeavors which form the core of this chapter. His self-identification with Apollo is discussed in terms of inscriptions, coins, statuary, and the Domus Aurea. The increasing importance of Naples is chronicled and related to his budding artistic interests. Nero's athletic foundations — the Juvenalia, Neronia, the gymnasium, and the Augustiani — are discussed in relation to one another as a single phenomenon. The renewed imperial interest in Egypt is connected with several individuals who were resident in court who themselves had strong ties to Egypt. The last topic, the Grecian tour and its aftermath, includes among other items the Greek response to Nero (both while he was alive and after his death) and the manner of his return to Italy (through sections of city walls supposedly demolished in accordance with Greek custom).

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Classical Philology 1977

CHRISTINE GODFREY PERKELL — *Pessimism in the* Georgics *of Virgil*

It has been recognized from antiquity that it was not the controlling purpose of the *Georgics* to impart agricultural information to farmers (*nec agricolas docere voluit:* Sen. *Ep.* 86.15). The inaccuracies and omissions of the poem in this regard are many. The evidence against Virgil's being himself an experienced farmer seems conclusive. Comparison with Cato, Varro, Pliny, or Columella establishes Virgil's

artistic focus and his omission of pedestrian detail. It is generally agreed by contemporary scholars that the technical purpose of the *Georgics* is merely a pretext. If, then, Virgil aimed neither at completeness of treatment, nor even at accuracy of representation, what was his purpose in writing the *Georgics*?

There is general agreement among recent scholars that the poem has symbolic significance and that it deals with the "most central and serious themes of Augustan Rome" (Otis). Some perceive in the poem a political purpose — that of regenerating the nation by recalling the Romans to their traditional moral values (Wilkinson). The dominant moral theme is considered to be the dignity of labor (Perret). Structurally, the poem is felt to alternate between the pessimism of books 1 and 3 and the optimism of books 2 and 4. This last book, concluding with the miraculous "rebirth" of the bees, is felt to resolve the tensions of the poem and to portend a positive future.

The *Aeneid* also has been read in this way — as an expression of Virgil's faith in Augustan Rome and in man's future in general. In recent years, however, criticism of the *Aeneid* has undergone a "revolution" (Putnam), which has enabled us to see what was always there — not only the suffering which Aeneas experiences but also the suffering which he causes, a recurrent doubt as to whether the empire is worth the personal loss and moral corruption which its founding requires. If this kind of reading of the *Aeneid* is legitimate, as I think it is, then it is not improbable that these same kinds of ambiguities and doubts are present in the *Georgics*. Several articles which recognize the ambivalence and implied pessimism of the poem have appeared in the last ten years. This dissertation explores further the pessimism of the poem, to see if it is not reflected also in those passages which have traditionally been regarded as positive, optimistic statements. My central thesis is that, when read with attention and sensitivity to undertone and implication, the *Georgics* reveals itself to be informed by the same pervasive melancholy and ambivalence which characterize the *Aeneid*.

The first section of the dissertation is an introduction in two parts. The first part summarizes the history of scholarship on the poem and places the present work in the context of current thought on the *Georgics*. The second part (entitled "Preliminary Observations on Virgil's Poetic Method") aims to establish the consistently metaphorical nature of the poem. Although the avowed subject of the *Georgics* is agriculture, its true subject is man and his relation to nature and the gods. There follow four chapters, each of which deals with a book of the poem, that examine in detail those passages which seem most

significant. In chapter 1 the passages discussed at greatest length are the "theodicy" (1.121–161) and the conclusion (1.460–514). Chapter 2 focuses on 2.136–176, 315–345, 458–540. All these passages express Virgil's notion of an idealized past (the Golden Age) and a degenerate present. The discussion of book 3, generally acknowledged to be the most pessimistic of the poem, aims to establish the thematic unity of the book and its relation to the other books, especially book 4. Chapter 4 examines first the symbolic value of bees in antiquity — for this illuminates Virgil's purpose here — and then the meaning of the *bougonia*, its relation to the Aristaeus Epyllion, and its significance for the poem as a whole.

The quintessence of the poem is found to be Virgil's sympathy for the victims of "progress." He perceives man both as a victim of the gods and nature and also as an aggressor against nature and morality. Although Virgil acknowledges the achievements of civilization, he dwells most powerfully on the destruction, loss, and sorrow which that civilization requires.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Classical Philology 1977

JOANNE HIGGINS PHILLIPS — *Books 1, 3, and 6 of Lucretius'* De Rerum Natura: *The Organic Relationship of Proem and Conclusion*

The aim of this dissertation is to analyze and evaluate the proems of books 1, 3, and 6 of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* to determine how relevant each of the three proems is to what follows in each of the three books and, here and there, to the poem as a whole. Several questions receive attention: Is each proem specially composed to stand at the beginning of its book (that is, to what extent does each proem introduce the reader to the contents of the respective book)? Does the proem of book 1 introduce the whole work? How does it compare and contrast with the proems to books 3 and 6? Is there a relation between the proem and conclusion of each book (that is, does the conclusion summarize the contents of the book and does it relate to the book's proem)? How does one regard the episodical and grim conclusion of the last book in contrast with the elaborate and genial proem of the first book?

First, the literary tradition of the prooemium in general is examined with an aim at suggesting precedents or conventions which may or may not have influenced Lucretius. Next, each proem is examined in detail.

In general it is concluded: (1) Each proem is composed to stand at the beginning of its book and to introduce the reader to the contents of the respective book. (2) Similarly, it appears that each conclusion is composed to stand at the end of its book, and while not necessarily summarizing the contents of the book, it relates with subtle yet purposeful artistry to the proem of the respective book. (3) The proem of book 1 introduces the whole work as well as book 1. The proem of book 3 introduces only the individual book; the same holds true for the proem of book 6. The nature of the proems is conditioned by the pivotal position of the former, and the concluding position of the latter in the structure of the entire work. (4) An appropriate conclusion to the last book and the work exists by including lines 1090–1137 as part of the description of the Plague.

Concerning book 1 in particular, it is concluded: (1) The proem of book 1 encompasses lines 1–135, not merely the invocation of Venus, lines 1–49. (2) The first forty-nine lines present in capsulated form the poem's basic thematic scheme, while lines 50–135 serve as a unified introduction to both the entire work and book 1. (3) Contrary to critics who suggest the existence of two syllabuses, there is one syllabus. (4) The proem expresses three major syllabic points: the general concern of the entire poem is the *summa caeli ratio deumque*, of book 1, the *primordia rerum;* the *summa ratio* is not *religio* and is independent of "divine intervention"; *religio* entails fear of physical and spiritual phenomena. (5) A "transitional" passage (lines 136–158) bridges the gap between the proem and the actual thematic commencement of the subject material of book 1. It provides a succinct and subtle reiteration of the above three points and directs the reader's attention to the immediate subject matter of the book, the *primordia rerum.* (6) The main discourse of book 1 encompasses lines 159–920, not lines 146–1113. There is a marked relation between the topical content of the first section (lines 159–397) and the proem. The second section (lines 418–634) is more self-contained and closely reasoned without distinct echoes of the proem. The third section (lines 635–920) appears to be a thematic amplification of the principles detailed in the preceding sections. A "transitional" passage (lines 398–417) separates the first section from the remainder of the discourse. (7) Contrary to critics who have circumvented the matter of a conclusion to book 1 entirely or tagged lines 1114–1117 as "conclusion" in terms merely of the immediately preceding section, lines 921–1117 represent an appropriately conceived concluding statement which reflects major synoptic elements of the book's proem.

As concerns book 3 in particular, it is concluded: (1) The proem of book 3 encompasses lines 1–40, not merely the eulogy of Epicurus, lines 1–30. (2) While the eulogy of Epicurus suggests what is the topical subject of book 3 as well as looking back to the particular concerns of books 1 and 2, the syllabus (lines 31–40) is its necessarily "specific" complement, fulfilling the requirements of a "proper" rhetorical format. (3) The proem to book 3 is related to the proem of book 1. (4) A "transitional" passage (lines 41–93), as in book 1, bridges the proem and main discourse. (5) The main discourse of book 3 encompasses lines 94–829, not lines 94–1094. There are two main sections, lines 94–416 and lines 425–829, separated by a "transitional" passage (lines 417–424). The discourse fulfills the syllabic prospectus of the book's proem but lacks its imagistic overtones. (6) The conclusion of book 3 encompasses lines 830–1094, not merely lines 1076–1094. It recalls the proem and conclusion of book 1 as well as the proem of book 3.

As for book 6 in particular it is concluded: (1) The proem of book 6 encompasses lines 1–95, not merely the eulogy of Epicurus, lines 1–42. (2) The proem of book 6 relates to the proem of book 3 in two respects: both commence with an elaborate eulogy of Epicurus' character and historical accomplishment; a syllabus follows, which comments synoptically on the material previously covered and on the immediate thematic intention of the book in question. (3) The proem of book 6 relates to the proem of book 1 in three respects: there are numerous verbal echoes; there is a similar ring composition in the two proems; an invocation of a deity marks both proems. (4) There is no intermediate "transitional" passage between the proem and the main discourse of book 6. (5) The main discourse of book 6 encompasses lines 96–1089, not lines 96–1137. There are two main sections, lines 96–534 and lines 535–1137, with no "transitional" passage to separate them. There is no marked relation between the main discourse and the proem. (6) The conclusion encompasses lines 1090–1286, not merely lines 1138–1286. Lucretius uses the Thucydidean model to expand on the psychological, moral, and emotional implications of the Plague upon mankind, and the extreme contrast between the opening and closing of the *De Rerum Natura* accentuates the broad range of nature's manifestation of the process of life and death — *summa caeli ratio deumque*. There is a marked relationship between the proem and the conclusion of book 6.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Classical Philology 1977

CYNTHIA W. SHELMERDINE — *Late Helladic IIIA2–IIIB Pottery from Nichoria and the Bronze Age History of Messenia*

Many questions about a site can be answered from its physical remains, and this thesis is an attempt both to present some new material and to derive from it as much information as possible about the extent and affluence of Nichoria, what contacts it maintained with other areas, and how its inhabitants lived and worked.

In chapter 1 the value of pottery in such an investigation is discussed, and some general information is given about the history of Nichoria and of its excavation by the University of Minnesota Messenia Expedition. The Late Helladic IIIA2–IIIB pottery itself is presented by period in chapter 2; each shape and motif is discussed in turn, whole pots are catalogued, and comparative material is cited. In chapter 3 the ceramic character of each period is summarized and then put in context by comparison with pottery groups of similar date from other Mycenaean sites. The historical questions that arise from such a study are explored in chapter 4. The situation of Nichoria and the remains found there suggest that it was a fairly typical but prominent Messenian town in the late Bronze Age. The evidence for agriculture, animal husbandry, and industry sheds some light on the kind of life its inhabitants led. In addition, its location and the character of its pottery indicate the contacts it maintained with the rest of the Mycenaean world and also suggest the nature of artistic influence, production, and distribution in late Mycenaean times. Finally, the position of Nichoria in the kingdom of Pylos is examined with the help of the Pylos Linear B tablets, and the identification of the site with one of the economic centers of that kingdom, recently proposed by John Chadwick, is given geographical and archaeological support.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Classical Archaeology 1977

WARREN T. TREADGOLD — *The Nature of the* Bibliotheca *of Photius*

This dissertation attempts to answer several basic questions about the so-called *Bibliotheca*, a description by the Byzantine scholar Photius (c. 810–after 892) of nearly four hundred books as early as Herodotus and as late as his own times. The chapters of the dissertation are devoted to a brief description of the work and modern scholarship on it, the date and circumstances of its composition, the peculiarities of its

second part ("codices," 234–280), its biographical sketches of authors, mistakes and omissions in it, Photius' methods of transmitting his texts, and Photius' literary interests as they appear in his work. An appendix presents a tentative reconstruction of the lacuna in the *Bibliotheca*'s preface. Also included are an annotated table of contents to the *Bibliotheca*, indices to the books in it by authors, subjects, and centuries of composition, a list of books that Photius mentions in his letters and *Amphilochia*, and a list of parallels between the *Bibliotheca*'s biographical sketches and the surviving witnesses to the text of the "Hesychius epitome," a biographical dictionary used by Photius.

Photius addresses the *Bibliotheca* to his brother Tarasius. It was at Tarasius' request that Photius says he composed this account of his reading, which is complete except for particularly common books. Photius makes clear that he read all the books himself; the modern theory that they were read by a "reading circle" is unjustified. According to his preface and postface, Photius wrote his work hurriedly, just before leaving on an embassy "to the Assyrians." Though several dates have been proposed for the *Bibliotheca*, ranging from Hélène Ahrweiler's 838 to François Halkin's after 875, Photius' embassy was most probably that of 845 to Samarra, the Caliph's capital in Assyria. In any case, the *Bibliotheca* cannot be earlier than 843, the earliest date for the biographical dictionary that Photius consulted, and it is unlikely to be much later, since Photius never refers to the duties he soon assumed as head of the imperial chancery and Patriarch of Constantinople, and his embassy would surely be recorded elsewhere if it had occurred when he was famous. A reference in the *Bibliotheca* to Photius' attempt to convert dualist heretics seems to refer not to his patriarchate but to the first edition of his tract *Against the Manichaeans*, datable to about 843. Halkin's identification of a *Life* of Gregory the Great reviewed in the *Bibliotheca* with a text composed in 875 or later is unsubstantiated. Finally, the many references in Photius' letters and *Amphilochia* to books that are not in the *Bibliotheca*, all written no later than 872, show that by that time Photius had read many books that he had not read when he composed the *Bibliotheca*.

The earlier part of the *Bibliotheca* contains several statements addressed to Tarasius in the second person, but after codex 233 such statements no longer occur, and the descriptions of the books are longer and less coherent, sometimes to the point of being in incomplete sentences. Especially since Photius demonstrably had earlier notes of his copied into his *Amphilochia*, it seems probable that the codices after 233 represent earlier notes copied into the *Bibliotheca* by the secretary

whom Photius mentions in his preface. This explains the peculiar formula "there was read *from*," which begins most of these later codices, instead of the usual "there was read"; the secretary added "there was read" to headings of Photius' notes in the form "from such and such a book," like some headings that remain in their original form in the second part. This also explains most of the cases in which Photius gives two reviews of the same book: he inadvertently had his secretary copy notes from books that had already been reviewed.

Georg Wentzel has already identified the source of a number of Photius' biographical sketches as an epitome of the sixth-century *Onomatologus* of Hesychius of Miletus, combined with the Greek translation of St. Jerome's *Famous Men* and some additional material. This "Hesychius epitome" largely survives in the articles of the tenth-century *Suda* attributed to "Hesychius." Besides this biographical dictionary, Photius often used materials in the books he was reviewing to compose biographical sketches of their authors. He does not, however, seem to have had any other important sources, from Byzantine school tradition or elsewhere.

The *Bibliotheca* shows the marks of haste in numerous mistakes and in several spaces left blank to be filled in later. In general, information found in the *Bibliotheca* that is not corroborated elsewhere should be used with some caution.

The descriptions of texts that form most of the *Bibliotheca* seem to have been composed by three methods: some from memory, some from copies of the books or from notes on them, and some, including all those in the second part, by having the secretary copy earlier notes of Photius's. The annotated table of contents appended to the dissertation includes tentative classifications of all the descriptions according to their method of composition. Most of the descriptions that seem to have been composed from texts or notes are so haphazard, often referring only to the first and last pages of the book, that Photius is more likely to have composed them by glancing at books from his library than by consulting notes taken during complete readings. This would mean that Photius owned as many as 150 books. Though this would have been an enormous and expensive library by Byzantine standards, that is just what Photius is said to have had. He mentions himself that he owned many books, and it would be strange if he had not returned to them when he composed the *Bibliotheca*.

Because Photius seems to have read nearly everything he could find, the selection of books in the *Bibliotheca* probably reflects the sorts of books that were available to him rather than the sorts that interested

him particularly. His comments, however, and the length at which he describes books on different subjects are better guides to his interests. From these it appears that Photius was more interested in secular books than in religious ones, though he was able to find and read more religious books than secular. He particularly enjoyed straightforward historical narrative, novels, and paradoxography. As a scholar and teacher, he was interested in intellectual history, reference works, theology, church history, and literary criticism. He was interested in sermons and devotional works as a Christian, and made a practice of medicine and book collecting.

The *Bibliotheca* is thus a private and informal work, written for the author's brother and for the author's own satisfaction, probably with the thought that it might be circulated among a few friends or students but not with the idea that it would be copied and distributed. Though it cannot be relied on as if it were a finished literary production, it probably reveals Photius' working processes and interests more fully than a more formal composition would have done. In the mid-ninth century, when Photius was in his thirties, most of ancient literature was still a new discovery and could inspire Photius to produce, in this private memoir of over a thousand pages, something that Byzantium seldom produced: a real literary innovation.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY Degree in Byzantine Greek

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